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THE
ROMAN
HISTORY:

WITH
NOTES

Historical, Geographical, and Critical;

AND

Illustrated with COPPER PLATES, MAPS, and a great
Number of AUTHENTICK MEDALS.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original FRENCH of

The Rev^d Fathers CATROU and ROUILLÉ.

VOLUME V.

From the Year of ROME DCVIII. to the Year of ROME DCXC.

To which is prefix'd,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

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O R,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.



BOOK XLIX.

§ 1. **A**FTER the Destruction of *Carthage*, *Rome* had no more Enemies in *Africa*; and after that of *Corinth*, she maintained her Authority in the Eastern Parts of *Europe* with great Mildness and Clemency. In the mean time, the *Asiatick* Nations did not pay her the same Regard as formerly, by having recourse to her for the Decision of their Differences.

§ 2. In *Syria*, *Demetrius Soter* had been dethroned and put to Death by *Alexander Bala*. *Ptolomy Philometor* King of *Egypt*, had made himself Master of *Antioch*, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of *Antioch*, but had restored the Crown to young *Demetrius*, the Son of *Soter*. *Bala* had marched against *Demetrius* and *Philometor*, and after his Defeat, had fled to *Arabia*, where he was murdered. *Philometor* had died of a Wound by a Fall from his Horse; and *Demetrius* had recovered Possession of his Father's Dominions.

§ 3. In *Judea*, *Jonathab* the High-Priest, by a wise Conduct, had preserved Peace in his Dominions, and enlarged them.

§ 4. In *Bithynia*, great Cruelties were committed by *Prusias*, who sent an Ambassador to *Rome*, with Orders to assassinate his Son there. But *Menas* turned the Plot against the Father, and joined with the *Pergamian* Ambassador in proclaiming young *Nicomedes* King, before the Death of *Prusias*. *Attalus* King of *Pergamus* received *Nicomedes* with Joy, and made Preparations for a War with *Prusias* on his Account. *Prusias* had recourse to the *Romans*, who sent a ridiculous Embassy into *Asia*, which had no Effect; and then *Nicomedes* subdued his Father by Violence, and had the Inhumanity, to order Assassins to murder him at the Altar.

Year of *ROME* 608. § 5. At *Rome*, soon after the unworthy *Mancinus* was raised to the Consulate, with 307th Consulship. *Q. Fabius Aemilianus*, *Caius Laelius* the new *Prætor* for *Spain*, did himself great Honour, by opposing the Innovations of *Licinius* the Tribune of the People, with regard to the Priesthood. *Licinius* had drawn up a Law, to have the Priests chosen by the People, contrary to ancient Custom; and to prevent the *Conscrip*t Fathers hearing him propose it in the *Comitium*, he made use of this Artifice. Instead of assembling the People between the *Rostra* and the Temple where the Senators met; he assembled them between the *Rostra* and the other end of the *Forum*, and by that means, was forced to turn his Back on the Fathers, when he addressed himself to his Audience. But *Laelius* opposed the new Law with Vigour, and it was rejected.

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§ 6. About the same

a

same time, *Pub. Corn. Scipio Nasica*, a Candidate for the *Curule Ædileship*, lost it, Year of by rallying one of the Voters on his having a hard Hand. § 7. And now, ROME

Viriatius having for several Years past made great Conquests in *Spain*, and defeated all the *Prætors* *Rome* had sent against him, she thought it necessary to send *Fabius* with a *Consular Army* into *Further Spain*, on that Expedition. But before *Fabius* arrived, *Lælius* the *Prætor* of *Hither Spain* began to make the *Lusitanian* sensible, that he was not invincible; and when *Fabius* came, he spent the whole Summer in inuring his new Troops to Labour and Discipline, and took the Opportunity of this Inaction to pay his Vows to *Hercules*. 608.

308th Con- § 8. Whilst he was in Winter-quarters, the Republick promoted *Ser. Sulpicius Galba* who was extremely rich, and *L. Aurel. Cotta* who was as poor, to the *Consulate*; and they earnestly contended for *Spain*, as the most gainful Province. But *Scipio Æmilianus*, to whom the Dispute was at last referred, dis- 609.

The Num- appointed them both, and continued the Command in *Spain* to *Fabius*. About the ber of Præ- same time, the Republick increased the Number of her *Prætors* to nine; and ordered, tors increa- That they should all continue in *Rome*, and administer Justice there, during the Year sed. of their *Prætorship*; and go and govern their Provinces the next Year, in Quality of *Pro-Prætors*. *Fabius* gained two Victories over *Viriatius* in this Campaign, and then went into Winter-Quarters at *Corduba*; and the Republick was so ungrateful as not to reward him with a *Triumph*. § 9. She had been no less ungratefully negli-

309th Con- gent of *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*; but at last raised him to the *Consulate* with *Ap. Clau-* 610.
sulship. dius *Pulcher*. At the same time, *Rome* chose new *Prætors*; who continued in *Rome* according to the late Regulation; and *M. Popilius* was appointed to try *Parricides*, a Crime scarce known in *Rome* for 600 Years; whilst *Marcus Titius* was ordered to take Care of the City-water and Aqueducts.

§ 10. The Generals appointed for this Year, were the *Consul Metellus* and the *Prætor Q. Pompeius* for *Spain*, and the *Consul Claudius* for *Cisalpine Gaul*. *Pompeius* reached *Spain* before *Metellus*, and attacked *Viriatius* (who had caused many Revolts, and laid the Foundations of the *Numantian War*) with some Success. But the *Lusitanian* afterwards drove him out of the Field, and made him shut himself up in *Corduba*. However, *Metellus* so far avenged the *Prætor's* Quarrel, that *Viriatius* durst not hazard a Battle with him. The *Roman* was strict in his Discipline, and the Author of the famous Saying, since put into the Mouths of many Generals, That *If he thought his Coat could be privy to his Designs he would burn it*. § 11. In the mean time, *Claudius* forced the *Salassii*

A remark- into a Rebellion in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and they killed 5000 of his Men, and defeated him. able Saying of Metel- This Defeat alarmed the *Senate*; the *Priests* superstitiously ascribed it, to his not observing the due Forms; and he was ordered to offer a Sacrifice on the Borders of the Enemy's Country. This done, he fought another Battle, and in his Turn slew 4000 of the Enemy. But, not content with wiping off his Disgrace, he decreed himself a *Triumph*; and was the first that entered *Rome* triumphantly, on his own Authority. A *Tribune* of the People endeavoured to stop him in his Procession; but his Daughter *Marcia* a *Vestal*, opposed the *Tribune*, and prevailed on him to desist.

310th Con- § 12. The next Year, *Q. Fabius Servilianus*, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus* were ad- 611.
sulship. vanced to the *Consulship*; and *Scipio Africanus Secundus*, and *L. Mummius Achaicus*, to the *Censorship*, notwithstanding the Opposition and Insolence of *Fabius*. The severe *Scipio* began his Office with a Speech to the People, exhorting them to revive the Virtues of the ancient *Romans*, and did all he could to that End. He was very severe in his Judgments and Reflections; and tho' his too easy Colleague restored some of those whom he punished, *Scipio* kept up some Remains of the Probity of old *Rome*. They ended their *Censorship* with the 57th *Lustrum*, in which *Mummius* presided; and *Scipio* reformed the Prayers used on that Occasion. § 13. In the mean

57th LUS- time, *Metellus Macedonicus*, who was continued in *Spain* in quality of *Pro-Consul*, TRUM. pursued the War there; and displayed his strict Regard to Discipline among his own Troops, and his Humanity to the conquered, in so glorious a manner, that it is not easy to say which did him the most Honour. The former in the Siege of *Contrebia*, where he ordered five *Manipuli* who had been repulsed to renew the Attack of the Breach, without any Assistance; and the latter at the Siege of *Nertobriga*, where he generously gave up a certain Conquest, in Humanity to a faithful Deserter, who resolved to mount the Breach, tho' his own Sons were placed in it, and he could not enter the Town without spilling both their Blood, and his own. § 14. On

Remarka- the other hand, the *Consul Servilianus* set out with a *Consular Army*, to his Province ble Instan- of *Further Spain*, after *Rome* had made *Supplications* for his Success, and had put the sumptuary Law of *Didius*, against expensive Tables, strictly in Execution. As soon as the *Consul* landed in *Spain*, *Viriatius* lay in Ambush for him, attacked him, and his *Spaniards* struck Terror into the *Romans* with their Looks, but retired without coming to a Battle. Afterwards, the *Roman* engaged him with superior Numbers, and, by that means alone, got some Advantage. But *Viriatius* made a noble Retreat, and returned upon the Pursuers with so much Vigour that he routed them, and would have taken the *Roman Camp* itself, had it not been prevented, by the Bravery and Conduct

The sumptuary Law of Didius.

Year of Conduct of young *Caius Fannius*.

ROME a fresh Impostor started up in *Macedon*, and soon raised an Army; but was defeated by *Caius* 611. and slain, by *Cn. Tremellius*, the *Quæstor*, who commanded the *Roman Army* there, *Fannius*. in the Absence of the *Prætor*.

612. § 16. When the Time came for the great Elections for the ensuing Year, the 311th Con- famous *Caius Lælius* appeared for the *Consulship*, and was supported by the Interest of *Scipio*. his inseparable Friend *Scipio Æmilianus*. But *Q. Pompeius*, a Man of a mean, if not an infamous, Birth, supplanted him, by imposing on *Scipio*, and was chosen *Consul* with *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*. In the same *Comitia*, *Servilianus* was ordered to continue the War in *Spain* as *Pro-Consul*; but *Metellus* was permitted to keep his Troops no longer than till the Arrival of his Successor, tho' he earnestly solicited the Favour formerly granted to others, of finishing the War he had so happily began. And when *The Resent-* he understood that the worthless *Pompey*, who was his personal Enemy, was to succeed *ments of* him, his Indignation led him first to endeavour to revenge himself on the Enemy by *Metellus*. some signal Action, and afterwards to weaken and reduce the Army which he was to leave to *Pompey*.

§ 17. But nevertheless, when the latter landed in *Spain*, he found an Army there sufficient to have subdued all *Celtiberia*, if he had had the Con- duct and Experience of his Predecessor. As soon as he appeared in the Field, the *Pompey's* *Termantians* and *Numantians* offered him very advantageous Terms of Peace, but he *Obstinacy* imprudently and obstinately insisted on their disarming themselves, and thereby forced *the Cause of* them into the *Numantian War*, which cost the *Romans* so much Blood.

§ 18. He approached *Numantia* with great Confidence, but was forced to leave his Station, *the Nu-* by that brave People; and when he had removed to *Termantia*, the *Termantini* gained *War*. three Successes over him in one Day. Indeed they were too obstinate in renewing the

last Battle the Day after; the *Romans* recovered themselves, and the Loss was equal *The Brave-* on both sides. But the *Consul* did not think fit to besiege their City. *ry of the*

§ 19. He marched to *Malia*, a small Town, whose Inhabitants massacred their *Numantian* and *Ter-* Garrison, and surrendered to him. From thence he advanced towards the Country of *mantini*. the *Sedetani*, and in his way took some *Spanish Banditti* Prisoners, who gave very ex- *The Brave-* traordinary Proofs of their Fierceness, and Love of Liberty. Most of them killed *ry and Love* themselves; others murdered those that bought them for Slaves; and the rest bored *of Liberty* Holes in the Ships which were carrying them into foreign Countries, and perished with *of the Spa-* them. Nevertheless *Pompey* attacked *Lanci*, a Barrier to the *Numantini*; and the *niards*. Garrison, discovering that the Inhabitants resolved to sacrifice them, fell upon the Town, and made the Conquest of it easy. The *Romans* took it by Assault; and *Pompey* finished his Exploits, by very injudicious Acts of Clemency and Severity, in putting the *Lancians* to the Sword, and giving Quarter to the *Numantian* Garrison.

§ 20. In *Further Spain*, *Servilianus* gained some Advantages at first over *Viriatus*, but the *Lusitanian* soon made himself amends. Taking it for granted, that the *Con-* *ful's* Successes would encourage him to besiege *Erisana*, he first encamped near it; and when the *Romans* were before it, entered the City himself with a large Detachment. Then he made a Sally on the *Romans*, and drove them backwards to the Place where his own Army lay, and there they were surrounded. So that the *Consul* was forced *Viriatus* to make a Peace, in order to save himself and his Army, which was in the Enemy's *makes* Power. *Viriatus* offered him very generous Terms, and the Peace was ratified by *Peace with* Senate and People; who afterwards very unjustly broke it.

§ 21. In the mean *the Ro-* time, the *Consul Cæpio* had little else to do in *Italy*, but to hear Causes at *Rome*; where *mans*. he was appointed to try *Tubulus*, an infamous *Prætor*, who, to avoid publick Shame and Execution, poisoned himself.

613. § 22. The next Year, *C. Lælius the Wise* was promoted to the *Consulate*, with *Q. Ser-* 312th Con- *vilius Cæpio* to whose Lot it fell to succeed his Brother in *Further Spain*; and *Pompey* *sulate*. was continued General in *The Hither Province*. Indeed, some Senators were ordered from *Rome* to be a Council for the latter; but before they arrived, he undertook the mad Project of reducing *Numantia*, by turning the Stream of the *Durius*, which watered it. This gave the *Numantini* Opportunities to harass and ensnare his Men, whom they were continually diminishing, till at length, after many Losses, they forced him into Winter-Quarters.

§ 23. Then he began to reflect seriously on his own ill Conduct, and in order to screen himself from Censures, very artfully brought about *Pompey* a Peace with the *Numantini* on worse Terms than they had before offered him, tho' *makes* he pretended all the while to oppose it. *Peace with*

§ 24. In the mean time, *Viriatus*, who still continued in Arms, the better to pave his Way to a Throne, married the Daughter *the Nu-* of a rich Man, who had great Interest in the Country; and at his Marriage, gave *mantini*. his Troops signal Proofs, of his Sobriety, Contenance, and Contempt of Riches. Vir- tues which deserved, and would have raised him to a Crown, if the *Romans* had not prevented it, by the basest Perfidiousness.

§ 25. *Q. Cæpio* pressed the Se- nate to order him to break the Peace with *Viriatus*, and they basely directed him to *The Base-* mean Artifices, to provoke the *Lusitanian* to break it first; and when those Artifices *ness and* failed, as unjustly gave him a Commission to declare War. *Injustice of*

§ 26. Then he immediately *the Romans*

immediately marched against *Viriatu*s, and after taking *Arfa*, pursued him into the Year of Country of the *Carpetani*, where the *Spaniard* was hard pressed, and made a most *ROME* glorious Retreat. His Troops disappeared so suddenly, that the *Roman* Horse, when they returned to their Camp, were very severe in their Jest on their own General, and said he had been fighting with Ghosts. 613.

The Cruelty
of Viriatu

§ 27. This greatly provoked *Cæpio*, and he first revenged himself on the innocent *Spaniards*, and then on his own Cavalry. He laid waste the Country of the *Vettones*, and reduced *Viriatu*s so low, that he sued again for Peace; and even complied with the hard Preliminary imposed upon him, which was to sacrifice all those who had caused any Cities to revolt from the *Romans*, among whom was his new Wife's Father. But when the *Roman* insisted farther, that he should disarm his Troops, the whole Army rejected it with great Indignation, and Hostilities were renewed.

The infamous Con-
duct of Cæ-
pio.

The Death
of Viriatu

His Cha-
racter.

§ 28. Then *Cæpio* posted himself in a Plain, with a River between him and the Enemy; and some affirm, that in order to revenge the Insults of his Cavalry, he ordered them to swim cross the River, and cut Wood on the Mountains where *Viriatu*s was posted. The *Knights* obeyed, and returned with their Wood, and then a Mutiny followed which forced the General to hide himself. § 29. But be that as it will, *Viriatu*s renewed his Treaty with *Cæpio*, and the *Consul* was then guilty of such an infamous Conduct towards him, as has made his Name execrable to this very Day. He corrupted the Persons the *Lusitanian* sent to treat with him, and at his Instigation, they basely and perfidiously murdered their General and their Friend in his Sleep.

§ 30. His Troops were inconsolable at the Loss of their General, and when they found they could not revenge it, they testified their Grief by a pompous Funeral. He was indeed the greatest Man *Spain* had ever bred; a great Master of the Art of War, and almost always victorious; a strict Observer of Treaties, and just and generous to his own Soldiers; in himself chaste, temperate, and disinterested; and in a Word, deemed invincible by *Rome* herself. § 31. After his Death the *Lusitanians* chose *Tantalus* to command them; and he madly undertook to reduce *Saguntum*. *Cæpio* followed him, fought him, forced him and his whole Army to surrender at Discretion, and thereby put an end to the War. But nevertheless, the Senate had still so much Honour left, as not to grant him a *Triumph*, tho' they enjoyed the Fruits of his Villany.

The Mum-
mian Law.

313th Con-
sulate.

The Gabi-
nian Law.

Scipio A-
fricani's
Jest on A-
tellus.

The Base-
ness and In-
justice of the
Romans to
the Nū-
mantians.

314th Con-
sulate.

Caius Mu-
tiani sold
for one
Sesterce.

§ 32. During these Transactions, the *Wise Lælius* governed *Rome* in Tranquillity; *Crassus* the *Ædile* employed the Poets *Pacuvius* and *Attius*, to write Plays for the *Games*; the *Tribune Mummius* passed the famous *Mummian* Law, which branded false Accusers with a Mark of Infamy; and *T. Manlius Torquatus* tried and condemned his own Son for Oppression, and thereby shewed, That all the Rigour of the ancient *Romans* was not yet quite lost.

§ 33. When *Lucius Calpurnius Piso*, and *M. Popillius Lænas* were chosen *Consuls*, the *Romans*, to their eternal Reproach, still continued *Cæpio* in the Government of the *Further Province* as *Pro-Consul*, notwithstanding his base Assassination of *Viriatu*s. They were grown so corrupt as to approve of Men who served the Republick, tho' in the most odious Manner. But *Hippellus* the *Prætor*, purged *Rome* of the infamous Worship of *Jupiter Sabazius*; and of the *Chaldean* Astrologers, who infected the People with their Predictions.

§ 34. At the same time, *Gabinus*, the *Tribune of the People*, passed *The Gabinian Law*, to reform the Abuse, as he called it, of voting for Magistrates *viva voce*, by requiring the People for the future, to give their Votes in Writing, by *Tablets* or *Tickets*. And in this reforming Season *Asellus*, a *Roman Knight*, whom *Scipio Africanus* had justly degraded, but was now become a *Tribune of the People*, attempted to humble the *Censor*, and oblige him to give him Satisfaction for the Injury. But the Conqueror of *Carthage* laughed at the Prosecution; and when it came to a Trial before the People, he put an end to it, by interrupting the Orator who was boasting of his Travels, and telling him, That, tho' an *Ass* travelled all over the World, it would never make him a good *Racer*.

§ 35. And now, the Republick might have settled the World in Peace, but chose rather to be guilty of the most notorious Injustice. *Pompey* had made a Peace with the *Numantini*, who alone were at War with *Rome*; but the Senate disannulled it, as they pretended, for want of Form. Tho' the *Pro-Consul* had received the Deserters, Hostages, and Money, stipulated, from these unfortunate People; the *Romans* basely and wickedly broke through the Treaty, for this single Reason at bottom, because it was their Interest. In the mean time, *Cæpio* settled the *Further Province* in order, and put it into a Condition to recover itself from what it had suffered by the War.

§ 36. The next Year, *P. Scipio Nasica*, and *D. Junius Brutus*, were advanced to the *Consulate*, and *Brutus* was detained some time from going to his Province in *Spain* by publick Business at *Rome*. Desertions were now grown to an intolerable height, and therefore the People made an Example of *Caius Mutianus*, a notorious Offender, whom they tried, condemned, whipped, reduced to Slavery, and for the greater Indignity sold for one *Sesterce*. This Cause was taken from the Cognizance of the *Consuls*, to whom it belonged, by the *Tribunes of the People*, and their Success in this led them to farther Encroachments. They claimed

614.

615.

- Year of claimed a Right, they had formerly endeavoured to usurp, that each *Tribune* should *The En-*
ROME have a Power to excuse any ten Persons he pleased from Service, when new Levies *croach-*
 615. were raised: and when the *Consuls* opposed it, they carried their Usurpations on the *ments of the*
Consular Dignity farther than ever, by sending them to Prison; and insolently giving *Tribunes*
Nasica the Nick-name of *Serapio*, as he was dragging thither. Nor did this content of the Peo-
 them. § 37. They wanted to raise a Sedition, and got greater Advantages ple.
 over the Senate under Pretence of a Famine. But *Nasica*, notwithstanding his late ill
 Treatment, opposed them with great Dignity and Courage, and dispersed the People.
 And then the Senate, in Honour to the *Consuls*, referred the Cause of the *Scanian* Rob-
 beries to their Cognizance, tho' it properly belonged to the *Prætor*. The publick
 Farmers were accused, and feintly defended by *C. Cælius*; but when *Galba*, at the
 Request of *Lælius*, undertook the Cause, his Vehemence succeeded, and they were
 acquitted. § 38. In the mean time, *Popillius* received his Orders to break the
 Peace with *Numantia*, and marched to reduce it. But the brave *Numantini*, who *By their*
 kept all their Men unseen behind the Walls, and thereby tempted the *Legionaries* to *Stratagems*
 make an Assault on the City, sallied out on the Assailants, who retired in Disorder, *and Brave-*
 and so entirely routed the whole *Roman* Army, that it could not face the Enemy *ry the Nu-*
 any more through the whole Campaign. § 39. On the other hand, the *Con-* *mantini de-*
ful-Brutus governed his Province with great Glory. He executed the Orders he *feat Popil-*
 brought from *Rome*, of settling the Veterans with some of *Viriatus's* Soldiers, in a *lius.*
 Colony in *Lusitania*; and called his new Colony, *Valentia*. Then he went and
 attacked the *Banditti* who ravaged his Province, in their own Country, which they
 defended with an unparalleled Vigour. Even the *Spanish* Women were intermixed
 with all their Troops, and fought with astonishing Bravery. They killed their Ene-
 mies without Fear, and were killed without a Shriek. Nevertheless the *Consul* at last
 subdued, and in regard to their Courage, pardoned them. Afterwards he passed the
Durius, and came to the River *Lethe*, where the *Roman* Soldiers were so superstitious
 that they were afraid to pass it, because the Poets had given the same Name to a River
 in Hell; and it was not without some Difficulty that he got the better of their Super-
 stition. § 40. The next Year, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *C. Hostilius Mancinus* *The Bra-*
 616. *Consuls*, the City was alarmed with many Presages, but Civil Matters took their usual *very of the*
 Course. *L. Cassius Longinus* passed *The Cassian Law*, which was an Extension of *The* *Spanish*
Gabinian, and enacted, *That in all Criminal Causes, except Treason, the People should* *Women.*
vote by Tablets: And *The second Africanus*, by whose Interest it passed, greatly offended *The Super-*
 the Nobility by it. *stition of the*
115th Con-
ulate.
The Cassi-
an Law.

BOOK L.

- § 1. **T**HE Eastern Kingdoms having in a manner thrown off their Regard to
Rome, during her Western Wars, she now sent the late *Censors*, *Scipio Afri-*
canus, and *Mummius*, to visit all the Nations eastward, that were subject to, or in
 Alliance with, her. Their first Journey was to *Macedon* and *Greece*, and from thence
 to *Egypt*, where they found *Euergetes* on the Throne, who was much deformed in
 Body, and more in Mind. In order to ascend the Throne, he had murdered his Ne- *The Bruta-*
 phew in the Arms of his Mother, whom he had married; and his Reign was, with *lities and*
 regard to himself, one continued Act of Brutality, and with regard to his People, of *Cruelty of*
 Violence. § 2. From *Alexandria* they sailed to *Pergamus*, where *Philometor* *Ptolomy*
 reigned, and was now become almost as mad as *Attalus* was wicked; unless it be some *Euergetes.*
 Proof of his retaining his Senses, that his Attachment to *Rome* was not diminished.
 § 3. From thence *Scipio* passed on to *Syria*, where the Kingdom was divided between
Demetrius Nicanor the Second, and *Antiochus Sidetes*. *Demetrius* had, in a Revolt of
 the *Antiochians*, had recourse to *Jonathan*, the *Jewish* High-Priest, who had in a won-
 derful Manner delivered him. But this he had ungratefully repaid with breach of his
 Promises; and then, *Tryphon*, the Guardian to young *Antiochus* the Son of *Alexander*
Bala, drove *Demetrius* from *Antioch* to the most eastern Provinces of the Kingdom,
 and set his Ward on the Throne. § 4. This done, *Tryphon*, first courted *Jo-*
nathan, afterwards deceived him with fair Promises; and treacherously made him
 Prisoner in *Ptolemais*. Then he likewise over-reached *Simon* the Brother of *Jonathan*,
 who delivered up *Jonathan's* two Sons to him, and murdered both the Father and
 the Children, at *Bascamon*; and when they were out of his Way, he murdered his
 Ward, and usurped the Throne himself. § 5. Then *Cleopatra*, the Wife of
Demetrius whom he had defeated, sent for *Antiochus Sidetes* her Husband's Brother,
 put him at the Head of an Army which she had raised, and with it dethroned *Try-*
phon, and placed *Sidetes* on the Throne. From *Syria* the *Romans* went and paid a
 welcome Visit to the *Jews*, whom the Republick had in a particular Manner taken
 under her Protection; and spent in the whole Journey about two Years. § 6.

The Bravery of the Spanish Women. In the mean time, the *Consul Mancinus* prepared for *Spain*, and was alarmed with some Prefages; whilst *Brutus* passed the *Minus* in *The Further Province*, there attacked the *Bracarini* who had incommoded him, and found their Women fight to the last Extremity, and rather die than retreat. Nevertheless, *Talabriga*, and other Cities, surrendered, and he wrought more on the Inhabitants by his Clemency than by his Sword. 616.

The Numantini beat Mancinus, and make Peace. The Baseness and Injustice of the Romans to them.
316th Consulship.

§ 7. And now, the *Consul Mancinus* took Possession of his Army which was encamped near *Numantia*, and, his Men not being able to bear the Looks of the *Numantini*, he ordered them to decamp, and move further off, in the Night. But their Motions were by Accident discovered, the *Numantini* pursued them, took their Camp, killed 20000 of them, and forced the *Consul* to sue for a Peace, which they made with him, upon the Faith and Honour of *Tiberius Gracchus* his *Quæstor*. And then again appeared the shocking Injustice and Falshood of the *Romans* to those brave People. Tho' these generous Enemies had saved the Lives of 10000 *Romans* who were in their Power when they made this Peace; and tho' the Senate and People were glad enough to reap this Advantage from it; yet they basely and unjustly resolved to break it, and would not admit the *Numantian* Ambassador within their Walls. § 8. Indeed, when the new *Consuls*, *P. Furius Philus*, and *Sex. Atilius Serranus*, were chosen, they admitted them to an Audience; and one of them addressed himself to the Senate, in such a manner as might have moved them, if they had had any Sense of Justice, or Humanity. But the *Fathers* were too proud to hear of any Thing but Revenge; and they resolved to extirpate this generous and innocent People. They ordered the Peace to be broken, and pretended to make the injured *Numantini* Satisfaction, by ordering *Mancinus* to be delivered up a Prisoner to them. Such was the boasted *Roman* Virtue!

Æmilius Lepidus attacks the Vaccæi unjustly. They totally defeat him.

§ 9. During these Transactions at *Rome*, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* in *Hither Spain*, purely for the Sake of finding himself Work, began an unjust War with the *Vaccæi*; whilst he was preparing to besiege *Palantia* their Capital, Deputies came from *Rome* with a Decree of the Senate, ordering him to desist; but still *Æmilius* persisted in his Design. Till at length the *Vaccæi* so distressed him with intercepting his Convoys, that he was forced to decamp for Want of Bread and Forage. The Officers obliged the Men to leave their Camp in the Night, and the *Vaccæi* knowing in what Confusion they retreated, pursued, and killed 6000 of them. Nevertheless, when *Æmilius* returned to *Rome* he was treated with more Lenity than he expected. § 10. And now, the new General *Furius*, who came to renew the War with the *Numantini*, first delivered up *Mancinus* in form to them; but they justly demanded his Army with him, and refused to accept of him alone. So that after he had lain a whole Day at the Gate of the City, the *Consul Furius*, agreeably to the Equity of the *Romans* of that Time, thought this a sufficient Satisfaction to the injured People; and brought him back to his Camp, and restored him to his Rights as Citizen. Indeed *Rupilius*, the *Tribune of the People*, opposed his being restored to his Seat in the Senate, but the People justly overruled it. However, *Furius* did not renew the War all the Time he continued in *Spain*, and thereby gave the *Numantini* time to breath.

58th Lustrum.
317th Consulship.

§ 11. But *Brutus* made great Conquests in *Lusitania*, and was the only Comfort of his Republick in these gloomy Times, when she was threatened with a new War in *Illyricum*, as well as *Spain*, and she therefore continued him in his Government a fourth Time. The Year ended with the 58th *Lustrum*, *App. Claud. Pulcher*, and *Q. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Censors*. 618.

§ 12. The next Year, *Servius Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Q. Calpurnius Piso*, were chosen *Consuls*, and the latter appointed to go to *Spain*, the former to govern *Italy*. But the *Vardæi* rebelling in *Illyricum*, and rejecting all amicable Measures, *Flaccus* was sent with an Army to reduce them; and he did it so effectually, that *Rome* at his Return honoured him with a *Triumph*, which was now a new Sight there. § 13. *Calpurnius*, on the other hand, was fearful of acting against the *Numantini*, lest he should suffer as his Predecessors had done; and he contented himself with besieging *Palantia*, and ravaging the Neighbourhood. Whereas *Brutus* acted with great Glory. He penetrated into the Country of the *Callaici*, or *Gallæci*, killed 50000 of them, and almost extirpated the Nation. Hence he acquired the Surname of *Callaicus*, and was ordered to be continued in *Spain*, till the Wars there should be ended. For which Reason he did not return to *Rome* to triumph, till three Years after this Time. However his Successes made the People reflect with Severity on the Inactivity of the two last *Consuls* in *Tarragonia*; and when *Scipio Africanus* offered his Nephew as a Candidate for the *Quæstorship*, the People desirous of having *Scipio* himself *Consul* the next Year, dispensed with a standing Law to make way for his Promotion. With him *C. Fulvius Flaccus* was advanced to the *Consulate*; and the Hopes of seeing *Scipio* in *Spain*, raised the dejected Spirits of the People, notwithstanding their ill Omens. 619.

Brutus subdues the Callaici.

318th Consulship.
Illyricum made a Province.

§ 14. They ordered him thither without drawing Lots, and *Fulvius* had the Government of *Sicily*. This Year there was a new *Prætorship* erected in *Illyricum*; and *Flaccus* made *Prætor*. The People were again alarmed with their ridiculous Prognosticks, and ordered them to be carefully expiated. But they would not suffer *Scipio* to raise any

Year of any Levies. He therefore collected together about 500 Horse, which he called
 ROME The Squadron of his Friends, borrowed 4000 Volunteers of the Cities in Italy, sent to
 619. Micipsa in Numidia to send him Succours, and then made all haste to his Province.

§ 15. As soon as he arrived, he made it his Business to reform his Troops, which he did by freeing his Camp from all Incentives to Idleness and Vice, by insuring them constantly to very hard Labour and severe Discipline, and teaching them to encamp with due Care. He drove the Women and Sutlers from the Camp, ordered his Men

The Wisdom of Scipio in disciplining his Troops.

to lay on the Grass, and would not suffer them even to consult the Entrails of Beasts. § 16. After this, he began to place some little Confidence in them, and gradually prove their Valour. He just shewed them *Numantia*, and ravaged some of the Fields about it, and after a Feint of marching by the City to try their Courage, drew them off without suffering it. Then he led them into the Country of the *Vaccæi*, and suffered some of them to be drawn into a Snare by the Enemy; but he took Care to come up in time, and taught them how to extricate themselves out of their Danger. Afterwards he marched into the Country of the *Vaccæi*, who fled before him; but he treated them with great Candor upon this Maxim, That it was Wisdom to gain the Affections of the People bordering on his Camp. At the same time, he made his Troops take very long Marches in a Country where they were much distressed for want of Water. Thus he wisely spent the whole Summer in reforming his Troops, till he had altered them to his Wish; and Frugality, Vigilance, and a Love of Duty, took the Place of Effeminacy, Laziness, and Indolence, among them. § 17.

Neither did he spare, but rather increase their Labours in the Winter. He obliged every Man that went out of the Camp, to carry his Tools, and bring back some Stakes with him; and upon some Complaints of this Hardship, said, *That he would not cease to make them bring Palisades to fortify the Camp, till they had learnt to fortify it with their Swords.* At this Time, he received the expected Succours from *Numidia* with the renowned *Jugurtha* at the Head of them; and the brave Prince and the famous *Marius* rivalled each other in Acts of Glory. § 18. When the Time

620. of Elections came, *P. Mucius Scævola*, and *L. Calpurnius Piso* were chosen Consuls for the next Year, and *Scipio* ordered to continue *Pro-Consul* in *Spain*, till *Numantia* should be taken. He resolved to reduce it by Famine, and began with laying waste the neighbouring Fields, but with the utmost Caution. One Day he drew near a Town strongly situated, and ordered a Body of Men to plunder it, but kept within distance himself; and when his Detachment gave him notice by a Signal, that a Body of the *Numantini* were in Ambush there, he sent another Body to support the former, and they fought the Enemy, and beat them. This gave him some Confidence in his Troops, and he resolved to begin the Siege immediately.

319th Consulship.

§ 19 *Numantia* stood on a Hill of difficult access, and had large Fields within its Walls, which were three Miles in compass. The Garrison is said to have been 4000 Men. Upon *Scipio's* investing it, they offered Peace, which the *Roman* refused on any Terms, but that of delivering up themselves and Arms, at Discretion. This they would not comply with, and then the General began his Works with a Ditch six Miles in Circumference. § 20. Without this he drew another; and behind that raised a Rampart, which he palisaded, and supported with a Wall 8 Foot broad, and 10 high, with Towers in it at the distance of every 60 Foot. Then he stopped up the Navigation of the River, with a kind of wooden Wall; and when his Works were finished, he had them carefully guarded Day and Night.

§ 21. On the other hand, though the besieged were thus carefully shut up, six of them made their Way through the Enemy's Camp, endeavoured to prevail on the neighbouring Cities to assist them, and the Youth in *Lutia* resolved to do it. But the old Men in the City sent Advice of it, to *Scipio*, who travelled the 300 *Stadia* between *Numantia* and *Lutia* in 8 Hours, made them deliver up 400 of the Rebels, whose right Hands he cut off, and then returned to his Camp. § 22. And now, Ambassadors came to the General with magnificent Presents from *Antiochus Sidetes* in *Syria*, and *Scipio* distributed them among his Troops. The *Numantini* sent to desire him, either to give them Battle, or an honourable Peace; but he refused both; and upon this Report, they cut their own Ambassadors who brought it in Pieces. § 23.

Then they made a desperate Attempt to conquer the Enemy by force, but were obliged to retire, and after all were for endeavouring to escape, but the Women prevented it. So that at last they were forced to endure all the Miseries of a Famine, and to eat one another. Till at length, either by a surrender, or by burning both the City and themselves, (for the Historians are not agreed) it was utterly destroyed. § 24.

Then the Senate sent ten of their Body to settle the new Province; and *Scipio* when he returned to *Rome* triumphed. But during his Abode in *Spain*, a fatal Sedition arose at *Rome*, which ended with polluting the Capitol with *Roman* Blood, and which was the Prelude to those cruel Civil Wars which afterwards broke out successively in the Republick, and caused more *Roman* Blood to be spilt than had been shed in the conquest of the whole World.

The Birth and Marriage of Tib. Gracchus. § 25. *Tiberius Gracchus*, one of the Sons of the famous *Cornelia*, the Daughter of the great *Scipio*, being a Youth of the greatest Accomplishments of Body and Mind, had married the Daughter of *App. Claudius*, the Prince of the Senate, and had continued for some Time to espouse the Party of the Senators. But ever since his *Quæstorship* in *Spain*, and the breaking of the Peace *MANCINUS* had made by his Mediation, he had vowed Revenge to the Nobility. § 26. They had usurped Lands unjustly, cultivated them by Slaves, to the great detriment of the Publick, and had for 250 Years lived in open defiance of *The Licinian Law*, which had been designed to redress these Grievances by enacting, *That no Citizen should possess more than 500 Acres.* *T. Gracchus* therefore resolved to revive this Law in revenge to the Nobles.

The Licinian Law.

The Sempronian Law proposed,

and opposed by Octavius the Tribune,

who is deprived, and the Law passed. Commissioners for putting the new Law in execution.

Gracchus divides the Treasures of Attalus among the People.

The Death of Tiberius Gracchus, Vid. p. 111, 112.

§ 27. But according to some Historians, the Reproaches of his Mother *Cornelia*, as well as a Desire to display his Eloquence, the Authority of some great Men, who were in much Reputation for Wisdom, and a Compassion for the Miseries of the *Allies*, all concurred to engage him in this hazardous Attempt. § 28. In order to it, he drew up a very mild Law, requiring, *That those who had above 500 Acres should sell them, and they should be divided among the poor Citizens*; and when he had prepared the *Comitia* for it, proposed it to them. The rich opposed it, and *Gracchus* was forced to enter into many Debates with them, but he got the better both in Point of Argument and Eloquence. § 29. The rich therefore had recourse to Violence and Calumny; and when he proposed this Law, his Friend and Brother *Tribune Octavius Cæcina*, who had been galled by the Nobles, opposed it. But *Gracchus* kept his Temper, and only desired the Assembly to meet again the next Day on the same Occasion. § 30. When they were met, he endeavoured to prevail on his Colleague to desist, first by Argument, and then by Persuasion. But all being in vain, he suspended all the Magistrates from doing their Offices till the Law should pass; and then made another Attempt towards it. Upon this his Enemies removed by Violence the Preparations he had made for Voting, and Blood was ready to ensue, when upon the Interposal of two venerable Men, *Manlius* and *Dulcius*, he consented to refer his Law to the Senators. § 31. The Senate affected Delays, which *Gracchus* could not bear; and then his last recourse was to put an end to the Opposition, by depriving *Octavius* of his *Tribuneship*. Before he proceeded to this Extremity, he again several Times besought him in a very affecting Manner to prevent it by desisting; but *Octavius* being inexorable, he was deprived, and the Law passed. § 32. Then *Octavius* was dragged from the *Rostra*, and with difficulty escaped safe to his House, whilst *Gracchus* got himself, *Caius Gracchus*, and *App. Claudius* his Father-in-Law, appointed Commissioners to put the new Law in Execution; and they spent great Part of the Year in travelling about *Italy*, to procure Informations. § 33. When *Gracchus* returned from this Progress, he found by the Death of his chief Agent, that his Absence had not abated either the Hatred of the rich, or the Love of the People, towards him. This Man appeared to have been poisoned, as was supposed, by the rich; *Gracchus* took this Occasion to apply himself again for Refuge to his Protectors, who were now the more attached to him; and their Zeal encouraged him to add a new Clause to his Law, concerning the Lands usurped from the Publick. But still there was this great Difficulty in his Way, that all he could get from the rich, would not be enough to satisfy all the Expectants; and he was eased of it by the following Accident. § 34. *Attalus Philometor* King of *Pergamus*, having left his Dominions and Effects by Will to the *Romans*, *Ludemus* the *Pergamian*, brought his Treasures to *Rome* at this Time; and *Gracchus* immediately got a new Law passed, enacting, *That this Money should be divided among the poor Citizens, who could not have Lands; and That the disposal of the Revenues of Pergamus should not be in the Senate, but the Comitia.* § 35. By these Steps *Gracchus* most effectually humbled the Senate, and they were very clamorous against him; *Annius* the *Prætor* challenged him to a publick Disputation before the People, and silenced him at first with an artful Question; but afterwards the Eloquence of the *Tribune* triumphed over the Subtlety of the Sophist, and his Credit was the better established by it. § 36. Then *Gracchus* formed great Schemes of raising his Friends, and getting himself the *Tribunate* again the next Year, and in order to the latter, besought the Favour of the People. The *Patricians* raised very malicious Calumnies against him; but nevertheless, when the Time of Election came, he declared himself a Candidate. The first *Tribe* voted for him, but the rich made a Clamour which intimidated the President, and he resigned his Office to *Mummius*, who offered to accept it. The Legality of this was much disputed among the *Tribunes* themselves, and therefore *Gracchus* wisely dismissed the Assembly, and ordered them to meet again the next Day. § 37. But the unreasonable Fears of *Mummius*, and the Dispute among the *Tribunes* ruined his Cause; and he was soon of *Tiberius* sensible that his Danger was now very great. Indeed the People watched at his Door all Night, conducted him to the *Forum* in the Morning, and guarded him. But after much Clamour there, *Scipio Nasica*, at the Head of the *Conscript Fathers*, broke

Year of broke into the Crowd by Violence, with an Intent to destroy *Gracchus*; and after
 ROME some Time, he was killed in the Fray. Thus perished a Man who was endowed
 620. with the greatest Talents to aggrandize himself, and to do Honour to his Country;

but a more formidable Enemy to *Rome*, says *Cicero*, than that *Numantia* which had given rise to his Resentments. § 38. The *Pontifical Annals* pretend his Death was foretold by Presages; and it is certain, the Senators carried their Revenge beyond the Grave. They justified *Nasica* by a Decree, and approved the throwing of the dead Bodies into the *Tyber*. They prosecuted the Friends of the late *Tribune*, with great Severity, put *Caius Billius* to a cruel Death; and the Philosopher *Blosius*, after *Caius Billius* he had testified his Regard to *Gracchus* in a manner highly becoming his Profession, retired to *Asia*.

§ 39. However the People still kept Possession of the Law, *barbarous* nominated a new Commissioner in the room of *Gracchus*, and the *Conscrip* Fathers thought fit to send *Nasica* on an Embassy into *Asia*, that he might be out of their way. And though *Scipio* upon his return disapproved of the Proceedings of *Gracchus*, the Fire of Sedition was rather stifled than extinguished in *Rome*; whilst abroad, the Tranquillity was so great, that she had no War to terminate, but that with the Slaves in *Sicily*, which we now come to relate. The *Consuls* chosen for the next Year were

621. *P. Popilius Lænas*, and *P. Rupilius*.

320th Consulship.

BOOK LI.

§ 1. *SICILY* being the Grainery of *Italy*, the rich Men of the Island, and the *The War of Roman Knights*, engrossed the Estates there as much as they could, and out of the Slaves Avarice had them cultivated by Slaves instead of Freemen, to whom they allowed not in *Sicily*. sufficient Necessaries of Cloaths, or Food. This obliged them to provide for themselves by Robbery, till at length they came to deliberate how to deliver themselves from Slavery.

§ 2. They wanted only a Leader, and *Eunus* a Syrian Slave was a proper Person for that Purpose. He was artful, and pretending to Predictions was the Oracle of the Country. And when the Slaves of *Damophilus* a very rich *Sicilian* and *Megallis* his termagant Wife, who had been used with the utmost Cruelty, consulted *Eunus*, he put himself at their Head, took up Arms, and went and plundered the Town of *Enna* and their Master's House.

§ 3. After this Victory, *Eunus* sent for *Damophilus* and *Megallis* to be formally tried before him; but two of the Slaves tumultuously killed *Damophilus*. This made *Eunus* sensible that he wanted Authority, and therefore he first caused himself to be proclaimed King, and then passed Judgment of Death on the surviving Inhabitants of *Enna*, and condemned *Megallis* to be delivered up to those Women-Slaves whom she had treated without Mercy.

§ 4. Then he assumed all the Ensigns and Forms of Royalty, was joined by above 6000 fresh Slaves, and became so strong, as to defeat three *Roman Prætors* successively, in the Years 616, 617, and 618.

§ 5. Afterwards *Cleon* another Slave joined him with 5000 Men; and they beat *Hypsæus* the *Prætor* out of the Field, took the City *Tauromini* of *Taurominium*, and made it their Magazine.

§ 6. *Rome* therefore sent a *numtaken* Consul's Army against them in 619; and in 620, the Consul *Calpurnius Piso* attacked the Rebels who were besieging *Messana*, raised the Siege, and defeated them.

§ 7. The next Year, the Consul *Rupilius*, besieged *Taurominium*, and took it by Treachery. *Siege of Messana raised.*

§ 8. From thence he went to *Enna*, which had the same Fate. *Cleon* fell into the Consul's Hand alive, but died of his Wounds; and in both Places 20000 of the Rebels perished.

§ 9. After this *Eunus* was delivered up alive to the Consul, but died in Prison; and when *Rupilius* had settled his Province in *Character* Peace, he refused a *Triumph*, because it should not be recorded, That he had conquered of *Rupi* Slaves. He had the Virtue of the first Ages of *Rome*; the only Glory he sought, was that of promoting the publick Good; and the only Reward he desired, was the Consciousness of having served his Country.

§ 10. During these Wars, *Andronicus*, the illegitimate Son of *Eumenes*, laid Claim to the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, which *Attalus* had given by Will to the *Romans*, and having seized it, put himself into a Condition to maintain War with *Rome*.

622. The next Year, two Priests were chosen *Consuls*, *P. Lic. Crassus*, and *Val. Flaccus*, and after a sharp Contest for *The Asiatick Province*, *Crassus* was ordered to go thither, and dispossess *Andronicus*. At the same Time, two *Plebeians*, which had not been done for 220 Years, were chosen *Censors*, and they made their *Censorship*, which was reckoned the 59th, famous for a Law which they got passed, obliging all *Romans* to marry at a certain Age.

§ 12. In the mean Time, the Disturbances about the *Sempronian Law*, were continued by the *Tribune Carbo*, who was continually complaining to the People, of the Chicaneries of the rich; in opposing the Execution of it. And one Day, he called on the great *Scipio*, to know his Thoughts of the Death of *Gracchus*. *Scipio* gave him an Answer which he little expected, and then at his

321th Consulship.
Papirius Carbo.

Scipio si-
lences the
mutinous
People.

Antiochus
Sidetes
killed.
Euergetes,
shocking In-
cest and
Cruelty.

The Consul
Crassus
killed.
322d Con-
sulship.

Perperna
takes An-
dronicus
Prisoner,
and dies.
The Ingra-
titude of
Rome to
him.
The Inso-
lence of La-
beo.
323d Con-
sulship.

Scipio
murdered.

The Ingra-
titude of
Republicks.

Instigation, the People seemed mutinous against that great Man. However *Scipio* re- Year of
solutely, and intrepidly put them to Silence; and afterwards retired into the Country ROME
with his Friend *Lælius*. 622.

§ 13. Then *Carbo*, resolving to push the Interests of the *Tribunes* as far as possible, proposed a Law to make the Office of *Tribuneship* to continue during the Pleasure of the People, without coming to new Elections; and *C. Gracchus* supported him with all his Eloquence. But *Scipio* and *Lælius* opposed it with all their Interest, and got it rejected.

§ 14. In the mean time, *Crassus* set out for *Asia*, depending on Succours from the neighbouring Provinces; but he found neither *Syria* nor *Egypt* in any Condition to assist him. In *Syria*, *Antiochus Si-*
detes had been killed by the Priests of a *Parthian* Goddess, whom he pretended to marry, and whose Temple he was going to plunder; and *Demetrius* was scarce set-
tled in the Throne. In *Egypt*, *Euergetes*, after the most shocking Incests, had been deprived, and his divorced Wife *Gleopatra* crowned; upon which he had killed the Son he had by her, cut him in pieces, and sent him as a Present to her, and she was now offering *Demetrius* the King of *Syria*, the Crown of *Egypt*, if he would revenge her Quarrel.

§ 15. *Crassus* therefore had recourse to the Kings of *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bitbyhia*, and *Paphlagonia*, who all furnished him with Troops, and he marched towards *Pergamus* at the Head of four Armies rather than one. But *Andronicus* lay in Ambush for him as he was returning towards *Rome* with a great Booty, surprized him, defeated his Army, and in the rout took him Prisoner. Then, enraged at his Disgrace, he with a Rod he had in his Hand, struck out the Eye of a *Thracian* Soldier, who was conducting him; upon which the Soldier drew his Sword, stabbed him, and left him dead on the Spot.

§ 16. The next Year, *Claud. Pulcher*, and *M. Perperna* a Soldier of Fortune, and not so much as a *Roman Citizen*, were promoted to the *Consulate*; and the latter marched against *Andronicus* with the same Auxiliaries as *Crassus* had done, but pursued him, with such Vigour, that he overtook, and defeated him. Then he besieged him in *Stratonica*, reduced the Place by Famine, took the King Prisoner, and reserved him to grace his *Triumph*. But *Perperna* killed himself with the Fatigue he underwent, and died at *Pergamus*. And the *Romans* very ungratefully delivered up his Father to the *Sabines*, and denied even a *Roman Citizenship*, to the Man whose Son had just conquered a Kingdom for them.

§ 17. In the mean time, the Disturbances in *Rome* were daily encreased by the *Tribunes of the People*; and *Labeo*, who was at the Head of them, seized *Metellus the Censor*, (who had refused him a Place in the Senate) at Noon-day, and ordered him to be put to Death. This indeed was prevented by the Interposition of another *Tribune*, but *Labeo* got a Law passed, which gave all the *Tribunes* Seats among the Senators, and confiscated the Estate of the great *Macedonicus*.

§ 18. In the next *Consulate* of *C. Sempronius Tuditanus* and *M. Aquillius*, fresh Troubles were raised on account of the *Sempronian Law*. The Commissioners for putting it in execution, were continually stirring up the People against the rich by their Complaints; and the *Allies of Rome* complained as much of the Injustice of the Commissioners. *Scipio* therefore took the latter under his Protection, and got the *Consul Sempronius* nominated to supersede the old Commissioners; but *Sempronius* went to his Province, and left *Scipio* to stand the Hatred of the three Commissioners, who charged him with the most odious Designs.

§ 19. That of the *Dictatorship* was indeed probably true; but it was no matter of just Reproach to him, tho' he was greatly calumniated for it: and after some time, which the City spent in Expiations, and himself in Retirement, he returned to the City, and moved the Senate to displace the Commissioners.

§ 20. This drew upon him the grossest Abuses from *Flarcus*, who was one of them; and the Dispute between them lasted so long that no Decree could that Day be passed. However, the Senate and People made him abundant amends for the Abuses he suffered, by the publick Honours they did him, and seemed determined to make him *Dictator* the next Day. But in the Morning, to the great Grief and Surprize of all true *Romans*, the Hero was found dead in his Bed.

§ 21. In all Probability, his Wife *Sempronia* let the Commissioners into his House, and *Carbo* murdered, whilst his two Collegues held him. Thus died this illustrious Hero, whose Talents and Exploits were so equal to those of *The first Africanus*, that *Rome* herself could not determine which was superior. Their Characters, their Conduct, their Tempers, and their Honours, were equally great; and to the indelible Reproach of their Country, one died with Grief in a kind of Exile, and the other a violent Death, in *Rome*. Such are the Rewards of a Life spent with Glory, in a republican State!

§ 22. During these Barbarities at *Rome*, the *Consul Tuditanus* went to *Japidia*, put an end to a War there, and upon his return, triumphed. In like manner, his Collegue *Aquillius* enjoyed the same Honour in the Year of *Rome* 627, for subduing *Pergamus*, tho' he did it by the most execrable and inhuman Breach of the Laws of Nations. He poisoned the Springs, which supplied the several Towns with Water.

§ 23. And now, the Time seemed come, for shutting up the Temple of *Janus* at *Rome*

623.

624.

- Year of *Rome* had no military Expedition for either *Cn. Octavius*, or *T. Annius*, her new *324th Con-*
ROME Consuls. The People gave themselves up to Pleasures, Luxury, and Licentiousness; *fulship*.
625. which increased in the succeeding Consulate of *L. Cass. Longinus*, and *L. Corn. Cinna*: *325th Con-*
 626. in whose Time the Senate pardoned the City of *Leuca*, in *Asia*, which they had or- *fulship*.
 dered to be razed, in Gratitude to their constant Friends the Inhabitants of *Marseilles*,
 who interposed in its Favour. § 24. But when *M. Æmil. Lepidus* and *L. 326th Con-*
 627. *Aurelius Orestes* succeeded, this general Tranquillity was a little interrupted by a Re- *fulship*.
 volt in *Sardinia*, which fell to the Lot of *Aurelius*, and young *C. Gracchus* was his
Quæstor. *Gracchus* had for some Time retired from publick Life, and applied him-
 self to Eloquence, in which he excelled; but now, under Pretence of a Vision, in *C. Grac-*
 which his Brother *Tiberius* appeared to him, and foretold his Fate, he appeared for *chus chosen*
 the *Quæstors*hip, and obtained it. § 25. Before he set out for *Sardinia*, he *Quæstor*.
 made a fresh Trial of his Eloquence in opposing a Law proposed by *Pennus* the *Tri-*
bune, and failed in the Attempt. But he was of great Use to his *Consul* in his *Pro-*
vince, by supplying the Army with Cloaths and Subsistence by his own Interest.
 §. 26. At the same time, *Rome* was alarmed with the Eruptions of Mount *Ætna*,
 which threatened *Sicily*; and the Senate grew more and more apprehensive of Danger,
 from the Popularity *Gracchus* acquired in the Army, by his Benefactions to the Sol-
 diers. They had also the Mortification to see *Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the Commissioners, *327th Con-*
 628. promoted to the Consulate with *Plautius Hypsæus*: and in order to lessen the Interest of *fulship*.
Gracchus among the Troops, they ordered those Troops to be recalled, and fresh ones
 sent in their room. § 27. In the City, the *Consul Fulvius*, to ingratiate him-
 self with the *Allies*, drew up two new Laws, by one of which he proposed to give the *The Fulvi-*
Right of Citizenship to all those who had had no Share of the Lands, the Nobility hav- *an Laws*.
 ing in vain desired him to desist, there was reason to fear an immediate Rupture.
 However, the People of *Marseilles* came to desire the Assistance of *Rome* against the
Salyes, who had ravaged their Country; and this gave the Senate an Opportunity to
 send *Fulvius* to *Liguria*, and the pleasing Hopes of procuring Peace to the Republick.
 But as soon as he was gone, § 28. The *Italian Allies* broke out into open
 Violence. The Inhabitants of *Fregellæ* began the Rebellion; but their chief Leader *Fregellæ*
Numitorius Pullus was terrified into a Discovery of the whole Plot, and when a Ro- *rebels,*
man Army was sent against them, they, upon his Advice, submitted, and their City *and is ra-*
 was razed; which stifled the Sedition for some time. *zed.*
629. § 29. All seemed quiet, at the Advancement of *C. Cassius Longinus*, and *C. Sextius 328th Con-*
Calvinus, to the Consuls, but this Calm was of short Duration. *C. Gracchus* *fulship*.
 was weary of his *Pro-Quæstors*hip in *Sardinia*, and in Defiance of all Law, returned
 to *Rome* before it was expired. He was therefore accused before the *Censors*, but so
 far imposed on his Judges, by his Eloquence, that they acquitted him; and then,
 flushed with this Success, he thought this the Crisis, for pushing for the *Tribunes*hip,
 which he solicited with the utmost Diligence and Application. § 30. This *Cornelia's*
 roused the Senate, to be more active in opposing him; and his excellent Mother *Corne-*
lia was very pressing on him to desist. She wrote him among others, two very affect- *Letters to*
 ing Letters, upon this Subject; in which she labours to divert him from his Design, *C. Grac-*
 with such Tenderness and Affection both for him and her Country, as shew her *chus.*
 worthy of the Statue, which the Senate permitted the People to erect to her Honour.
 § 31. But neither her Intreaties, nor Commands, could prevail; he pursued his Point,
 and succeeded. He was one of the most perfect Orators *Rome* had ever bred; and
 his Fellow-Triumvir *Fulvius Flaccus* soon returned from *Marseilles*, to second him in his
 furious Attempts. *Gracchus* assisted *Fulvius* in getting him a *Triumph* for an Expe- *Fulvius*
 dition of little Importance, and *Fulvius* was ready to support *Gracchus* in all his En- *triumphs.*
 terprizes. § 32. So that all Things seemed to tend to a Sedition in *Rome*,
 630. when *Q. Cæcil. Metellus*, and *T. Quinctius Flaminius*, were made *Consuls*. *Gracchus* *329th Con-*
 began his *Tribunes*hip with two Laws, which had a particular View to gratify his Re- *fulship*.
 sentiments on two particular Persons; and afterwards repealed one of them, at the Desire *New Laws*
 of *Cornelia*. From private he proceeded to publick Revenge, got his Brother's Law con- *by C. Grac-*
 firmed, new Commissioners appointed for the Distribution of Lands, repaired and im- *chus.*
 proved the publick Roads, and had a Law passed which enacted, *That publick Gra-*
naries for Corn should be erected in Rome, at the Expence of the State; and That
monthly Distributions should be made from thence to every Citizen that wanted it, at a
very low Price. § 33. In order to enable the Treasury to bear this Expence,
 he got Customs laid on all the Ports in *Pergamus*; and passed several other Laws re-
 lating to the Service and Cloathing of the Troops, which were very agreeable to the
 Commons. By these Means he acquired such an absolute Ascendant over them, that
 he was in a manner become the Master of the World. This could not but raise the
 Hatred of the Nobility, who would unite all their Interest to crush him, as soon as
 his Office should expire; and therefore to prevent this, *Flaccus* pressed him to solli- *C. Grac-*
 cit for the *Tribunate* a second Time, and he succeeded. § 34. During these *chus chosen*
 Attacks on the Senate at *Rome*, the *Consul Metellus* went to the *Baleares Islands*, sub- *Tribune a*
 dued 2d Time.

The Inhabitants of the Baleares Islands barbarously treated by the Romans. subdued those poor helpless Barbarians, and after his return had a *Triumph*. Out of 30000 of those poor Wretches he scarce left 1000 alive. § 35. At the same time, the *Consul Sextius* marched to a more difficult Work, the War in *Transalpine Gaul*. But after one Victory over the *Salyes*, he found no Difficulty in subduing the whole Nation. He besieged the Capital, and took it; and gained much on the Affections of the People, by a generous Gratitude to a *Gaul*, named *Crato*, who had suffered much from his Countrymen, on account of his Fidelity to the *Romans*. *Sextius* not only gave him his Liberty and Effects, but leave to choose out 900 among the Slaves, who should all have their Liberty at his Request. And then, to secure his new Conquest, the *Consul* founded *Aix* in *Provence*. § 36. Upon his return to *Rome*, he found the Republick thrown into great Disorders by *Gracchus*, who to gain over the *Roman Knights* to his Interest, first drew up a Law for making 600 of them Senators; and this failing, passed a Law, whereby he took the Cognizance of all private Causes out of the Hands of the Senators, and put it in the *Knights*, which was in effect making the Senators the inferior Order. § 37. This Success emboldened him to proceed so far as to solicit for the *Consulship*, in such Terms as led the People to conclude, that he intended to appear for it himself. But he only recommended his Friend *Fannius*, who was chosen with *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*; and then he proceeded to offer another Insult on the Senate, by changing the Seats of the *Plebeians* in the *Comitium*. They had hitherto been so placed, that the Persons who harangued them, at the same Time faced the Senate. But *Gracchus* by altering their Situation contrived it so, that when he harangued the Commons, he turned his Back on the Senators; and this at last opened the Eyes of the *Conscrip*t Fathers. § 38. They undertook to prevail on the *Consul Fannius* to oppose *Gracchus*, and succeeded. He protested against the Law for giving the *Allies* a right of Suffrage; and when the *Allies* came in Crowds to countenance their Protector, and *Fannius* found that nothing but Violence would drive them thence, he dragged some of them through the Streets, and turned them out by force. Nor did this even content the *Patricians*. § 39. They got *Livius*, one of the *Tribunes*, into their Measures; and instead of desiring him to oppose *Gracchus* openly as usual, they very artfully advised him to endeavour to undermine him, by rivalling him in Popularity. So that if *Gracchus* proposed any Thing for the Interest of the People, *Livius* immediately proposed something else, which was more so, and thereby eclipsed the former. § 40. *Livius* was likewise less impetuous, and more circumspect than *Gracchus*, and thereby made himself fewer Enemies. However, the latter was not long insensible, that his Interest by being divided was lessened; and he now began to shew some Respect to the *Fathers*, who returned it with greater Civilities. But their Master-piece was yet behind. § 41. They prevailed on *Rubrius*, another *Tribune*, to propose a Law, for raising 6000 *Romans* to re-build and re-people *Carthage*, and to nominate *Gracchus* to be the Leader of the Colony; and he fell into the Snare. He went to *Africa*, and spent some Months there; but before he could finish his new City, which he called *Junonia*, the Senate had him recalled, and upon his return he met with a very cold Reception. § 42. *Livius* had got the Ascendant during his Absence; and *Gracchus* was soon so sensible of this, that all his Friends could do, was little enough to keep up his dejected Spirits. However, he took some Steps to prevail on the People to elect him *Tribune* the third Time, which was his last Game; but at the same Time he very imprudently affronted almost all the rest of his Collegues. He beat down the Scaffolds nine of them had erected for seeing a Show of *Gladiators*, under Pretence of better accommodating the poor *Citizens*; and thereby provoked those *Tribunes* to resolve on Revenge, which they soon had an Opportunity to execute.

The Artifice of Livius.

Junonia founded.

BOOK LII.

§ 1. **W**HEN the Election came on, the old *Tribunes*, whose Business it was to collect the Votes, so counted them, that the Majority was declared to be against *Gracchus*; and it was a farther Aggravation of his Disappointment, that *L. Opimius* his open Enemy was chosen *Consul*, with *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*. § 2. When thus deprived of the Magistracy, *Gracchus* had recourse to the Law for re-building *Carthage*. He and *Fulvius* raised 6000 Men for that Purpose; and were then informed that the Law would be repealed. This News brought them to *Rome*, where they found that the Senators had given the *Tribune M. Minucius* Instructions for that Purpose; and his chief Argument to the People was built on the pretended Prodiges at *Carthage* when the Work was begun. *Gracchus* therefore mounted the *Rostra* once more, to disprove this Pretence; and, driven on by the Fury of *Fulvius*, he insulted the Senate, in a manner not to be forgiven. § 3. On the Day the *Comitia* met, *Fulvius* posted some of his People in the Area before the Capitol; and *Gracchus*

331st Consulship. M. Minucius endeavours to repeal the Law about rebuilding Carthage.

632.

Year of *Gracchus*, retired to one of the Portico's of the Temple. There *Antillius* one of the *A Lictor*
 ROME *Consul's Lictors*, as he was bringing out the Entrails of a Sacrifice which the *Consul* killed in the
 632. had made in the Temple, insulted *Gracchus* and his Friends; upon which one of his Capitol by
 Domesticks drew a Dagger and laid him dead at his Feet. This Accident, together *one of Grac-*
 with a sudden Storm, dispersed the Assembly; and *Gracchus* was deeply affected all chus's Ser-
 Night with what had happened. The furious *Fulvius* on the other hand rejoiced at vants.
 it, drank hard, and slept sound, till the Noise the next Day awoke him. The *Con-*
ful Opimius had taken Possession of the *Capitol*, ordered the Senate to assemble, and
 the dead Body to be laid at the Gate of the Temple where they were to meet.

§ 4. As soon as they were assembled, the *Consul* represented to them the Necessity *Opimius*
 of suppressing the Sedition, and they gave him an absolute Power to do so. When *seizes the*
 thus authorized, he immediately ordered a Body of armed Men to take Possession of *Capitol*,
 the *Capitol*; and *Fulvius*, on this News, posted himself on the Hill *Aventinus*. *Fulvius*
Gracchus was not so hasty; but at last, notwithstanding the most tender and affecting *and Grac-*
 Intreaties of his Wife, he followed *Fulvius* thither. § 5. Then they resolved *chus the*
 to fortify the Temple of *Diana*, and invite the Slaves to assist them, but first to offer *Hill Aven-*
 a Treaty: And *Gracchus* prevailed on *Fulvius* to send his youngest Son, a very beau- *tinus.*
 tiful and very sensible Youth, on the Embassy. *Opimius* received the Child with de- *A Battle in*
 rision, and sent him back with an Order to return no more. But *Fulvius* sent him Rome.

a second Time, and then the *Consul* ordered him to be imprisoned; and immediately
 attacked the Rebels. 250 of them were killed in the Fray, and the rest deserted
 their Chiefs and returned home. *Fulvius* and his Son fled to a Friend's House for *Fulvius*
 Refuge, but were both betrayed and murdered there. *Gracchus* retired first to the *and his Son*
 Temple of *Diana*, then to a sacred Wood dedicated to the *Furies*, there ordered a *killed.*
 Servant to dispatch him, and the faithful Slave first killed his Master, and then him- *Gracchus*
 self. § 6. As soon as *Gracchus* was found, one of the Mob cut off his *killed.*

Head, and as he was carrying it to the *Consul*, one of *Gracchus's* Friends snatched
 it from him, basely went with it to the *Consul* to get the Reward set upon it, which
 was its Weight in Gold; and put a Cheat upon the *Consul*, by first pouring Lead
 into the Scull. The Body was first thrown into the *Tyber*, and then brought to *Sem-*
pronius, who paid it all Funeral Honours. That Heroine spent the Remainder of her *Sempro-*
 Life in a most glorious Retirement, and had Magnanimity enough never to mention *nia's great-*
 her Sons more, but with indifference. Even the tenderness of a Mother was a less *ness of*
 powerful Passion in her Breast, than the Love of her Country. *Opimius* cruelly obli- *Mind.*
 gied the innocent Son of *Fulvius*, who had only obeyed his Father's Commands, to kill *The Cruel-*
 himself; and as inhumanly refused burial to the Bodies of those who had been *ty of Opi-*
 slain. *mius.*

§ 7. During these Troubles, the late *Consul Domitius* was successfully spreading
 the Terror of the Roman Arms in *Gaul*. After the Reduction of the *Salves*, he ob-
 served the *Allobroges* to be uneasy, and to prevent their being joined by the *Arverni*,
 he entered into an Alliance with the faithful *Ædui*, their Neighbours. Upon this,
 the *Arverni* began Hostilities with the *Ædui*, who complained to *Domitius*; and *Bi-*
tultick, the King of the *Arverni* boldly ordered him to leave *Gaul*. But the Roman
 beat the *Allobroges* in a pitched Battle at *Vindalia*, killed 20000 Gauls, and took
 3000 Prisoners.

633. § 8. Then *Bitultick* raised an Army of 200000 Men, and *The Battle*
 came up with the Romans, after the Advancement of *P. Manilius*, and *C. Papirius* *of Vinda-*
Carbo, to the *Consulate*. But the Romans easily defeated this undisciplined Multi- *lia.*
 tude; and *Domitius* basely deceived the credulous *Gaul*, and under Pretence of an *332d Con-*
 amicable Treaty, first got him into his Power, and then seized, and sent him Priso- *sulship.*
 ner to Rome. § 9. Upon this, the *Allobroges* submitted; and *Fabius* and *The Treach-*
Domitius, after they had erected *Trophies* in the Country, returned to the Capital, *ery of Do-*
 where the Senate confirmed the Baseness of *Domitius*, by a fresh Act of Injustice. *mitius,*
 They not only detained the injured *Bitultick*, and basely exposed him in the *Triumphs* *and Inju-*
 of his Conquerors; but sent for his Son a Prisoner thither, and had him educated *stice of the*
 there. § 10. In the mean time *Decius Mus*, one of the *Tribunes*, endeavoured *Senate.*

to recover the Power and Credit of the People by accusing the late *Consul Opimius*
 of the Death of *Gracchus*. But the *Consul Carbo*, had so much Influence on the Peo-
 ple, that they acquitted him, thereby restoring Tranquillity to the Senate; and *L.*
Cæcilius Metellus was elected *Consul*, with *L. Aurelius Cotta*.

634. § 11. The latter spent his Summer in *Gaul*, the former, in *Illyricum*; where he subdued the *Se-*
gestani, made War unjustly on the *Dalmati*, and tho' they received him without a *333d Con-*
 Battle, assumed the Title of *Dalmaticus*, and according to *Appian*, was honoured with *sulship.*
 a *Triumph* for his pretended Conquest. § 12. In the mean time *Crassus*, a *The Inju-*
 young Orator of great Character, accused the late *Consul Papirius* of State Crimes, *stice of the*
 with such Strength and Life, that, according to *Val. Maximus*, he poisoned himself. *Roman*
 And it ought to be remembered to the Honour of the young Roman, That he gene- *Generals.*
 rously disdained to make use of base Means to carry on his Accusation; for when one *Papirius*
 of the Slaves of the accused brought his private Papers which he had stolen, to the *Carbo poi-*
 Accuser, *sons himself.*

- The Gene-rosity of young Cra-fus the O-rator.* Accuser, the generous Roman had such an Abhorrence of the Treachery, that he sent back the Slave in Chains, and the Book unopened. § 13. And now, the famous Marius first appeared in publick Office as *Tribune of the People*, and soon discovered his true Character, which was, That his Vices and Virtues, like his Prosperity and Misfortunes, were all excessive in their kind. He proposed making the C. Marius Bridges narrower over which the People passed to vote; this the *Consul Gotta* opposed, and *Metellus, the Prince of the Senate*, upon an Appeal; determined in his Favour. But the *Tribune* immediately ordered one of his Officers to seize *Metellus*, and carry him to Prison; and by that Means gained his Point. He likewise opposed a Distribution of Corn among the Poor, and thereby acquired for the present, the Reputation of Integrity; but it was not long before he undeceived the People. Year of ROME 634.
- 334th Consulship. § 14. The next Promotion to the *Consulate*, was that of M. *Porcius Cato*, and Q. *Marcus Rex*. The former died soon in *Numidia*, and left the latter sole *Consul* for almost the whole Year. Before he went to *Transalpine Gaul*, he lost his Son; and on that Occasion affected a great show of false Magnanimity, in pretending not to be at all afflicted with his Loss. It was then very absurdly imagined to be beneath the Dignity of a Philosopher, to be affected by those Passions, which, under due Regulations, are an Honour to human Nature. When he came to his Province, he formed a Design to clear a Way for the Roman Armies from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*; and the next Year put it in Execution. The *Seni* opposed it with great Courage; and when they found the Romans had surrounded them, their Hopes of another Life made them despise this with Slavery, and they burned their Houses, killed their Wives and Children, and threw themselves into the Flames. After this, *Marcus* founded the City of *Narbonne*, by a Colony first called *Narbo Marcus* from himself, to secure his Conquest; and returned to *Rome*, and Triumphed. § 15. 635.
- 335th Consulship. The new *Consuls* L. *Cæcilius Metellus*, and Q. *Mucius Sævola* were already near the End of their Year, which was so peaceable, that the Romans had little else to do, but to attend their Superstitions; and their Successors C. *Licinius Geta* and Q. *Fabius Eburnus* had as little Opportunity to acquire Glory as themselves. Now, C. *Marius* stood for the *Prætorship*, and with great difficulty obtained it, by Corruption. For this he was accused before the People, but escaped Censure. § 16. The next Year *Æmilius Scaurus*, and L. *Cæcilius Metellus* were created *Consuls*. The former had raised his Family out of the Dust, and now maintained his Dignity with much Grandeur and Constancy; punished the Insolence of the *Prætor Decius Mus*, who refused to pay him due Honour, with great Courage and Severity; and revived the Dignity of the *Consulate* so far, as to propose Laws in the *Comitia*, by one of which he restrained the excessive Luxury of the Romans. By this Means, he still preserved some Order in *Rome*, and his Zeal for Order was well seconded by the venerable *Censors*, L. *Metellus Dalmaticus*, and Cn. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*. They struck two and thirty unworthy Senators out of the Roll, proscribed Games of Hazard and Concerts of Musick, and nominated *Scaurus, Prince of the Senate*. § 17. From *Rome*, *Scaurus* marched to *Gaul*, where he, without Difficulty, subdued the *Gentisci* and *Carni*; and spent the rest of the Summer, in employing his Troops, in making a very good Road through a miry and almost impassible Country. He begun and finished *The Way* from the Gate of *Luna* to *Dertona*, and at his Return the Republick decreed him a *Triumph*. 636.
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- 337th Consulship. *Æmilius Scaurus* revived the Honour of the *Consulate*. L. *Metellus Dalmaticus*, and Cn. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*. They struck two and thirty unworthy Senators out of the Roll, proscribed Games of Hazard and Concerts of Musick, and nominated *Scaurus, Prince of the Senate*. § 17. From *Rome*, *Scaurus* marched to *Gaul*, where he, without Difficulty, subdued the *Gentisci* and *Carni*; and spent the rest of the Summer, in employing his Troops, in making a very good Road through a miry and almost impassible Country. He begun and finished *The Way* from the Gate of *Luna* to *Dertona*, and at his Return the Republick decreed him a *Triumph*. 638.
- 338th Consulship. *Æmilius Scaurus* revived the Honour of the *Consulate*. L. *Metellus Dalmaticus*, and Cn. *Domitius Ahenobarbus*. They struck two and thirty unworthy Senators out of the Roll, proscribed Games of Hazard and Concerts of Musick, and nominated *Scaurus, Prince of the Senate*. § 17. From *Rome*, *Scaurus* marched to *Gaul*, where he, without Difficulty, subdued the *Gentisci* and *Carni*; and spent the rest of the Summer, in employing his Troops, in making a very good Road through a miry and almost impassible Country. He begun and finished *The Way* from the Gate of *Luna* to *Dertona*, and at his Return the Republick decreed him a *Triumph*. 639.
- The Con-sul Porcius Cato* defeated by the Enemy back to their own Country. For this, the Romans honoured him with a *Triumph*; and tho' they did not expressly condemn *Porcius* for his Misfortune, they took occasion to accuse him unjustly of Oppression, and under that Pretence, banished him to *Tarragona*. § 19. And now, an insatiable Intrigue was discovered, between several of the *Vestals*, and their Gallants. L. *Botucius Barrus*, a professed Debauchee began the Incest with *Æmilia*, who drew in *Licina* and *Marcia* to the like Crimes. Upon the Accusation of a Slave, *Botucius* and *Æmilia* were condemned to the usual Punishment; but the *Pontifices*, to give the less Scandal, by lessening the Number of the condemned, acquitted *Licina* and *Marcia*. This raised great Clamours among the People; and *Seduceius*, one of the *Tribunes*, revived the Affair, and brought it before them. They nominated *Lucius Crassus*, *Prætor*, to rehear the Cause; and he condemned the *Vestals* to be burnt alive, and their Accomplices to be whipped to Death. Nor did this satisfy the Com-mons; till a Temple was built to *Venus*, under the Appellation of *Venerabilis*, because the Goddess was here to be implored to turn the Hearts of the Roman Women to

- Year of to Virtue. § 21. In the mean time, the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, left their Coun- *An Inunda-*
ROME try, which was *Jutland* and its Neighbourhood, and marched Southward, in search *tion of Cim-*
 639. of new Habitations. The first attacked the *Boii*, who soon drove them from their bri- and
 Country; and they were now penetrated so low as *Vindelicia*, and committing De- *Teutones.*
 vastations on the Banks of the *Drave*. *Rome* therefore, as soon as *Catus Cæcilius Me-* 339th Con-
 640. *tellus*, and *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, her new *Consuls*, were chosen, sent the latter against *fulsbi.*
 them. *Metellus* was ordered to subdue the *Scordisci* in *Macedon*, which he did so ef- *The Con-*
 fectually, that upon his Return he was honoured with a *Triumph*, and with this most ful C. *Cæ-*
 agreeable Circumstance; That his Brother, who was now returned from suppressing *cilius and*
 the Rebellion in *Sardinia* and *Corfica*, after two Years Labours and Victories there, *his Brother*
 was ordered to *Triumph* with him. § 22. But *Papirius* was not so successful *triumph.*
 against the *Cimbri*. They offered him a Peace, which he pretended to accept; and *together.*
 afterwards, by corrupting their Guides, treacherously drew them into a Snare, as he *The Consul*
 imagined, and attacked their Camp. But they resisted him with such Bravery, that *Papirius*
 they entirely routed his *Légions*; and then, to the great Joy of *Rome*, instead of en- *defeated by*
 tering *Italy*, they turned their Arms towards the *Helvetii*. § 23. This De- *the Cim-*
 liverance quickened the Zeal of the *Romans* in punishing all Accomplices in the late bri.
 Guilt of the *Vestals*, and the famous Orator *M. Antonius*, the Grandfather of *M.*
Anthony was accused, but honourably acquitted. And now, *Rome* was in such Tran- 340th Con-
 quillity, that she had only the *Scordisci* to extirpate, when *M. Livius Drusus*, and *fulsbi.*
 641. *L. Calpurnius Piso* were honoured with the *Consulate*; and she sent *Drusus* against
 them, who after some Time obliged them to quit their Country, and settle on the
 other Side the *Danube*. So that the *Romans* might have shut the Temple of *Janus*,
 if they had not been under some Apprehensions from *Jugurtha*.

B O O K LIII.

- § 1. **T**HIS Prince, tho' the Grandson of *Massinissa*, was not Heir to his Grand- *Jugurtha*
 father's Kingdom, because illegitimate. § 2. Nevertheless, King *not Heir to*
Micipsa his Father's Brother, had had him educated with his own Sons *Adherbal* and *the Crown*
Hiempsal; and growing jealous of him, had sent him to the Siege of *Numantia*, in *of Numi-*
 hopes of getting rid of him; but after his Return from thence with Glory, he adopt- *dia, because*
 ed him to be Joint-Heir of his Kingdom with his Cousins. § 3. No sooner was the *illegiti-*
 old King dead, than *Jugurtha* got *Hiempsal* murdered, and in a short Time, made himself *mate.*
 Master of almost the whole Kingdom. *Adherbal* therefore came to *Rome*, to lay his Com- *but adopted*
 plaints before the Senate. § 4. *Jugurtha*, sensible how much this might affect him, *to it by Mi-*
 made his Application there likewise, and knowing how venal the *Romans* were, made no *cipsa.*
 doubt of succeeding by Money. He furnished his Ministers plentifully; and when *Hiempsal*
 the Cause came to be debated before the *Fathers*, his Presents were soon found to have *killed, and*
 more Weight, than the just Complaint and unquestionable Rights of *Adherbal*. They *the King-*
 took no notice of the Assassination, or Usurpation; but only ordered ten Commissio- *dom usurp-*
 642. ners to go to *Africa*, to divide the Kingdom between the Brothers. § 5. As *ed.*
 soon as the Commissioners arrived, *Jugurtha* corrupted *Opimius*, the Chief of them, *The Vena-*
 and Prince of the Senate; and they made a very partial Division in his Favour. This *lity of the*
 so much encouraged him, that not content with the better, he attacked and invaded *Roman Se-*
 his Brother's worse Part of the Kingdom; and having at last with much Difficulty, *nate.*
 drawn *Adherbal* into the Field, defeated his Army, and besieged *Ciriba* his Ca- *Opimius*
 pital. *corrupted.*
 § 6. Nevertheless, the Usurper's Money had such Effect, that *Rome* only sent a *Jugurtha*
 kind of mock Commission to *Africa*, to persuade the Parties to Peace; and the Com- *besieges Cir-*
 missioners finding *Jugurtha* untractable, returned without seeing *Adherbal*, who was *tha.*
 shut up in the besieged City. As soon as they were gone, *Jugurtha* pursued the Siege, *The Cor-*
 and *Adherbal* sent a very just Complaint to the *Roman Senate*. But they only or- *ruption of*
 dered a fresh Commission, which came to *Utica*, and summoned *Jugurtha* to appear *the Senate,*
 before them. § 7. After some Difficulty he obeyed. The Commissioners *and their*
 readily accepted of his Excuses, and returned, without ordering him to raise the Siege. *Commissio-*
 After their Departure, he forced the City to surrender by Capitulation; and when he *ners.*
 had taken it, very perfidiously broke his Promise, put the Inhabitants to Death, and *Cirtha ta-*
 killed *Adherbal* with Tortures in his own Palace. § 8. Nor would even *ken, and*
 these enormous Crimes have been punished by the *Romans*, if the Commons had not *Adherbal*
 interposed. But upon the Complaint of one of their *Tribunes* to them, the Senate *basely tor-*
 were in a manner forced to order that one of the new *Consuls* should go to *Numidia*. *tured to*
 This happened to be *L. Calpurnius Bestia*, a Man extremely avaritious, who was *Death by*
 promoted with a much more worthy Collegue, *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica*. *Jugurtha.*
 341st Con-
 § 9. *Bestia*, *fulsbi.*

- Bestia's § 9. *Bestia*, after he had rendered a fresh Embassy from *Jugurtha* fruitless, hastened Year of
Corruption. to *Africa* with an Army ; there brought the King to a Conference, and he and *Scau-* ROME
The Consul *rus* sold the Interest and Honour of their Country. § 10. He made a Peace 642.
Nasica with *Jugurtha* upon Terms very dishonourable for *Rome* ; and soon after his Col-
dies. league *Nasica* died, in his Office, which hastened *Bestia*'s return, to preside at the next
342d Con- Elections. § 11. The Persons promoted were *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *Sp.* 643.
sulship. *Postumius Albinus*, to whom *Macedon* was allotted for his Province. Thither he
Albinus marched to reduce the *Scordisci*, whom he conquered by Stratagem ; and after a two
triumphs. Years successful Expedition, he returned to *Rome*, and was honoured with a *Triumph*
C. Mem- for it. § 12. In the mean time, the People of *Rome* looked with Detesta-
mius's tion on the Peace sold to *Jugurtha* ; and at the Motion of *C. Memmius*, one of their
Speech to Tribunes, ordered him to be summoned to appear before them. *Cassius* the *Prætor*,
the People, a Man of unspotted Probity, was sent to *Africa* with this Decree ; and when he
p. 210. landed there, § 13. He found the Army universally corrupted, and had
great Difficulty to persuade the King to obey the Summons. But at last he com-
plied, and came to *Rome* where, by bribing *Caius Babius Sulca*, one of the Tribunes,
he escaped even without censure. § 14. This Impunity made him still more
audacious ; and, hearing that his Relation *Maffiva*, demanded the Crown of *Numi-*
dia of the *Romans*, he resolved to have him assassinated, even in *Rome* itself. *Bo-*
Maffiva *milcar*, his Confident, took care of the Execution ; and upon the Discovery, *Jugur-*
assassinated. *tha* first contrived his Escape, and then fled to *Africa* himself, with this severe, but
Jugurtha's just Reflection on the City, That *she would even sell herself, as soon as she could find*
Reflection any one rich enough to give her her Price. § 15. Immediately after his De-
on Rome. parture, the Senate disannulled the pretended Peace made with him, and the Consul
Postumius soon followed him to *Africa*, to command the *Roman* Army there. But
the artful *Numidian* found means to divert him from Action, and protract the Time,
till he forced him to return to *Rome* without effecting any Thing.
§ 16. Upon his return, he found great Disturbances in *Rome*, occasioned by some
The Licini- Tribunes of the People. *Licinius* had passed a Law against Luxury ; and *Mamilius*
an Law a- another, for erecting a Tribunal to try those whom *Jugurtha* had corrupted. Upon
gainst Lux- this Merit, they endeavoured to get themselves continued in their Office ; and *Annius*
ury. (upon what Plea is not said) joined in this Attempt. But this ended only in pro-
343d Con- tracting the Elections ; which at last came on, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, with *M. Ju-* 644.
sulship. *nius Silanus*, were chosen Consuls. § 17. The latter was sent to *Narbonne*
Silanus de- *Gaul* to prevent the threatened Incursions of the *Cimbri*, and others ; and he gave them
feated. Battle. But they routed his Army at the first Onset, and except the Cities which they
could not take for want of understanding Sieges, the whole Province was exposed to
their Rapines. § 18. *Metellus* made War in *Numidia* with better Success.
A. Postu- *Aulus Postumius*, whom his Brother had left in the Command, had been surrounded
mius and by *Jugurtha*, basely consented to a shameful Peace, and with his whole Army had
bis Army passed under the Yoke. His Brother the Consul, § 19. Would fain have re-
pass under paired this Loss ; but the People refused to grant him any new Levies, which they
the Yoke. reserved for his Successor *Metellus*.
On him they founded all their Hopes of Success ; and he made his Preparations
with great Care and Wisdom. His first Step was to choose himself good Subalterns,
among whom was the famous *Marius* ; and when he came to *Africa*, § 20,
C. Marius. He spent the whole Summer, in inuring his disorderly Troops to Discipline. § 21.
After this, he fought the *Numidian* with his own Weapons, opposing Artifice with
Artifice ; never marched but in the most exact Order, and with the utmost Circum-
spection ; and in this manner appeared before *Vacca*, which surrendered to him.
Vacca § 22. Then he advanced still further, and found *Jugurtha* laying in Ambush for him,
taken. near the *Mutullus* ; where, after a fierce Contest, he gained a double Victory over
Jugurtha him, in one Day. After this Success, he retired, § 23, to a Camp pitched
defeated. by his Lieutenant *Rutilius*, 20 Miles from the Field of Battle ; and there received
Intelligence, that *Jugurtha* was raising a new Army. But nevertheless, he only sent
out his Troops in Parties, to ravage the Country ; which was the most effectual Way
of ruining the King.
When this News came to *Rome*, the People were very liberal of their Praises to
him ; and after they had elected *Serv. Sulpicius Galba*, and *M. Aurelius Scaurus*,
344th Con- § 24. to the Consulship, they continued him *Pro-Consul* in *Numidia*. Then his Lieu- 645.
sulship. tenant *Marius*, who had very great Abilities as a Commander, became his Rival ; and
that obliged him to act with greater Caution. He took care to have his Convoys
very strongly guarded, and always sent out his whole Cavalry together upon a For-
rage. And when he found, he could not draw *Jugurtha*, who was continually har-
assing the *Roman* Army with great Address, to a Battle ; he resolved, if possible, to
force him to it. § 25. In order to this, he determined to besiege *Zama* ; but
Zama be- *Jugurtha* got Intelligence of his Design, came thither before him, and placed a strong
sieged. Garrison in it of *Roman* Deserters. Then he hastened to *Sicca*, whither *Marius*
was

Year of was gone for Provisions, attacked him, and there learnt first to dread the Conqueror, Jugurtha
 ROME who was afterwards to compleat his Ruin. When the Convoys came up, *Metellus beaten by*
 645. began the Siege of *Zama*; but the besieged made so vigorous a Defence, that he was Marius.
 forced to raise it, and put his Troops into Winter-Quarters in the *Roman Pro-* *The Siege*
vince. *of Zama*

§ 26. There he had a private Conference with *Bomilcar*, whom he prevailed on to *raised.*
 betray *Jugurtha*; and, at his Persuasions, the *Numidian King* offered the *Romans* to sur- *Jugurtha*
 render, and went so far as to deliver up to them his Money, Elephants, Horses, and *surrenders*
 Deserters. But when he came to surrender up himself, his Fears made him fly off; *his Money,*
 and he never thought of Peace more. § 27. He raised a new Army; and *Elephants,*

prevailed on the Citizens of *Vacca*, to murder the *Roman Garrison*, and come over *&c.*
 to him. Upon this News, *Metellus* marched thither, retook, and sacked the City; *Vacca re-*
 and afterwards, was obliged, through the Intrigues and Malice of *Marius*, to bring his *volts, and*
 Friend *Turpilius*, the late Governor of *Vacca*, who alone had escaped the Fury of the *is retaken.*
 Revolters, to a Trial. He was unjustly condemned, and executed; and after his In- *Turpilius*
 nocence appeared, *Marius* triumphed at the Injury which he had forced *Metellus* to *executed.*
 do his Friend.

§ 28. And now, upon the News that the *Romans* were in- *Marius's ill*
 clined to continue *Metellus* in this Command, *Marius's* Hatred to his General, broke *Usage of*
 out into open Attacks upon him. He spread Calumnies of him among the Troops, *Metellus.*
 whom he advised to send bad Accounts of their General to *Rome*; and openly begged the
 Votes of the *Roman Merchants* at *Utica*, for choosing him *Consul* at the next Election,
 in order thereby to enable him to supplant *Metellus*. He also prevailed on *Gauda*,
 whom *Metellus* had disobliged, to write to the Senate much in his Favour; and at
 last, publickly asked his General's Leave to return to *Rome*, to make his Interest
 there.

§ 29. *Metellus* received this Application with Haughtiness, and refused to grant
 his Request: and at the same Time, to finish the War at once, applied again to *Bo-*
milcar, to perform his Promise of delivering up *Jugurtha* to him, alive or dead. But
 he had been suspected by the King, ever since he had advised him to surrender; and
 therefore applied to *Nabdalsa*, to join with him in the Plot. This *Numidian Lord* *Nabdal-*
 readily came into the Proposal, but before the Execution of it, the Secret was acci- *sa's Plot*
 dentally discovered by his Secretary, and by him communicated to the King; who *discovered.*
 condemned *Bomilcar*, and most of his Accomplices, to die. § 30. This *Bomilcar*
 frustrated the Hopes of *Metellus*, upon which he resolved to take the Field; and be- *executed.*
 ing at last wearied out with the Importunities of *Marius*, gave him leave to go to

Rome, twelve Days before the Election. *Marius* reached the City, in six Days after
 his setting out, and there conducted his Affair so well, that he was chosen *Consul*,
 with *L. Cassius Longinus*: After which the *Censors* concluded the Year with the 63d *63d Lus-*
Census and *Lustrum*. *TRUM.*

646. § 31. Immediately after his Election *Marius* applied himself to supplanting his old
 General, and did it with great Boldness and Success. The Senate had by Decree ap- *345th Con-*
 pointed *Metellus* to be *Pro-Consul* again in *Numidia*. But *Marius* applied to the Peo- *sulate.*
 ple by one of their *Tribunes*, and they determined, that he only should continue the
 War with *Jugurtha*. His Colleague had *Gallia Narbonensis* for his Province, where
 he had room to have gained great Glory. But he rashly fell into an Ambush laid for
 him by the *Tigurini*, and there perished. After his Death, his Lieutenant *Popilius*
 shamefully surrendered, and passed under the Yoke with his Army; for which he was
 prosecuted with uncommon Zeal, as soon as he returned to *Rome*. The *Tribune Ca-*
lius Calvus got the *Cassian Law* extended to State-Crimes, to pave the Way for his
 Condemnation; and to avoid it, he went into a voluntary Banishment. Then *Romans*
 § 32. *Scaurus* is said to have got himself elected *Consul*, by Artifice, in the room *defeated by*
 of *Popilius*, for the remaining Part of the Year; and *Spurius Florus Balbus*, a *Tri-*
bune of the People, passed a new Law, with intent to put an End to the Troubles *the Tiguri-*
 about the Distribution of the Lands; but it was ineffectual to that Purpose. *ni, and pass*
 § 33. *Marius* was detained at *Rome* against his Will by the Election of the new *Consul*, and *under the*
 he treated the Nobility with great Contempt, and made his Levies with great In- *Yoke.*
 solence. *The Cœli-*
an Law.

§ 34. In the mean time, *Metellus*, ignorant of what passed at *Rome*, pursued *Ju-*
gurtha, defeated him, and then resolved to besiege *Thala*. In this Place the King *Thala be-*
 had deposited his Treasures; and when the *Romans* had crossed a barren Desert, *sieged,*
 which was thought impassable, and was come up to it, *Jugurtha* left it, and retired.
 Nevertheless the Garrison, who were *Roman Deserters*, defended it with Bravery;
 but at last burnt the King's Palace, and themselves in it; and after a forty Days
 Siege, *Thala* was taken. Then, the *Pro-Consul*, upon Information that Attempts *and taken.*
 were made to draw the Inhabitants of *Great Leptis* to a Revolt, sent a Detachment
 thither; and thereby kept the neighbouring Country in a State of Tranquillity.

§ 35. As for *Jugurtha*, he obtained Succours of the *Gætuli*, and prevailed on *Boc-* *Bocchus*
chus, King of *Mauritania*, to join all his Forces with the *Numidians*, and besiege *Cyr-* *joins Ju-*
tha, *gurtha.*

The Magnanimity of Metellus. *tha.* Metellus therefore kept now on his guard, and watched the Motions of the Year of *ROME* 646. § 36. But whilst he was enjoying some Tranquillity, Advice came to him of the Promotion of *Marius*; and he was so stung with it, that he could scarce

keep up his Dignity on the Occasion. Nevertheless, he had so much Magnanimity, as to stifle those strong Resentments in regard to the publick Good, and spent all the Time he had left in *Africa*, in endeavouring to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, tho' it would greatly facilitate the Reduction of *Numidia*, for his perfidious and ungrateful Rival.

A Triumph decreed him. § 37. At length, when News came that *Marius* was landed at *Utica*, Metellus left the Army with his Lieutenant to deliver it to him, and before the new General came to the Camp, went directly to *Rome*. There he soon wiped off the Calumnies which had been unjustly cast upon him; upon Application to the Commons, obtained a *Triumph*; and tho' accused of Oppression, was most honourably acquitted.

§ 38. On the other hand, *Marius*, acted with Caution in *Africa*, and spent the Summer without any considerable Action, till Autumn drew nigh, and then he began to sink in the Esteem of his Troops. This animated

Capfa taken. § 39, him to undertake some glorious Enterprize, and he determined to attempt *Capfa*. It was not without great Fatigues that his Army crossed the burning Deserts that surrounded it; but they surmounted them, and surprized the City; and then *Marius* displayed his

The Cruelties and Inhumanities of Marius. natural Cruelty and Inhumanity. He dismantled the City, which made no Resistance, put the *Citizens* able to bear Arms to the Sword, notwithstanding they offered to surrender at Discretion, and made all the rest Slaves.

§ 40. This Success, and this Cruelty, made him revered by his Troops, and dreaded by his Enemies; and he now undertook the Siege of *Mulucha*, perhaps the strongest Fort then in the World. It was indeed so situated, and so well supplied with Provisions and Ammunition, that it was not to be reduced either by Force or Famine. All Attacks made upon it were fruitless. But a Soldier, by Accident discovered a back Way up the Rock, and it was taken by Surprize, and both Garrison and Inhabitants put to the Sword.

Characters of Marius and Sylla compared. § 41. These Conquests were made in the Absence of *Sylla*, the *Consul's Quæstor*, whose Birth, Education, and Manners, were a direct Contrast to his own; and therefore he despised him for his Softness and Effeminacy, and had left him behind him in *Italy*. But now, when the Army was ready to go into Winter-Quarters, *Sylla* brought his Reinforcement to it. Upon his Arrival he was soon sensible of the Injury done him, in being robbed of the Opportunity he might have

Sylla's change in Conduct. had of acquiring Glory in the Campaign; and became so totally changed in Conduct, from a Life of Softness and Pleasure to a Life of Hardship and Fatigue, that he gained the Affections of all the Army, and was at last taken into the Friendship, of *Marius* himself. Then, nothing seemed wanting to the *Quæstor*, but an Opportunity to shew himself; and he soon found means to recover the Time he had lost.

§ 42. *Jugurtha*, having at last prevailed on *Bocchus* to join him, the two Kings surprized the *Roman* Army, towards the close of Day, and gained some Advantages over it. But the next Morning *Marius* returned the Surprize upon them, and made a most terrible Slaughter of their Troops. Four Days after this Defeat,

Jugurtha and Bocchus defeated a first, and a second Time. § 43. They again came up with the *Roman* Army, hoping to find them once more off their Guard. But *Marius* had learnt more Caution, and they found the *Romans* ready to receive them. They killed so many of the *Africans* in this Battle, that it seemed probable the War was ended by it; and *Rome* was indebted for this great Success, to the Bravery of her *Quæstor*, as well as to the Conduct of her General. This was *Sylla's* first Opportunity of shewing his Conduct and Courage; and he displayed both, greatly to his Advantage.

§ 44. After the Labours of the Campaign, Negotiations succeeded. *Bocchus* sent Offers of a Treaty to *Marius*, who sent *Manlius* and *Sylla* to him; and the *Mauritanian* resolved to send five Ambassadors, first to the *Consul*, and then to *Rome*. These were received by *Sylla*, in the Absence of *Marius*, with the highest Marks of Honour; and upon the General's return, their Proposals were accepted; and two of them were sent back to carry the News, whilst the other three were sent forward, to settle the Peace at *Rome*.

346th Consulship. § 45. When they arrived there, *C. Attilius Serranus* and *Q. Servilius Cæpio* were in Possession of the *Consulate*, and the latter had *Narbonne-Gaul*, the former *Italy*, for his Province. The Senate, when they had heard the Ambassadors, granted their Master's Request as to the Peace; but left it to him to merit the Alliance he proposed with them, before they would grant it. This *Bocchus* well knew was meant of his delivering up *Jugurtha*, and he resolving to comply, desired *Marius* to send *Sylla* to him, to facilitate his Designs; and *Sylla* readily accepted of the Office. *Jugurtha*, in the mean time, tho' in want of every Thing,

The Constancy and Courage of Jugurtha. still supported himself by his Courage; and when he heard of the intended Peace, sent *Aspar*, a faithful and able Minister, to *Bocchus* to secure his Interests; not doubting but he should still get himself included in the Treaty. At the same time, he § 46. intercepted *Sylla* in his March to *Bocchus*, after his Son *Volus* had met him and,

Year of and, when, in all Appearance he must have had him in his Power, he suffered the
 ROME Roman with only his Attendants as Ambassador, to pass through the Numidian Army
 647. without Molestation. Sylla had suspected Volux of Treachery, upon the Approach Sylla's
 of the Numidians; but had with great Generosity offered him his Life: And this Magnani-
 extraordinary Piece of Good-Fortune in thus escaping the Numidian Army, from mity.
 which among others he was denominated *The fortunate Sylla*, was the immediate Re-
 ward of his Magnanimity. § 47. After this escape, he was soon brought to
 the Mauritanian Court, and there received with great Appearance of Respect by Boc-
 chus, who was still wavering. His Heart was with Jugurtha. But nevertheless, the
 Roman, in a private Conference in the Night, gained his Point; and obtained an
 absolute Promise of delivering up the Numidian to him; and it was agreed to invite
 him thither, under Pretence of including him in the Treaty. § 48. The next
 Morning, Bocchus sent Aspar to his Master with this Message, and returned in eight
 Days with full Instructions. But these were to demand, that Sylla should be delivered up
 to Jugurtha, as the only means whereby they could be secure, that the Romans would *The double*
 keep the Peace; and the perfidious Bocchus was immediately so struck with the Pro- *Treachery*
 posal, that he promised to perform it. So that, he had now basely engaged himself *of Bocchus;*
 to deliver up the Roman to the Numidian, and the Numidian to the Roman; and still
 continued wavering between both, till the very Night before the appointed Confe-
 rence between the two Kings and Sylla. Then the Pro-Quæstor fixed him; and the
 next Day, his Mauritanians seized Jugurtha at the Interview, and delivered him up *who deli-*
 a Prisoner to the Romans. Thus was Sylla fortunate to a very extraordinary Degree, *vers up Ju-*
 both in escaping Captivity himself, and in finishing the Jugurthan War by the Cap- *gurtha to*
 tivity of that King. *Sylla.*

B O O K L I V.

§ 1. ROME received the captive King with great Joy; but was not § 2,
 so well satisfied with the Success of the Consul Cæpio, in Gaul. He had re- Cæpio re-
 covered Toulouse, the Capital of the Teutofages, from the Cimbri; but had given it covers Tou-
 up to be plundered, and robbed the Temples of those immense Sums, which the louse from
 Teutofages were said to have brought thither, from the plunder of the Temple of Delphi. the Cimbri,
 The next Year, § 3. P. Rutilius Rufus, and Cn. Mallius Maximus were ad- and plun-
 648. vanced to the Consulate, and Marius continued Pro-Consul in Numidia; where he di- ders the
 vided the Dominions of the deprived King. § 4. The Consul Mallius was Temples
 sent into Transalpine Gaul to assist Cæpio, who was not strong enough to resist the there of im-
 united Barbarians, who threatened Italy with an Inundation; but by imprudently quar- men'se
 relling with the Pro-Consul, and dividing the two Armies, he gave the Enemies an Riches.
 Opportunity to attack them separately, and they utterly destroyed them. They killed 347th Con-
 20000 Legionaries and Auxiliaries, and dedicated all their Spoils to the injured Gods *fulship.*
 whose Temples the Romans had robbed. § 5. This News filled Rome with Cæpio and
 as much Terror, as if Hannibal had been again coming down the Alpes; and the pu Mallius en-
 nished Cæpio for his neglect by Deposition. This left the whole Government in the tirely de-
 Hands of Rutilius, and he immediately set about raising an Army to oppose the victo- seated by the
 rious Cimbri, which afterwards preserved, and was the Glory of the Republick. Gauls.
 § 6. In the mean time, the Cimbri and Gauls, called their Prisoner Æmilius Scaurus Cæpio de-
 before them; and asked his Opinion of their Descent into Italy. The Roman with posed.
 great Constancy contended for the Honour of his Country, and shewed little Defe-
 rence to his present Masters; upon which, one of their Kings drew his Sword, and Scaurus
 stabbed him. But it was not long ere the Romans, as a People, shewed the World, barbarously
 they were not behind those Barbarians in Acts of Cruelty. § 7. The Repub- stabbed by
 649. lick in this Distress, raised C. Flavius Fimbria to the Consulate, and with him C. Bojorix.
 Marius, tho' absent. His Character was the sole Cause of the Promotion of the lat- 348th Con-
 ter without his Knowledge; and he returned to Rome, and on the first Day of Ja- fulship.
 nuary both entered on his Office, and triumphed on Account of his Numidian Con-
 quest. The most affecting Part of the Show, was the Captive Jugurtha, who was Jugurtha
 barbarously led in Chains after the Victor's Chariot, treated with the utmost Insolence more bar-
 by the Soldiery after the Procession, and then thrown into a Dungeon in which he barously
 perished. treated by
 § 8. As soon as the Victor was come from his Chariot, he went to the Senate- the Ro-
 house in his triumphal Robes; there had the Choice of the two Armies now on Foot, mans.
 and was appointed to manage the War beyond the Alpes. These Honours to so great
 a Friend to the People was a great Mortification to the Patricians, and encouraged
 four of the Tribunes, to make Attempts against them. § 9. Domitius Ahenobarbus,
 Cassius Longinus, Servilius Glaucia, and Marcus Philippus, all attempted new
 Laws in Diminution of the Power of the Senators, and the three former succeeded.
 The

The Domitian Law; the People. The second got it enacted, That every *Citizen* degraded by a *Plebiscitum*, should for ever be deprived of his Seat in the Senate. And the third, That the *Allies* of *Latium* who should accuse a Senator, and prove the Charge, should enjoy all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. § 10. In the mean Time, *Marius* went to

Transalpine Gaul; there inured his Troops to strict Discipline against the Return of the *Cimbri*, who were gone to *Spain*; and not thinking these Troops sufficient to withstand them, sent to the King of *Bitthynia* for Succours. That Prince answered, That his Dominions were exhausted of Men, by the vast Numbers of his People whom the *Publicans* had sent into Slavery; and this Representation had such Effect, that the Senate ordered all Men of free Condition brought from the Country of any Ally, to be set at Liberty. But this Decree gave rise to a new War, of which *Marius* was the innocent Occasion.

§ 11. Upon the first News of it, the unhappy Slaves at *Nuceria* broke off their Chains, and set themselves at Liberty: And at *Capua*, a Storm was raised by *Vettius*, a young *Roman Knight*, in order to secure a beautiful Female Slave, which he had bought, but could not pay for. He got together a Body of 700 Slaves, and then fortified himself. *Lucullus* the *Prætor* who was sent against him, corrupted his General *Apollonius* who betrayed him, and then he was forced to kill himself. But this was only the prelude to greater Troubles in *Sicily*.

§ 12. The Slaves there, upon being refused Justice by *Licinius Nerva* the *Prætor*, took Arms; and the *Prætor* not being able to withstand them, prevailed on a Leader of the *Banditti* to betray them, and their Castle was delivered up, and they all perished. But *Licinius*

§ 13. instead of keeping the Field, disbanded his Troops, and this gave them an Opportunity to rise again. They made one *Salvius* their King, increased to the Number of 20000 Foot, and 2000 Horse, and then defeated the *Prætor* in his Turn, and took 4000 of his Men Prisoners.

§ 14. This Victory encouraged *Salvius* to besiege *Morgantia*, which was relieved by the faithful Slaves there; but the base *Prætor* refused to give them their promised Reward, and this increased the Evil. They went over to the Rebels; and one *Athenio* another Slave made a fresh Insurrection, caused himself likewise to be proclaimed a King, and besieged *Lilybæum*. The Attempt was indeed fruitless, but he raised the Siege with Credit among his Troops. § 15. On the other hand, *Salvius*, finding his Army to be 30000 strong, resolved to make *Triocala* the Capital of his new Dominions, began to build a Citadel and Palace there, and having prevailed on *Athenio* to come thither, clapped him up a Prisoner in his new Castle. Such were the Beginnings of this new War.

§ 16. In the mean time, *Marius* was waiting for the Return of the *Cimbri* to *Narbonne-Gaul*; and there gave a remarkable Instance of his Equity. His Nephew *Trebonius* had been killed by a private Centinel, on whom he made an infamous Attempt; and *Marius* was so far from condemning the Soldier, that he publicly applauded and rewarded him for his Virtue. The Fame of this helped to continue him in his Honours at *Rome*; and he was now raised

§ 17. to the *Consulate* a third Time, and ordered to continue in *Gaul*. His Colleague, was *L. Aurelius Orestes*, who continued at *Rome*; and was there employed in averting *Auguries*, and entertained with the Trial of a trifling vain Man, *T. Albucius*; who was made *Prætor* of *Sardinia*, and afterwards condemned to Banishment, for vainly decreeing himself a sort of Triumph in his Province, tho' he had done nothing to deserve it.

§ 18. During these Transactions at *Rome*, the Republick was very hard pressed in all Places; and *Marcus Fulvius*, the *Prætor* in *Spain*, gained great Reputation by his Conduct against her Enemies there. Tho' he had but one *Legion* under his Command, he found Means to harass the *Cimbri* in such a manner, as made them leave *Spain*, and return to *Gaul*. But before their Arrival, a swarm of *Marfi* appeared there; and *Sylla*, who was sent by *Marius* to oppose them, prevailed on them by gentle Means to come over to the *Romans*. After this, the General and his Lieutenant parted; and *Marius* being recalled to *Rome* to preside at the Elections, acted a Part there very suitable to his great Ambition.

§ 19. He was very desirous of being continued *Consul*, and in order to gain this difficult Point, pretended modestly to decline it. And the *Tribune Apuleius* being in the Secret with him, he at length prevailed on the People, to compel him to accept of the *Consulate* the fourth Time, with *Q. Lutatius Catulus* for his Colleague.

§ 20. All *Gaul* was now in motion, and the Season hastened the Generals from *Rome*, which they left in a great Consternation at the new Troubles both abroad and at home. Abroad, the *Cilician Pyrates* much distressed the City, by taking her Transports of Provisions; and she was forced to send *M. Antonius*, whose Daughter they had carried into Captivity, to destroy them. At Home, the *Tribune Apuleius* raised great Disturbances, by endeavouring to promote *Equitius*, a very worthless and obscure Man, to the *Tribunate*. To this end, he invented a Story, that *Equitius* was of the *Gracchian* Family; but, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* discovered the Cheat, and

The great Equity of Marius in his Nephew's Case.
349th Consulship.

T. Albucius banished.
M. Fulvius drives the Cimbri out of Spain.
Marius and Sylla part.

350th Consulship.
The Cilician Pyrates distress Rome.
The Fastidious of Apuleius.

650.

651.

Year of and, at the Hazard of his Life, refused to enroll *Equitius* among the Citizens of Rome.

ROME § 21. In the mean, Time *Marius* was waiting for the Barbarians in *Transalpine Gaul*; and they, in a general Council, resolved to enter *Italy* two different Ways, the *Cimbri* over the Eastern, and the *Teutones* over the Western *Alpes*. *Marius* therefore marched to oppose the latter, and posted himself near the City of *Arles*; where he made that famous new Communication between the *Rhone* and the Sea, which from him was called *Fossa Mariana*. *The Cimbri resolve to enter Italy.*

§ 22. When he had encamped there, the Barbarians came and insulted him in his Trenches. But he would not suffer his Men to engage them; and when other Means failed, he made use of the Authority of *Martha*, a pretended Prophetess, whom his Wife had sent to him, to restrain their Ardour.

§ 23. Till at length, the *Teutones*, tired out with his Delays, were forced to decamp; and then the *Roman* being forced to decamp likewise, followed them to the City of *Aix* in *Provence*.

§ 24. There a Battle ensued, in which he defeated the *Ambrones*, and pursued them to a kind of Fortification made of Carts, where their Wives had stayed, during the Fight. And when the Women saw their Husbands fleeing and the Enemy pursuing, they fell with great Fury both on the Pursuers and the pursued. After their first Rage, they desired to capitulate upon this single Condition, That their Honour should be preserved; and when that was denied, they first killed their Children and then themselves. So remarkable was the Love of Chastity which remained with these barbarian Women, after it was extinguished in Rome! *Marius defeats the Ambrones.*

§ 25. Two Days after this, he came to a pitched Battle with the *Teutones* also, who fought with great Bravery; but he at last gained a complete Victory, in which the lowest Accounts say, that 100000 were killed on the Spot. *The remarkable Chastity of the Barbarian Women.*

§ 26 With this joyful News *Marius* dispatched a Courier to *Rome*, where the People were so transported with it, that they in Gratitude advanced him to the Consulship the fifth Time; and whilst their Messengers were bringing him the Congratulations and Compliments of the People, his Soldiers offered him all the Booty. But he generously accepted only what might be useful in his Triumph, and dedicated the rest to the Gods. All the combustible Things were gathered together in one Pile, and the Consul himself, dressed like one of the *Salii*, set fire to it. *Marius defeats the Teutones, and is chosen Consul the fifth Time.*

652. § 27. The Collegue the Romans gave him was *Manius Aquilius*, whose Merit will appear hereafter. *351st Consulship.*

The new Year was begun at *Rome* with Applications to Acts of Religion, which the People thought the more necessary, because two enormous Crimes were now committed, which had scarce been heard of before. These were Parricide and Mutilation; and the Romans severely punished and expiated both. *Parricide and Mutilation punished.* *Publicius Malleolus*, who had murdered his Mother, was by a new Law sewed up in a Sack, and thrown into the *Tyber*; and a Slave who had mutilated himself, in imitation of the Priests of *Cybele*, was banished *Rome*, and transported.

§ 28. In the mean time, *Catulus* now *Pro-Consul* not being able to withstand the *Cimbri*, retired before them, and pitched two Camps on the River *Athesis*, one on each Side, intending there to make a Stand against them. The *Cimbri* entered *Italy*, and came to the River; and finding it not fordable, threw Trees and pieces of Rocks into it, to make it more rapid and more narrow. And then their terrible Appearance struck the Romans with such a Pannick, that it was not in the Power of *Catulus*, to hinder those in his larger Camp, from shamefully fleeing with Precipitation; whilst those in the little Camp, who made some stand, obtained an honourable Capitulation. *The Cimbri enter Italy, and strike the Romans with a pannick.*

§ 29. Nevertheless, had the *Cimbri* known how to have made the right use of their Victory, they might doubtless have taken *Rome*. But they lingered, in expectation of the coming up of the *Teutones*, and thereby gave the Romans Time to recall *Marius* and his Troops from *Gaul*. By Order of the Senate he brought his Army to that of *Catulus* on the *Po*; and there received a great Mortification from his old Lieutenant *Sylla*, who by a superior Conduct was enabled to supply his Army with Provisions in distress, and who from this Time entered into an open Competition with him, notwithstanding his great Advantages. *Marius mortified by Sylla, who enters into an open Competition with him.*

§ 30. In the mean time, the *Cimbri* tired at length with their Inaction, first sent a Deputation to the Romans, and then *Bojorix* their King came to *Marius's* Camp, and challenged him to fix the Day and Place of Battle. The Consul named the Plain of *Verceil*, and the third Day from that Time; and then and there fought a bloody Battle with them, in which he totally defeated them. *The Romans entirely defeat the Cimbri.*

§ 31. From the Plain, the Romans marched to the Enemy's Camp, and there had a kind of new Engagement with their Wives, who first attacked Friends and Enemies with great Rage, and then murdered themselves and Children by all the Methods they could contrive. Thus was almost the whole Nation of these People extirpated; and *Sylla* had the Pleasure to take more Colours from the Enemy than *Marius*, and to find, that the *Pro-Consul's* Troops had done more Execution among them than the Consul's. But when the News came to *Rome*, the People gave all the Honour of it to *Marius* whom they adored, and would have had the Triumph confined to him; tho', he had the Modesty himself not to exclude *Catulus* from his Share of it. After their Procession, each ther;

and build each General built a Temple in Memory of their Victory : *Marius*, in a very plain Year of Temples, in manner, to *Virtue* and *Honour*, and *Catulus* with great Elegance and Beauty, to *The ROMAN Memory of Fortune of this Day*.

their Victory. § 32. Thus was *Italy* delivered from her Fears of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*; and in *Sicily*, the *Prætor Lucius Licinius Lucullus* had gained a great Victory over the two Kings of the Slaves, and killed 20000 of them. But he was so dilatory in besieging *Triocala*, that he gave the Slaves Time to recover their Spirits, and they forced him to raise the Siege with Disgrace.

Slaves, but is forced to raise the Siege of *Triocala*. § 33. His Successor in this Province, who was *C. Servilius*, was even more unfortunate than himself. The Slaves beat him in a pitched Battle, and after a fruitless Attempt on *Messana*, besieged *Ma-*

cella and took it. *Rome* therefore now sent the *Consul Aquilius* against them; and he, *Triocala*. § 34, after he had reduced them to great straits for Want, in the Year of his *Consulship*, put the Issue of the War on a single Combat with *Athenio*, in his us defeated. *Pro-Consulate*, and succeeded. He slew the Slave, and by defeating his Army put The *Consul* an end to the War; and upon his Return to *Rome*, was honoured with an *Ovation* for *Aquilius* his Reward.

puts an end to the War, and has an Ovation.

BOOK LV.

The Corruption of the Romans.

§ 1. AFTER the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, and Reduction of the Slaves, *Rome* had scarce any Enemies left abroad, but nourished such in her own Bosom, as were much more mischievous to her than the Barbarians. She was grown, to the greatest excess; luxurious, debauched, venal; these Vices naturally produced Seditions; and they, together with the Ambition and Jealousy of *Marius* and *Sylla*, plainly threatened her with the greatest Mischiefs.

352d Consulship. § 2. *Marius* now stood for a sixth *Consulate*, and by his Intrigues and Money, procured it for himself and *L. Valerius Flaccus*, a weak Man whom he governed as he pleased. As soon as elected, he entered into an Association, with *Apuleius Saturninus*, who being refused the *Tri-*

Association with *Apuleius*, who murdered his Competitor who was legally chosen, and then tumultuously got himself proclaimed *Tribune*; and with *Glaucia*, the *Prætor of Rome*, whom he bul-

lied into his Measures: And the Resolution of these *Triumviri* was, to assume all Power to themselves, by any Means they should find necessary in order to it. § 3. When Ambassadors came from the King of *Pontus*, *Apuleius*, instigated by *Marius*, used them brutally in order to provoke their Master to begin a War. The Ambassadors complained of this ill Usage to the Senate, and the *Fathers* were very glad of an Opportunity to humble the insolent *Tribune*; but when the Time came for passing Sentence, the Populace surrounded the Hall in such Crouds, that they intimidated the Senators, and he was acquitted by a majority of Votes. After this Victory, his next Step was to pay his Court to his Friend *Marius*, and shew his Gratitude to the People, by making new Laws. In order to the former, he got it enacted, That the Lands seized by the *Cimbri*, and those conquered in *Africa* by the Romans, should be unjustly taken from the true Owners, and given to *Marius's* Soldiers. And in order to the latter, he proposed a Law, that the People of *Rome* should have as much Corn as they wanted, out of the publick Treasury, gratis; but he could not get it passed.

Metellus banished. § 4. This Disappointment however, did not at all discourage the seditious *Tribune*. He tacked several pernicious Clauses to the Bill in favour of the *Marian* Soldiers, and when the People refused to pass them, compelled them to it by open Violence. The next Day, when the *Plebiscitum* was brought to be confirmed by the Senate, *Marius* exclaimed against the late Violences, and declared he would not take the Oath which the new Law required. But four Days after, he assembled the *Fathers* in great haste, declared he had altered his Opinion, and insisted on the Oath. All this was a Plot laid for the great *Metellus*, whom the *Triumviri* all hated, and who they imagined would never concur in such infamous Proceedings; and he accordingly fell into the Snare. He absolutely refused the Oath, and was therefore banished to *Rhodes*, or *Smyrna*.

§ 5. The Confederates triumphed in having ruined their common Enemy; but did not reap those Advantages from it, which they had expected. *Marius* pretended to act a neutral Part, and hold the Ballance even between the *Patrician* and *Plebeian* Parties, hoping thereby to continue himself in the *Consulate* another Year. This indeed answered the End, till his Deceit came to be discovered by an Accident; but then, instead of being caressed, he became suspected by both Parties.

§ 6. *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* canvassed, independently on the *Consul*, the former for a 3d *Tribuneship*, the latter for the *Consulate*, and both resolved to stick at nothing. *Apuleius*, not content with succeeding himself, set up the contemptible *Equitius* for *Tribune*, and spirited up the Populace to break open the Prison to which he had been sent by *Marius*, and proclaim him by Violence. And when the Election for *Consuls* came on, *Glaucia* finding he had a formidable Competitor in the

Year of the excellent *Memmius*, sent and had him murdered in the open *Forum*; and then he *Memmius*
ROME and *Apuleius*, to avoid the Punishment they deserved, openly attempted to destroy the murdered.

653. Republick it self: They carried a Multitude of desperate Men to the House of *Apuleius*
leius, who there exhorted them to an open Rebellion, and upon their offering him the *and Glaucia rebel*,
 Title of *King*, he accepted it. § 7. The next Day they seized the *Capitol*,
 and upon Orders given by the Senate, the *Consuls* armed the People, and came and
 besieged them there. *Marius*, to subdue them the sooner, cut off the Water-Pipes
 that supplied the Mount, and this reduced them to great Extremities. Nevertheless,
Apuleius and *Glaucia* still retained Hopes of Favour from him, and sent him a Depu-
 tation offering a Submission. This he accepted, promised them their Lives, which
 it was not in his Power to give, and gave them leave to come out of the *Capitol* to
 save them. But the People were so enraged, that the *Consul* himself could not protect *and are kil-*
 them. They, and the chief of their Friends, were all killed, and torn in pieces by *led*.
 the Populace.

§ 8. When the Storm was blown over, the *Comitia* were assembled in Tranquillity
 and all the late Acts of Violence declared null and void; and when the *Tribes* were
 654. assembled again for electing *Consuls*, they added *A. Postumius Albinus* to *Marcus An-* 353d Con-
tonius, who had been elected on the Day that *Memmius* was murdered. § 9. *fulship*.

Antonius begun his Year with religious Ceremonies, in order to avert the Evils fore-
 boded by some late imaginary Prognosticks; and had the Pleasure to see the *Games*
 given by *Claudius Pulcher* the *Ædile*, celebrated without Trouble or Confusion. But
 it was not long e're the Leaven of Sedition which *Marius* had sown among the *Tri-*
bunes, began to shew it self in *Sextius Titius*.

§ 10. He attempted to ingra- *Sextius Ti-*
 tiate himself with the People, and raise new Troubles by reviving the *Gracchian* Law *tius, the*
 about the Lands; but the *Consul M. Antonius* prevented the Mischiefs intended, and *Tribune*,
 brought him into such Contempt with the People, that as soon as he was out of his *opposed by*
 Office, he was accused of infamous Crimes, and banished. § 11. And *M. Anto-*

now, after *Marius* and his Friends were thus fully disappointed, it was thought a *nus,*
 proper Season to recall *Metellus Numidicus*; who shewed as much greatness of Mind *and bani-*
 on this unexpected Honour, as he had done on his undeserved Condemnation. He *shed*.

655. received the News without a change of Countenance, and returned to *Rome* with the *Metellus*
 same composure of Mind, with which he had left it. § 12. Soon after his Re- *recalled*.
 turn, the Republick raised his Relation *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* to the *Consulship* at his Re- *His great-*
 quest, and joined with him *T. Didius*. They began their Year with two wholsome *ness of*
 Laws against the Artifices of the *Tribunes* in relation to the manner of passing Laws; *Mind*.
 and about this Time, the late *Consul Antonius* gave a remarkable Proof of the Power 354th Con-
 of his Eloquence, in his Defence of *M. Aquilius*, who had subdued the Slaves in *Si-*
cily. He was accused of grievous Crimes, which were too notorious to be denied; *M. Aqui-*
 but *Antonius* applied himself with such Art and Force to the Passions of his Judges, *lius acquit-*
 that he got him acquitted. § 13. Then the *Consuls* drew Lots for their Pro- *ted*.

vinces, and *Didius* set out for *Spain*, and carried with him *Sertorius* a brave Officer,
 whose Assistance was of the greatest Importance to him. It was probably owing to *Sertorius*
 him, that he gained his first Victory there; and his Conduct in reducing the Cities of *his Conduct*
Castulo and *Gyrifænum* was masterly. But when the *Consul* had, by the Help of *Ser-* *in Spain*.
torius, reduced the Rebels, he very basely and treacherously cut in pieces a large Co- *The Cruel-*
 lony of *Spaniards* near *Colenda*, and *Rome* was so much degenerated, as to applaud the *ty of Didi-*
 Cruelty. This inspired the Rebels with fresh Courage, and they fought a Battle with us
 such Bravery, as would have encouraged them to have gone on, had not *Didius* by *approved*
 Stratagem over-reached them. But he at length brought them to his own Terms, and *at Rome*.
 five Years after his *Consulship*, returned to *Rome* to *triumph*.

§ 14. In the mean time, the *Consul Metellus* continued at *Rome*, and preserved
 the Peace there. All Speeches that tended to Sedition were severely punished, as in
 the Case of *C. Plautius Decianus*, who was banished; and the profligate *Marcus Du-* *C. Plautius*
ronius was not so much applauded, as he might have expected, for the loose Speech he *Decianus*
 made to the People in favour of Licentiousness. § 15. In *Asia*, the excellent *M. Duro-*
Pro-Consul, P. Mucius Scævola, punished the Iniquity of the *Roman Knights* in a very *nus*.
 exemplary manner; and other Governours of Provinces were thereby encouraged to

656. follow so glorious an Example. § 16 The next *Consuls* were, *C. Cornelius* 355th Con-
Lentulus and *P. Licinius Crassus*, whose Year was as peaceable as the preceding, tho' *fulship*.
Marius was now returned from his *Asiatick* Expedition, where he had by Insolence
 and Haughtiness endeavoured to provoke *Mithridates* to begin a War, and thereby
 laid the Foundation of that Hatred to *Rome*, which afterwards made him so inveterate
 an Enemy to the Republick. *Marius* aspired at the *Censorship*, but finding the At-
 tempt would be vain, desisted; and the Persons promoted were *L. Valerius Flaccus* *Duronius*
 and *M. Antonius*, who deposed *Duronius* for his late Speech to the People, and cele- *deposed*.
 brated the 65th *Lustrum*. § 17. *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *C. Cassius* 65th Lu-

657. *Longinus* the two succeeding *Consuls*, continued the Tranquillity which had now been strum.
 preserved for some Years; and this encouraged the People to reject the many War- 356th Con-
riors *fulship*.

- 357th Consulship. riors who desired to succeed them, § 18, and prefer *L. Licinius Crassus* the Year of famous Orator, and *Q. Mucius Scaevola* a learned Civilian, before them. But these *ROME* pacifick Consuls, tho' without Design, sowed the Seeds of one of the most cruel Wars 658.
- Mucia-Licinian Law. that ever broke out in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. They got the *Mucia-Licinian* Law passed, which obliged the *Allies* who lived in *Rome*, and falsely pretended to the Right of *Roman Citizenship*, to return to their own Homes; and this Law, tho' very just and equitable in itself, was so resented by the People of the *Italian* Provinces, that it afterwards gave Birth to the *War of the Allies*. At the same time *Servilius Cæpio* was unjustly accused again for his former Faults, and at the Instigation of *Norbanus* the Tribune, was, by Violence and Sedition, banished a second Time for the same Offences. And when, § 19, the Consuls came to their Provinces, *Scaevola* found so little to do in *Transalpine Gaul*, that he generously disbanded his Army before his Year expired, to save the Expence of it; and *Crassus*, though he sought for Enemies in *Cisalpine Gaul*, could find none, but a Company of strolling Robbers, whom he defeated. Nevertheless, the latter demanded a *Triumph* at his return, but his Colleague, from a pure Regard to Equity, opposed, and prevented it. § 20.
- Scævola's Probity, and Equity. The next Year *Domitius Ahenobarbus* was promoted; and at the same Time *Cælius* 659.
- 358th Consulship. *Caldus*, a Man of no Birth or Merit, was preferred to several Competitors who had both. Their Consulship was chiefly remarkable for that extraordinary Instance of the Power of Eloquence, which *M. Antonius* is thought to have shewn in his Defence of *Norbanus*. He was accused of his late Sedition against *Cæpio*, and the Fact was notorious. Nevertheless *Antonius* represented his Crime in so favourable a Light, that his Judges acquitted him. But if it be remembered, That *Norbanus* had, in the very Act for which he was accused, been endeavouring to avenge the Cause of those who were now his Judges; there will perhaps appear little just Reason to ascribe so much to the Force of his Advocate's Rhetorick. § 21. The Consulate of *C. Valerius Flaccus* and *M. Herennius*, was likewise spent in peaceful Employments. At least, we have nothing recorded of it, but the pompous Show of Lions with which *Sylla* entertained the People in the *Circus*; the Success of *M. Curius* in his Contention for the Inheritance of a *Citizen*, who had conditionally devised his Estate to him; § 22, the great Applications of the *Romans* to Eloquence; and the unjust Condemnation of *P. Rutil. Rufus* an old Consul, who pleaded his own Cause. 660.
- 359th Consulship. But the next Year drew the Consul *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *M. Perperna* into their Provinces. § 23. In *Asia*, *Mithridates the Sixth* was taking the most horrible Steps to enlarge his Dominions. In order to seize the Throne of *Cappadocia* he murdered one of his Nephews with his own Hands, and drove the other into a foreign Country, where he died. Their Mother therefore § 24, to stop his Progress, joined with her Husband in setting up a pretended Son of hers as Heir to the Crown; which led *Mithridates* likewise to set up another Pretender, and when the Cause was tried at *Rome*, the Senate determined for neither, but gave the *Cappadocians* leave to erect themselves into an independent Republick, and afterwards to choose themselves a King. § 25. *Mithridates* enraged at this Disappointment, prevailed on his Son-in-Law *Tigranes* to invade *Cappadocia*, upon which *Ariobarzaes*, the new King, immediately fled to *Rome* for Protection. The Senate ordered *Sylla* to carry him back to his Dominions; and he had the Glory first to restore him, and then to receive an Embassy from the *Parthians*, who were till now unknown to the *Romans*. § 26. In the mean time, *Cn. Dom. Ahenobarbus* one of the Censors, accused his Colleague *L. Crassus* of Luxury, he having been so fond of *Murænae*, as to have put himself in Mourning for one of them, and erected a Tomb for it; and both joined in driving some *Latin Rhetoricians* out of *Rome*.
- The Cause of *M. Curius*. P. Rut. *Rufus* unjustly condemned. 360th Consulship. The Cruelty of *Mithridates*. Two Pretenders to the Throne of *Cappadocia*. *Ariobarzaes* restored by *Sylla*. A Roman Censor puts himself in Mourning upon the Death of a Fish. 361st Consulship. *Drusus* Author of The War of the Allies. *Drusus* assassinated. 362d Consulship. § 27. In the succeeding Consulate of *Sex. Jul. Cæsar*, and *L. Mar. Philippus*, *Mar. Liv. Drusus*, Tribune of the People, caused The War of the Allies to break out, by attempting to put in execution his favourite and well-meant Scheme of reconciling all Orders of Men in the Republick to each other. This Scheme he published § 28, with Confidence, and to ingratiate himself with the Commons, got a Law passed for giving them *gratis* what Bread they should want. But when he came to begin the Execution with a Compromise between the Senate and *Knights*, § 29, he found both Parties join in opposing him, and sent the Consul *Philippus* to Prison. In the mean time, § 30, the *Allies* were impatient to have his Promise performed, of getting them the Rights of *Citizens*, whereas *Knights*, *Senators*, and even the *Roman People* all declared against him, and the Consuls, tho' he had just then saved them from a Conspiracy, conspired to destroy him. In short § 31, he was murdered at his own Door, and the Senate pursued their Hatred to him beyond the Grave. Several Men of great Distinction were banished, for having concurred in the Attempt to grant the Right of *Citizenship* to the *Allies*. § 32. Upon this, *Q. Pompeius*, the most famous Warrior against the *Marssi*, put himself at the Head of 10000 Men, and marched towards *Rome*. The next Year, § 33, the *Allies* erected themselves into a Republick in Opposition to that of *Rome*; made 661.
- Corfinium 662. 663.

Year of *Corfinium* their Capital ; the *Asculani* murdered *Q. Servilius* the Roman Pro-Consul, *ROME* who attempted to prevent their rising ; and the Consuls, *L. Jul. Cæsar*, and *P. Rutil.* 362d Con-
663. *Lupus*, chose the greatest Men in the Republick for their Lieutenants, to carry on the *Julship*.

War against them. Whilst *Rome* was taking these wise Measures, the *Allies* also *The Repub-*
§ 34, chose their Consuls and Prætors, at *Corfinium* ; and *Cn. Pompeius*, who, to revenge *lick of the*
the Death of *Servilius* on the *Asculani*, attempted to take their City by Assault, was put *Allies*
to flight, and suffered a considerable Loss. In the Country of the *Marfi*, *Presenteius*, one of *erected*
their Generals § 35, defeated *Perperna*, who commanded there under the Roman Consul *Perperna*
Rutilius, and he lost above 4000 Men ; and *Vettius* laid an Ambush for *Rutilius* himself, *defeated*
killed him upon the Spot, and 8000 Men with him. This News, and the Sight of *Rutilius*
the Consul's Body, filled the People at *Rome* with great Terror ; § 36, and to *killed*.

increase it, their Pro-Consul *Cæpio*, who succeeded *Rutilius* in part of his command, suf- *Cæpio*
fered himself to be over-reached by the Italian Consul *Pompeidius*, and was slain, with *slain*
the greatest Part of his Army. These Successes raised the Courage of the *Marfi*, *Aponius*
§ 37, and the Confederates took many Towns, and gained many Victories in *Cam-* *defeated*
pania, *Lucania*, and most other Provinces. The first Victory the Romans gained in *Acerræ re-*
the Year, was by their Consul *Cæsar*. He was attacked in his Camp by the Italian *lieved*
Consul *Aponius*, who was besieging *Acerræ* ; but *Cæsar* repulsed him, with the Loss
of 6000 *Samnites*. Nevertheless *Aponius* § 38, still continued before *Acerræ* ;

and *Cæsar* therefore marched a second Time to its Relief, and raised the Siege. In the
mean while, *Marius* § 39, defeated *Asinius* the General of the *Marrucini* and
Marfi ; and *Sylla* compleated his Victory with that General's Death. *Sulpicius* also *Asculum*
went to relieve *Cn. Pompeius*, who was besieged in *Firmum* by *Afranius* the General *besieged*
of the *Picentes*, attacked his Camp, and killed him in the Action, with most of his
Troops : and then *Pompeius* went and besieged the rest in *Asculum*, whither they had
fled for Refuge. This News § 41, dispersed all Clouds in *Rome*. Never- *Freedmen*

theless, the *Marfi* defeated old *Marius*, and the Fame of this induced the *Umbri* *inlisted*
and *Hetrurians* to declare for them. This obliged the Republick to order some *Freed-*
men (which was never done but in great Crises) to be inlisted ; and her Generals de-
feated both the *Umbri* and *Hetrurians*. And the Consul *Cæsar*, § 42, so put *The Julian*

an end to the War before his Office expired, made a Consular Law, from him called *Law*.

664. *The Julian*, enacting, That all the Italian Nations whose Alliance with *Rome* was in-
disputable, should enjoy the Rights of Roman Citizens. But this Law was so slowly 363d Con-
put in execution, that it did not immediately answer that end ; and therefore, § 43, *Julship*.

Cn. Pompeius Strabo, and *L. Porcius Cato*, the Consuls for the next Year, were obliged
to neglect all Affairs abroad, and confine themselves to the War so near Home. The
former went to carry on the Siege of *Asculum*, and destroyed a whole Army of *Marfi*, *The Brave-*
who came under their General *Francus*, to relieve it. Nevertheless, the Place § 44, *ry of Juda-*
held out still, depending on relief from the intrepid *Judacilius* their Countryman ; and *cilius*,
he ordered them to make a Sally at a Time appointed, promising to force his way
into the Place through the Roman Army. Accordingly, he made the Attempt, and
tho' not seconded by the *Asculans*, bravely performed his Promise, and with a few *his Death*
Troops came into the City. This done, he first put to death those who had pre-
vented the Sally, and then killed himself by Poison, that he might not survive the
ruin of his Country.

§ 45. In the mean time, *Asellio* the Prætor Urbanus, so exasperated the People at *Asello*
Rome, by the many Judgments he gave against Usury, that they murdered him as he *assassinat-*
was offering Sacrifice ; and *Plautius*, the Tribune of the People, § 46, by a *ed*.

new Law deprived the Roman Knights of their Jurisdiction, and when he had put the
last Hand to *The Julian Law*, got it confirmed by the People. This § 47,

brought the *Italians* to *Rome* in such Numbers, that the new Citizens soon became *The new*
more numerous than the old ; and to prevent their being Masters of Elections, new Citizens
Censors were chosen, who formed them into new Tribes, and consequently obliged *formed into*
them to vote last, which very much lessened their Power. During these Regulations Tribes.

at *Rome*, § 48, the War was prosecuted with Vigour in the Provinces ; and *Por. Cato*
the Roman Consul *Pompeius*, defeated the Italian Prætor *Vettius Cato*, and afterwards *killed*
granted him a friendly Conference. On the other hand, § 49, the Consul *Marius*

Porcius Cato was killed in a Battle with the *Marfi*, and his Army cut in Pieces. But *Egnatius*
the Roman Pro-Consul *Cosconius*, first defeated, and killed the famous *Marius Egna-* *killed*
tius, in a pitch'd Battle ; and afterwards defeated *Trebonius* the *Samnite*, who succeeded *The Lari-*
Egnatius in his Command, and reduced the Countries of the *Larinales*, *Venusii*, and *nates*, &c.
Pediculi, to Obedience. § 50. These Losses gave the Confederates Pain for *reduced*.

Corfinium, and they removed their Senate and Magazines from thence to *Ejernia* in *Ejernia*
Samnium. They also sent an Embassy to *Mitbridates*, in *Asia*, who had now de- *made the*
clared against *Rome*, hoping to obtain from him sufficient Assistance to recover their *Capital of*
Affairs. But the fortunate *Sylla* frustrated their Expectations. He first reduced and *the Allies*
plundered *Stabie* ; then marched against the Roman Army, who had murdered their *Stabie*
General *Postumius*, and instead of punishing them, only added them to his own *Le-* *taken*
gions.

§ 51. When his Army was doubled, he besieged *Pompeii*, which *Pompeii*
brought *besieged*,

and taken.
Cluentius
killed.
Hirpinia
reduced.

Aponius
defeated.
Bovianum
taken.
Asculum
reduced.
364th Con-
sulship.
Pompeius
triumphs.

brought *Cluentius* to the Relief of it ; and when the latter had been worsted, he soon Year of repaired his Losses with a Reinforcement of *Gauls*. These bid the *Romans* Defiance ; *ROME* but their Champion, who challenged the bravest *Roman* to a single Combat at the Head .664. of the Armies, being killed by a young *Moor*, the rest fled and all the Troops of *Cluentius* with them. *Sylla* pursued them, cut 30000 of them in Pieces, and then reduced *Pompeii*. This done, he came up with *Cluentius* at *Nola*, attacked him, killed him in Battle, and with him 20000 *Samnites*. From *Nola* the Conqueror went and reduced *Asculana*, and all *Hirpinia* ; and from thence § 53, proceeded to *Samnium*. There the famous *Aponius* surrounded him in narrow Passes, and reduced him to the utmost Distress. But he found means to deceive *Aponius*, and escape. He agreed to a Truce with him, then stole out of his Camp in the Dark, during the Cessation, and taking a Compass, came and attacked the *Samnites* behind, and defeated them. And lastly, he then marched to *Bovianum*, § 54, and took it by Storm. In the mean time, the Consul *Pompeius* § 55, reduced *Asculum*, and by so doing, in a manner finished the War. When Winter approached, the Generals returned to *Rome*, § 56, where *Sylla*, and his Friend Q. *Pompeius Rufus*, were chosen Consuls for the succeeding Year ; and the Consul *Pompeius* only, was honoured with a *Triumph* on Account of this War, as having commanded in Chief in it, and almost put an End to it. 665.

B O O K LVI.

Sulpicius
tries to sup-
plant Sylla.

Vettius ge-
nerously
killed by his
Slave.
Pompædi-
us killed.

The People
appoint Ma-
rius to go to
Asia.
Sylla enters
Rome by
force.

Sylla's Jus-
tice to the
Slave who
betrayed
Sulpicius

Marius's
Flight,
and Adven-
tures.

§ 1. **A**S soon as *Sylla* was entered on his new Office, his Heart was set on going into *Asia*, to carry on the War with *Mithridates*. But *P. Sulpicius*, a Tribune of the People, who prevented the Promotion of one *Julius Cæsar*, (not the Conqueror of the World) to the Consulate, and who was wholly devoted to *Marius*, concurred with the latter in endeavouring to supplant *Sylla*, and deprive him of that Commission. *Marius*, § 2, wanted it himself ; and his Friend *Sulpicius*, the better to support his Pretensions, began with paying court to the People, by passing several Laws in their Favour. In the mean time, § 3, the *Vestini* and *Peligni*, submitted to *Rome*, and promised to surrender up their Leader *Vettius*. But as they were dragging him along in Chains, a faithful Slave, to prevent his Ignominy, first stabbed his Master, and then himself. The Italian Consul *Pompædius* was also vanquished about this time, and killed in Battle. The last Place, § 4, that held out for the Allies was *Nola*, and *Sylla* went to reduce it ; but was recalled to the City, to restrain the Insolence of *Sulpicius*, who had usurped the most unjust Tyranny in *Rome*. As soon as returned, he began with prevailing on the Senate to order several *Feriæ* to be kept. But *Sulpicius*, came with his Friends armed to the Senate, raised a Tumult there, in which the Son of the Consul *Pompeius* was killed, and *Sylla* took Refuge in the House of *Marius*, who made him promise to get the Decree concerning the *Feriæ* recalled. The Senate did so, and *Sylla* returned to his Army ; but *Sulpicius*, not content with this, forced the Senate likewise to declare *Pompeius* deprived of his Office ; and then, § 5, assembled the People, and procured a Decree from them, That *Marius* should go and command in *Asia*. Upon this News, *Sylla* artfully represented to his Troops the Injuries done him ; and they, after they had killed the Messengers *Marius* sent to bring them to him, intreated their old General to lead them to *Rome* to revenge his Quarrel. § 6. *Rome* was filled with Terror at his Approach ; the Consul *Pompeius* joined him with other Troops ; and then he posted some at the Gates of *Rome*, entered the City with others, fought *Marius*, who opposed him, in the Streets, and forced him to flee to the Citadel. § 7. The next Day, the Consuls required the Senate to disannul the Laws of *Sulpicius*, and make others in Diminution of the Power of the Tribunes, proscribed the chief Persons concerned against them ; and set a Price on the Heads of *Marius* and *Sulpicius*. A Slave of the latter betrayed him, for the Sake of the Reward, and he was beheaded ; and when *Sylla* came to reward the Slave, he ordered the Money to be paid him for his Discovery, and at the same Time, commanded him to be thrown down from *The Tarpeian Rock* for betraying his Master. *Marius*, § 8, was fled, but *Sylla's* Emissaries pursued him with as much Zeal, as they had done *Sulpicius*, and his Sufferings and Dangers in his Flight and Exile were very extraordinary, and would be as affecting, if we could forget his Crimes. § 9. He first retired to his Country-house with *Marius* his Son, and *Granius* his Son-in-law, and after he had sent the former for Provisions, got on board a Bark, and put to Sea ; but was forced to return to the Shore, and ramble about the Fields, and beg Bread of Cow-herds. In the mean time, young *Marius* was surrounded, and escaped, by being packed up in a Bundle of Beans. The Father, after he had escaped his Pursuers by swimming to two Boats near the Shore, was again forced to Land to get a little rest, and was there left alone and asleep ; and some Troops from *Minturnæ* at last found him hid up to the Chin in Water, with Weeds put over his Head, and led him

Year of him thither naked and in Chains, to execute him there, according to the Decree of the
 ROME Senate. But Providence was still determined § 10, to preserve him. The Execu-
 665. tioner who was sent to dispatch him in Prison, was, or pretended to be, so struck
 with his Appearance, that he durst not kill him; and upon this Report the People of
Minturnæ resolved to make him amends for their hard Treatment of him. § 11.
 They furnished him with a Ship, laden with Provisions and Presents; and, after
 some Time, he landed on the Coast of *Africa*. There his Son *Marius* found him;
 and, whilst the Son was relating to him his Escape from *Mandrestal*, a petty King of
Numidia, who had received him with much outward Respect, the Father alarmed at
 the Sight of two Scorpions fighting, persuaded those about him to flee to a Fisher-
 man's Bark, and put out to Sea. Which they had no sooner done, than the Shore
 was covered with *Mandrestal's* Soldiers, who came to seize young *Marius*, and give
 him up a Sacrifice to the *Romans*. But they were both already out of reach; and spent
 the Winter in rambling about the Islands which lay near *Africa*. § 12. In the
 mean time, the Consul *Pompeius Rufus* went to take Possession of his Army, which
 was still in the Hands of the late Consul *Pompeius Strabo*; and the latter stirred up the
 Soldiers to a Mutiny, and they murdered the former as he was offering Sacrifice. This *Pompeius*
 Assassination of his Colleague alarmed *Sylla*, and he immediately prepared to set out *Rufus af-*
 for *Asia*. But before he marched, § 13, *Cn. Octavius* and *L. Cornelius* assassinated.
 666. *Cinna*, entered upon the Consulship, and the latter, tho' he had sworn an inviolable At- 365th Con-
 tachment to *Sylla*, ordered him to be cited to appear on a Charge of Male-Admi-fulship.
 nistration. To prevent this, he immediately embarked at *Capua*, and sailed for the
 East; and *Cinna*, as soon as he was gone, usurped great Authority in *Rome*. Re-
 solving to get a Law passed by Violence in favour of the *New Citizens* the *Allies*,
 he ordered them § 14, to come armed to the *Comitium*. The old *Citizens*
 did the same, and a Battle ensued, in which 10000 of the new *Citizens* are said to *A Battle in*
 have been killed upon the Spot; and at last, *Cinna* himself left *Rome*, and went to *the Comi-*
 the neighbouring Cities to get Troops and Money to maintain what he called *The tium.*
Cause of the Allies. As soon as he was gone, the Senate deprived him, and chose *Cinna dri-*
L. Corn. Merula, Consul in his room; and this so quickened him in his Applica-ven from
 tion, § 15, that he soon assembled no less than 30 *Legions*, and then re-Rome,
 solved to recall the Exiles. and depri-
 He sent *Marius* Word that he might return to *Italy* without fear of the Senate or its ved,
 Decrees; and *Marius* § 16, readily left the Coasts of *Africa*, and landed *raises a*
 in *Hetruria*. As soon as arrived, he sent to offer *Cinna* his Service; and the latter, *great Ar-*
 tho' against the Inclination and Advice of the famous *Sertorius*, who had joined him, *my,*
 accepted the Offer, and gave *Marius* the Title of *Pro-Consul*. And now, *recalls Ma-*
 § 17, these three Commanders took each his Province in this new War, and went and *rius,*
 besieged *Rome*. *Pompeius Strabo* had joined the *Consuls*, after *Cinna* and *Sertorius* *and besieges*
 had refused his Offers, and was encamped without the Walls of the City to defend it. *Rome.*
 Within, the two *Consuls* were too observant of old Laws and Customs, to provide well
 for their Defence; and the Senate recalled *Metellus* from *Samnium*, who was likewise
 too scrupulous on such an Occasion, and this made their Friends desert in Companies
 to the Enemy. § 18. However, *Octavius* found Means to raise an Army,
 and *Metellus*, and *Pompeius Strabo*, commanded each his own: And *Cinna* undertook
 to get the latter assassinated in his own Tent. But *Strabo's* Son, (afterwards *Pompey Strabo's*
the Great) saved his Father's Life, and prevented the Desertion of his Army, by a *Life saved*
 Courage and Conduct worthy of that great Fame which he afterwards acquired. Ne- by his Son,
 vertheless *Cinna*, § 19, resolved to pursue the Siege; and the point in view,
 was to starve the three Armies that defended it. To this end, *Marius* seized the
 neighbouring Cities, and reduced *Rome* to extreme Want. A Plague also broke out
 in *Strabo's* Camp, and he was himself killed with Lightning. These Distresses, but he is
 § 20, led the most timorous Citizens to advise a Treaty with *Cinna*, and their Ad- killed by
 vice prevailed. The Senate, § 21, sent three of their Body to his Camp, with all *Lighten-*
 the Marks of Supplicants; and he insisting on the Senate's acknowledging him to be ing.
 Consul, the Deputies returned to the City for Instructions, and upon their Report, the
 Consul *Merula* resigned his Office, to make Way for that Recognition. Then the
 Deputies repaired again to the Camp, and upon a Promise from *Cinna*, That no Ro- *Cinna and*
 man of Condition should, with his Consent, be put to Death, the Gates of the City *Marius en-*
 were ordered to be opened to him. ter *Rome.*
 He entered *Rome* with *Marius*, who was surrounded by 6000 Men whom he chose *The Cruelty*
 for his Guards, and called his *Bardiates*; and as soon as they came thither, the lat- of *Marius.*
 ter ordered these Villains § 22, to murder all those who should salute him,
 and not be favourably received by him. *Cinna*, for the present, exercised his Cru-
 elty only on his Colleague *Octavius*, who still took upon him to exercise his Office, *Octavius*
 and was slain in his *Curule Chair* by *Censorinus*. But the Lust and Cruelties of *Marius's* killed.
Bardiates were such § 23, That *Cinna*, and *Sertorius*, resolving to rid the City of *The Bardi-*
 them, ordered them all to be killed in the Night. After this, the Chiefs of the Con- tes killed.
 spiracy

spiracy met, and at the Motion of *Marius* it was resolved to cut the Throats of all Year of the Senators that could be found in the City; and their Estates were put up to Sale, *ROME* and their Houses plundered. In the mean-time § 24, the *Marian* Soldiers 666.

disperfed themselves about the Country in search of the illustrious *Romans*, who had retired thither for Safety; and the famous *Marcus Antonius* being discovered, *Marius* sent *Anius* to murder him, received his Head with great Joy as he sat at Table, and after he had made it Matter of Sport to his Guests, ordered it to be stuck up on a Pole with the rest, before the *Rostra*. Nor did even this satisfy the blood-thirsty Tyrant.

Catulus
and Meru-
la kill them-
selves.

He ordered, § 25, *Lutatius Catulus*, and the late *Consul Merula*, to be summoned before the People; and they, knowing the inevitable Consequence of the Accusation, prevented it by voluntary Deaths. *Catulus* suffocated, or poisoned himself; *Merula* ordered his Veins to be opened in the Temple of *Mars*, whose High-Priest he was, and sprinkled his Altar with his Blood. And now, the *Consulate* being near expiring, the unhappy Citizens hoped for some respite. But *Cinna* would not trust them with choosing him a Successor. He nominated himself for *Consul* the next Year, and made *Marius* his Colleague.

366th Con-
sulship.
Marius
dies.
The Cruel-
ty of his
Son.

§ 26. As soon as they entered on their Office, the latter pursued his Cruelties, and continued them to his Death, which happened a few Days after. Nor was even this any Respite to the unfortunate City, whose Streets flowed with Blood. *Cinna* associated with him in the Government, tho' not in the Office of *Consul*; *Marius* the Son, who had imbibed the Spirit of his Father; and he put all the *Patricians* he could find in *Rome*, or its Neighbourhood, to the Sword. 667.

BOOK LVII.

Ariobar-
zanes again
deprived.
Nico-
medes re-
stored.
Mithrida-
tes invades
Bithynia,
beats Ni-
comedes,
seizes all the
Roman
Provinces
in Asia,
basely in-
sults the
Roman Ge-
nerals,
marries the
virtuous
Monimia,

inhumanly
massacres
the Ro-
mans,
and draves
Greece in-
to a Revolt.

Sylla ar-
rives in
Thessaly,
and besieges
Athens.

Lucullian
Money.

§ 1. DURING these Wars in *Italy*, *Mithridates* secretly endeavoured to lessen the Power of the *Romans* in the East; and to that end, privately assisted *Tigranes*, in depriving *Ariobarzanes* King of *Armenia*, a second Time; and supported *Socrates*, who claimed *Bithynia* from *Nicomedes*, whom the *Romans* had acknowledged to be King of *Numidia*, with his Arms and Advice. *Rome* therefore sent three Senators to settle the two disputed Crowns; and these Commissioners, after they had restored *Nicomedes*, prevailed on him,

§ 2, to commit Hostilities in *Pontus*, thereby to force *Mithridates* to declare himself openly. These Insults he bore with great Patience till all his Preparations were made, and then sent *Pelopidas* to the three *Romans*, who openly threatened them in his Master's Name.

§ 3. Upon this, they raised three Armies; and *Mithridates*, at the Head of a prodigious Body of Troops, marched to invade *Bithynia*. *Nicomedes* opposed him with only 40000 Men, but was entirely defeated, and his Camp plundered.

§ 4. Then the victorious Army marched against the *Roman* Generals, and disperfed them; and *Mithridates* seized *Bithynia*, and subdued *Lycia*, and all the *Roman* Provinces in *Asia*. At *Laodicea*, the *Roman* General *Oppius* was delivered up to him, and the *Lesbians* surrendered into his Hands *M. Aquilius*, the chief of the three *Roman* Commissioners; who was treated with great Scorn and Insolence, and at last killed, by having melted Gold poured down his Throat.

§ 5. At *Stratonica* in *Caria*, which he reduced, he fell in Love with the incomparable *Monimia*, and finding her Virtue Proof against all Temptations, married her.

§ 6. In the mean time, the *Romans*, having finished their War with the *Allies*, resolved to send *Sylla* to stop the Progress of this mighty Conqueror in the East; and *Mithridates* resolved to attempt the Reduction of the *Rhodians* (the only *Allies* on all the *Asiatick* Coasts that remained faithful to *Rome*) before the formidable *Sylla* arrived. But first the Barbarian inhumanly ordered all the *Romans* and *Italians* in *Asia* to be put to Death, and at least 80000 of them were massacred; and then he sailed for *Rhodes*,

§ 7, where he was bravely received, and forced to return, without Success.

§ 8. After this Disappointment, he attempted to draw *Greece* into a Revolt, before the *Roman* General came; and succeeded so well, that *Athens*, and all the rest of the Country, declared for him. Only *Bruttius Sura*,

§ 9, made some Resistance with Success, both by Sea and Land; and at last was forced to give way to superior Forces, and retire.

§ 10. But as soon as *Sylla* landed in *Thessaly*, the *Greeks* in general as readily returned to their Duty as they had deserted it; and, *Athens* only being obstinate in her Rebellion, the *Roman* besieged it. However, the Enemy defended it so bravely,

§ 11, that his Attacks all the rest of the Year, were fruitless, and he was then reduced to great Distress for want of Money. But he found out an Expedient for this Difficulty,

§ 12, by plundering the Temples of *Apollo* and *Æsculapius* of their Riches; which his *Quæstor Lucullus*, a brave Man, whom he afterwards sent to get a Fleet, coined for him, and called the Money by his own Name.

§ 13. Then

- Year of § 13. Then *Sylla* renewed the Siege, and after many brave Actions on both Sides, *Takes A-*
ROME § 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, took the upper Part of the City by Storm, *thens,*
667. § 19, and massacred all the People; and reduced the Lower, called *Cecropia*, by
 Famine. From *Athens*, § 20, he marched to *Patronis*, where *Hortensius*
 joined him with a seasonable Reinforcement from *Theffaly*, and there waited for *Ar-*
chelaus and *Taxiles*, two Generals of *Mithridates*, who were coming with innumerable
 Forces to oppose him. In the mean time, § 21, many Senators, driven from
Rome, by *Cinna's* Cruelties, came to his Camp; and *Cinna*, by his own Authority,
 had nominated *Valerius Flaccus*, whom he had made *Consul* after the Death of old
Marius, to deprive *Sylla* of his Command, and succeed him. Nevertheless, *Sylla*,
 § 22, marched to meet *Taxiles* and *Mithridates*, and after he had brought *defeats Ar-*
 his Forces, who were terrified at the Sight of the Numbers of the *Asiatics*, to desire *chelaus and*
 a Battle, § 23, fought them near *Chæronea*, entirely defeated them, *Taxiles at*
 § 24, and took their Camp. Then § 25, he resolved to resettle *Greece* in *Chæronea*,
 order, and began at *Athens*. There he put the Tyrant *Aristio* to Death; and after-
 wards deprived the *Thebans* of half their Lands, which he gave to the Temples of
Apollo at *Delphi*, and *Æsculapius* at *Epidaurus*, by way of Restitution for the Trea-
 sures he had taken from them. At length, § 26, a Squadron, which was
 sent before the *Consul Valerius*, arrived in *Theffaly*, and the Troops as soon as land-
 ed, went over to *Sylla*, and informed him, That all Power at *Rome* was in the Hands
 of his Enemies, tho' his Friend *Pompey* had been acquitted on an unjust Accusation.
- § 27. This shewed *Sylla* the Necessity of his conquering *Mithridates* be-
 fore he could safely return to *Rome*; and he marched against *Dorylas*, whom *Mi-* *beats Dory-*
thridates had sent to *Archelaus* with 80000 fresh Troops, drove him *las,*
 out of the Field in a pitched Battle, and the next Day, § 29, attacked his
 Camp and took it, and thereby entirely reduced all *Greece*. In the mean time *Mi-* *and recon-*
thridates, § 30, alarmed at these Misfortunes, in order to put it out of their Power *quers all*
 to hurt him, resolved to oppress, if not destroy the *Asiatics*; cruelly cut off the *Ga-* *Greece.*
latian Lords, treacherously seized the chief of the *Ciots*, and resolved to transplant *Mithrida-*
 them into another Country. The *Ephesians* therefore § 31, shut their Gates *tes oppresses*
 against him, and revolted, and many other Cities followed their Example; which, *the Asia-*
 together with the Plots he discovered in his own Court and Family so terrified him, *ticks,*
 that he sent *Archelaus* § 32 to *Sylla*, and agreed on a Peace with him, *and agrees*
 § 33. And now, the *Consul Valerius* arrived at last at *Byzantium*, with his Lieute- *to a Peace*
 nant *Fimbria*; and as soon as they landed, great Differences arose between the two *with Sylla.*
 Generals. § 34. At *Rome*, *Cinna* without assembling the *Comitia*, declared
 668. himself *Consul* the third Time, and *Papirius Carbo*, his Collegue; and many, op- *367th Con-*
 pressed with his Cruelties, fled to *Sylla's* Camp for Refuge, among whom were his *sulship.*
 Wife *Metella* and her Children. In the mean time, § 35, *Fimbria* mutinied *Fimbria*
 against *Valerius*, seized him in *Nicomedia*, and put him to Death; and *Cinna*, instead *murders*
 of punishing, rewarded the Villainy, by declaring him General in the *Levant*. As for *Valerius*.
Sylla, § 36, he first went to subdue the *Thracians* and some other Nations *Sylla sub-*
 who had revolted from the *Romans*, and then continued his Negotiations with *Mi-* *dues the*
thridates to compleat the Peace, which *Fimbria* now obstructed. This Usurper, as *Thracians.*
 soon as he had got Possession of the Army passed over into *Asia*, defeated the Son of
Mithridates, and shut up the King himself in *Pitane*; and at the same time, *Fimbria*
 § 37, the great *Lucullus*, arrived before that Port with the Fleet *Sylla* had sent him *besieges Pi-*
 to collect. *Fimbria* therefore § 38, desired him not to let the King escape; *tane,*
 but he despised the Orders of a Man whom he detested, sailed away, and left the Sea
 open to *Mithridates*, who retired to *Lesbos*. However *Fimbria* took *Pitane*, and fe-
 veral other Places, and treated the Inhabitants with unparalleled Insolence and Cruelty. *and takes*
 In the mean time, *Sylla*, § 39, sent to *Mithridates* to confirm the Peace; *it.*
 and *Mithridates*, in a Conference, § 40, at *Dardanus*, performed all the Con- *Sylla con-*
 ditions required of him upon the Spot. § 41. *Sylla's* Army, who were im- *firms the*
 patient to come to a Battle with *Mithridates*, murmured at this News; but he had *Peace with*
 the Address to turn their Rage against the Usurper *Fimbria*, and led them to attack *Mithrida-*
 him. When the two *Roman* Armies were within reach of each other, that of *Fimbria* *tes.*
 § 42, declared openly against him, and the Usurper fled to *Pergamus*, and
 there stabbed himself. After his Death *Sylla*, § 43, who was now in the *Fimbria*
 highest pitch of Prosperity, used his Successes with great Moderation, both with Re- *kills him-*
 gard to *Fimbria's* Soldiers and the *Asiatics*; and immediately resolved to return to *self.*
Italy.
669. § 44. *Cinna* still continued himself and *Papirius Carbo* *Consuls* at *Rome*; and the *368th Con-*
 Senate, to whom *Sylla* had written a Letter of great Temper and Moderation, or- *sulship.*
 dered Ambassadors to be sent, to desire him not carry his Resentments so far, as to pro-
 duce a Civil War. These Ambassadors met him § 45, at *Dyrrachium* upon *Sylla re-*
 his Return to *Italy*; but there he spoke a very different Language. He told them, *turns to*
 he was coming to *Rome* full of Rage and Revenge. The News of this which fled be- *Italy.*
 h fore

- fore them to *Italy*, so alarmed the *Consuls* that they raised two Armies to oppose his landing. But *Cinna's Legionaries* grew mutinous, and in a Tumult murdered him. Upon this, § 46, *Carbo*, now sole Master of the Republick prevailed on the Senate to order Troops to be raised to keep *Sylla* out of *Italy* by Force of Arms; and 200000 Men were raised for that Purpose. Nevertheless, § 47, *Sylla* landed his Troops at *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*, and the *Pro-Consul Metellus* joined him. The New *Consuls*, *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *Jun. Norbanus* were now at the Head of the Republick, and the latter drew near *Sylla*, § 48, whose Troops ran to Arms without Orders, attacked and defeated the *Consul*, and killed 7000 of his Men. The Fame of this greatly increased *Sylla's* Friends in *Italy*; nevertheless the *Consul Scipio* drew near, and in a manner surrounded him. And in this distress, he had recourse to his old Artifice, of pretending to treat of Peace, and during the Treaty found Means to corrupt *Scipio's* Troops, § 50, and drew off his whole Army to himself. The *Consul* and his Son were at his Mercy; but he § 51, generously sent them to their Friends under a Guard.
- The News of this Surprise so alarmed the brave *Sertorius*, that he retired to his Province of *Spain*, to support the *Plebeian* Party there; and on the other Hand, induced young *Pompey* to declare for the *Patrician*. He assembled Troops in *Picenum*, § 52, and of his own Authority proclaimed himself General; made three Generals who opposed him quit the Field, and leave the Country open to him; drew off another Army which *Scipio* had raised, § 53, defeated *Papirius Carbo's* Cavalry; and at last reached *Sylla*, who received him with peculiar Marks of Distinction. § 54. This addition to his Troops increased the Fears of the People of *Rome*, and *Carbo*, who tyrannized there, forced them to choose himself § 55, and young *Marius* *Consuls* for the next Year, and they stripped the Temples of their Ornaments to supply themselves with Money. Then *Marius*, § 56, who was as cruel as his Father, ordered the *Prætor Urbanus* to murder all *Sylla's* Friends at *Rome*; and these Cruelties turned *Sylla's* Heart.
- § 57. After he had defeated *Marius* in a pitched Battle, and forced him to take Refuge in *Præneste*, he massacred all the *Samnites* that fell into his Hands without Mercy. § 58. Then he blocked up *Præneste*; and his Friends having been successful as well as himself in this Campaign, he entered *Rome* without Opposition. § 59. There he professed great mildness, and after he had only promoted his own Friends, left the Capital with Precipitation to prevent the Relief of *Præneste*.
- § 60, *Carbo* was advancing towards it, and made great Efforts to that end; but *Sylla* successively defeated two of his *Roman* Generals, and three of the Confederates, and kept his Ground. § 61. At the same time, young *Marius* did all that was possible to escape, but in vain. And so great was the Success of *Metellus*, and *Sylla's* other Friends in *Italy*, § 62, that *Carbo*, despairing of Success there, withdrew to *Africa*. But when *Sylla* therefore thought the War at an end, *Pontius Telesinus* a *Samnite*, § 63, came with a great Army to relieve *Marius*; and not succeeding, bravely resolved, and immediately marched, to surprize *Rome*. But he was too dilatory in the Execution. He gave *Sylla* Time § 64, to come up with him, and after a furious Battle, the *Roman* gained a compleat Victory; and from henceforwards, became the most cruel and inhuman of Men. § 65. He murdered Thousands at a Time, who had voluntarily surrendered to him, in cool Blood; and heard their Cries with great Composure and Tranquillity. § 66. After this, *Præneste* surrendered, young *Marius* killed himself, or was killed by his Friends, and the Conqueror treated the *Samnites* and *Prænestini* there with as much Inhumanity, as he immediately afterwards shewed to the most illustrious *Romans*.

BOOK LVIII.

- Sylla* kills § 1, 2. **A**S soon as returned to *Rome*, he told the People in *Comitia*, that all his 9000 *Patricians*, *Knights*, and *Citizens*, were to be proscribed, which were executed with all possible Circumstances of Cruelty; and were so extensive, that some say, 9000 *Senators*, *Knights*, and *Citizens*, all perished by his Orders, or the Fury of his Agents, of whom the infamous *Catiline* was Chief.
- § 3. From *Rome* he extended his Cruelties to the Provinces, which he likewise treated without Mercy; and during these Oppressions, his Friend *Pompey* § 4, went and drove *Carbo* out of *Africa*; and afterwards § 5, seized *Carbo* himself, and brought him to *Sirily*, and there put him to Death. And now, § 6, *Sylla* being absolute Master of *Rome*, and all the *Roman* State, got himself chosen *Dictator*; then chose § 7, *Val. Flaccus* his Master of the Horse; and made a Law, That no one should be chosen *Consul*, till he had first been *Prætor*. Notwithstanding this Law,

- Year of Law, and Sylla's Orders to the contrary, *Lucret. Ofella*, who had carried on the Siege of *Præneſte* under him, preſuming on that Merit, perſiſted in ſtanding for the Conſulate; but Sylla ordered a *Centurion* to cut off his Head: and then § 8, his kills *Ofella*.
671. Friends *Tull. Decula*, and *Corn. Dolabella* were choſen Conſuls. As ſoon as choſen, 371ſt Conſulſhip.
672. Sylla ſent them to their Provinces; but continued himſelf in the Capital, where he made 13 new Laws for the Reformation of the State, which were all, except that relating to Sylla's Laws. Proſcriptions, allowed to be equitable and judicious. § 9. At this Time, *Cicero* firſt pleaded in private, in defence of *Quinctius*; and Sylla, § 10, at the Requeſt of the *Egyptians*, ſent them a King, whom they murdered in 19 Days. Then § 11, after he had enfranchiſed 10000 Slaves, and called them *Corneliſians*, and rewarded his old *Legionaries* with Eſtates in the Country, he entertained the People with a very magnificent *Triumph*, which was ſucceeded by very pompous Games. § 12. In the mean time, the *Marian Faction* began to revive in *Africa*, and gave Sylla umbrage. *Domitius Abenobarbus* had there raiſed 20000 Men, and prevailed on *Hiarbas* one of the Kings of *Numidia*, to join him. Sylla therefore ordered *Pompey* thither, and he defeated them, killed *Domitius*, and took *Hiarbas* Priſoner. § 13. This extraordinary Succeſs alarmed the Dictator himſelf, and is jealous of Pompey.
673. he ordered the young Hero to diſmiſs his Troops, and he readily obeyed. § 14. The next Year, the Dictator deſired to be choſen Conſul likewise, and *Q. Metellus* was choſen with him. Their Year paſſed in great Tranquillity at Rome, and 372d Conſulſhip. Sylla gave the People ſuch magnificent Entertainments, § 15, as now ſeem His great Entertainments.
- to ſurpaſs all Credit. § 16. But in the miſt of all, he received two Mortifications, one of which at leaſt gave him real Uneaſineſs. The firſt was the Death of his Wife *Metella*, his Concern for whom was ſoon worn off by *Valeria*, whom he accidentally met at a Show, and afterwards married. The ſecond § 17, *Valeria*. *Pompey's Triumph*; which the Victor in a manner extorted from him againſt his Will. *Cicero* However § 18, he, this Year, in which *Cicero* firſt pleaded in Publick, ſpeaks in publick. ſubdued *Nola*, and *Volaterra*, the only Cities that held out againſt him; and when all Italy was ſubdued, he deſired to be left out of the Conſulate for the next Year,
674. § 19, and *P. Servil. Vatia*, and *App. Claudius Pulcher* were promoted § 20. 373d Conſulſhip. And now, to the great Surprize of all the World, he grew weary of publick Buſineſs, and had Magnanimity enough to lay down the Dictatorſhip. This done, Sylla reſigns the Dictatorſhip.
675. § 21, he gave up himſelf to infamous Company and lewd Practices; and in the ſucceeding Conſulate of *Æmil. Lepidus* and *Q. Lutat. Catulus*, died of an Impoſtume, § 22, and was buried with great funeral Pomp and Magnificence. § 23. Immediately after his Death the *Marian Faction* revived. The Conſul *Lepidus*, bent on new Diſturbances, made a great Interceſt all over Italy, and marched towards Rome at the Head of an Army, to compel the People to continue him Conſul another Year. But *Pompey* defeated him near Rome; then he § 24, went The War of *Lepidus*.
- and conquered *Jun. Brutus*, one of his Lieutenants, in *Ciſalpine Gaul*, and beheaded *Brutus* himſelf; and upon this News, the Senate declared *Lepidus* an Enemy to the Republick, and drove him again from Rome, whither he was advancing a ſecond Time. § 25. After this, *Junius Brutus*, and *Æmil. Livianus* were peaceably choſen Conſuls; *Catulus* followed *Lepidus* into *Heſtruria*, there fought a third Battle with him, and drove him from the Continent, to *Sardinia*, where he ſoon languished away and died. 375th Conſulſhip. his Death.
676. § 26. During theſe Tranſactions at home, *Muræna*, whom Sylla had left in *Asia*, unjuſtly attacked the King of *Pontus*, and forced him into the ſecond *Mithridatic War*. The King complained to the Senate, who acted a double Part with him, 2d Mithridatic War unjuſtly begun by the Romans. § 27, by ſending private Inſtructions to *Muræna*, different from his publick ones, and he therefore renewed the War. But the *Aſiaticks* drove him at laſt into *Phrygia*, and then the Romans ſent him Orders, § 28, to conclude a Peace in earneſt, which he did; and thereby left *Mithridates* at Leiſure to conquer the *Aſiatick Scythians*, and *Colchians*, and privately ſtir up *Tigranes* to dethrone *Artabanus*.
- § 29. In the mean time, *Sertorius* drew great Part of Spain into a Revolt againſt Sylla; but *Annius*, whom Sylla ſent thither, forced him to flee out of the Province. He joined ſome *Celtic* Pyrates, § 30, and afterwards, went into *Africa*, and beat a Roman Army there. The Fame of this led the *Lufitanians* to invite him to their Country. § 31, and he there defeated *Didius*, and other Roman Generals, Sertorius defeats *Didius*.
- formally § 32, choſe himſelf a Senate, out of the *Patricians* that had fled to him, and erected *Lufitania* into a new Republick, in Competition to that with Rome; and this now determined the Republick to ſend *Pompey* againſt him. In the Capital, § 33, *J. Caſar* appeared with great Credit at the Bar; and afterwards ſhewed an extraordinary Reſolution and Courage, when taken Priſoner by Pyrates. § 34. The chief Buſineſs of the new Conſuls *Cn. Octavi. Nepos*, and *L. Scribonius Curius* was to prevent any increase of Power to the Tribunes of the People, in which they ſucceeded. In the mean time, § 35, *Pompey* arrived in Spain, where *Sertorius* was revered as a Man inſpired, if not
677. J. Caſar appears at the Bar. 376th Conſulſhip.

- Sertorius not adored as a God. He had found means to impose on the People, by a tame Doe, Year of which he kept, and pretended it revealed future Things to him. And when § 36, ROME
 defeats Pompey, Pompey came to relieve *Lauro* which *Sertorius* besieged, the latter not only took the 677.
 the first Place in spight of him ; but afterwards, § 37, fought a Battle with him,
 Time, killed 10000 of his Men, and drove him out of the Field. § 38. The next
 (377th Con- Year, *L. Octavius* and *Aurelius Cotta*, were chosen *Consuls*, and upon a Complaint 678.
 sulship.) made, that the Famine occasioned in *Rome* by the *Cilician* Pyrates who infested the
 Seas, was owing to *Sylla's* having lessened the Power of the *Tribunes of the People*,
Cotta was weak enough to give up one Point in their Favour, to the great Prejudice
 of the Republick. He consented, that for the future, the *Tribunes* might be promoted
 to superior Offices, which *Sylla* had prohibited by Law. In this Campaign, *Serto-*
rius, to recover the Loss his Lieutenant *Hirtuleius* had suffered in a Defeat by *Me-*
tellus, resolved to fight *Pompey* separately, and did so § 40, with great Suc-
 a second cess. Soon after, § 41, he engaged both *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and gained
 Time, a great Victory over both. The Fame of this spread his Reputation all over the
 and a third known World, and, § 42, *Mithridates*, now resolving on a War with *Rome*,
 Time with Metellus. sent to *Spain* to enter into a Treaty with him. He offered *Sertorius* 3000 *Talents*,
 Mithrida- and 40 Galleys, if he would give him up the *Roman* Dominions in *Asia*. But the
 tes offers a Treaty with brave *Roman*, § 43, signally displayed his Constancy and Firmness on this
 him. Occasion. He would not consent to injure his Country, tho' making War with him,
 His signal so much as to give up *The Asiatick Province* ; and *Mithridates* concluded the Peace
 Love of his with him without that Article, and then made prodigious Preparations for the War.
 Country. In the mean time, § 44, *P. Servilius* chased some of the Pyrates, took *Isaure*
 their Capital, and was honoured with a *Triumph*, and the Title of *Isauricus*, for his
 Success.
- 378th Con- § 45. The next Year, *Licin. Lucullus*, and *Aurelius Cotta*, were chosen *Consuls* ; 679.
 sulship. and the former, having it greatly at Heart, to get the chief Command in the *Levant*,
 and not being able to succeed without it, paid his Court to a Mistress of *Cetbegus*,
 one of the *Tribunes of the People*, and by her Interest in the *Tribune*, prevailed. His
 M. Anto- Colleague obtained the Command of the Fleet that was to guard *Bithynia* ; but before
 nius's Com- he failed, § 46, got an extraordinary Commission for *M. Antonius*, the Fa-
 mission, ther of *Mark Anthony*, which was that of Commander-General of all the Coasts of the
 ill Success, Mediterranean. *Antonius* set out with great Confidence in quest of the Pyrates ; but
 and Death. the Pyrates utterly destroyed his Fleet, and he died of Grief. § 47. When
 The third *Cotta* arrived, *Mithridates* was in Motion with his mighty Armies, and made a quick
 Mithrida- Progress, in reducing the Cities of *Paphlagonia* to his Obedience. In submitting to
 tick War. him, the Inhabitants imagined they submitted to the Authority of *Rome* ; because *Va-*
rius, whom *Sertorius* had sent to *Asia*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, always preceded
 the King's Troops, attended by his *Lictors* with their *Fasces*. § 48. The
Bithynians likewise would readily have revolted, if they had not been kept to their
 Duty by *Julius Caesar*, who without any Commission raised Troops, and at the Age
 of 24, discovered a very uncommon Degree of Valour and Prudence in this his first
 Expedition. On the other hand, *Cotta*, § 49, attacked the *Asiatick*
 Julius Cæ- Fleet, but was beaten, and forced to retire for Refuge to *Chalcedon*, and the Enemy
 sar's first invested him there. *Lucullus* therefore marched to his relief, and without fighting
 Expedition. forced *Mithridates* to retire. The King went from thence to besiege *Cyzicus*, § 50.
 Cotta bea- 51, and made great Efforts to take it, but in vain. *Lucullus* forced him to flee, and
 ten. by Conduct, rather than Action, destroyed his mighty Army of near 300000 Men.
 Cyzicus be- From thence the *Roman* went and besieged *Lampsacus*, and after his Lieutenant had
 sieged. taken several Places, put an end to the Campaign by a compleat Victory over the
 Lucullus thridates's Army, and *Asiatick* Fleet, in which he took *Varius*, and his two Lieutenants Prisoners.
 destroysMi- Fleet. § 53. Nor was *Rome* now less successful in *Spain*, than in *Asia*. *Sertorius* was become
 thridates's quite another Man, and his Subaltern *Perperna* resolved to supplant him, and usurp
 Army, and the command. To this end he first basely laboured to prejudice all the *Lusitanians*,
 Fleet. and *Spaniards* against him ; and then § 54, formed a Plot against his Life,
 Perperna and at an Entertainment at *Osca*, treacherously murdered his General and his Friend,
 murders his the command. To this end he first basely laboured to prejudice all the *Lusitanians*,
 General and *Spaniards* against him ; and then § 54, formed a Plot against his Life,
 Sertorius. and at an Entertainment at *Osca*, treacherously murdered his General and his Friend,
 who by his *Will* had made him his sole Legatee. § 55. As soon as *Sertorius*
 was dead, the Traitor seized his Effects and Papers, and usurped the Command of
 the Army. But *Metellus* so much despised him, that he marched away, and left
 Pompey Pompey to finish the War himself. Which he did, § 56, by an easy
 beats and Victory ; in which the Traitor was taken Prisoner, and after the Conqueror had taken
 takes the him, he would not vouchsafe to see him, tho' he earnestly intreated for that Ho-
 Traitor Pri- nour. Pompey first ordered him to send the Papers which contained *Sertorius's* Cor-
 soner. respondences with many Persons of Distinction at *Rome* ; then commanded *Perperna*
 and burns Sertorius's to be beheaded ; and then, very generously, or very politickly, burnt the Papers un-
 Papers un- opened, in the Presence of all the Officers of his Army.

BOOK LIX.

- Year of § 1. SCARCE was the Rebellion in *Spain* at an end, when a new Storm arose in
 ROME the Heart of *Italy*. In the next *Consulate* of *Terentius Varro*, and *Cassius*
 680. *Varus*, some Slaves of *Capua* broke off their Chains, took up Arms, and under the
 Conduct of *Spartacus*, a *Thracian* of uncommon Abilities, first defeated the *Capuan*
 Militia, and afterwards *Claudius Pulcher*, a *Roman Prætor*, at the Head of 3000
 Men. § 2. These successful Beginnings so raised the Reputation of *Spartacus*,
 that he soon had an Army of 10000 Men, and then he took several Cities, in which
 his Men, contrary to his Inclinations, committed great Devastations; and therefore
 he resolved to lead them out of the Country. When he had first by an ingenious Stra-
 agem escaped the Snares laid for him by the *Prætor Vatinius*, and afterwards defeated
 the *Prætor*, he marched into *Cisalpine Gaul*; and finding that his Troops, now
 10000 Men, were ungovernable, and therefore incapable of carrying on a War, he
 intended only to give them an Opportunity of returning into their own Countries.
 But, § 3, the next Year, when *Gellius Poplicola*, and *Corn. Lentulus* were
 681. chosen *Consuls*, and the *Romans* sent three Armies against him, *Cninx* one of the
 Chiefs of the *Gallic* Slaves separated from him, and was cut off with his Army by
 the *Roman Pro-Consul Gellius*, and *Anius*. Upon this News, *Spartacus* turned back,
 and with great Bravery attacked the *Roman* Generals before they had joined, defeated
 them both, and then returned into *Lucania*.
 § 4. Whilst the *Romans* were suffering these Dishonours in *Italy*, *Lucullus* was pur-
 suing *Mithridates* in the East. The King sent to the neighbouring Princes to join him,
 with little Success; and *Lucullus*, § 5, that he might not drive him to de-
 spair, attacked several Places at once, and proceeded but slowly against them. This
 raised the Murmurs of his Troops against him; and § 6, when he had gained
 over *Phænix*, one of the Enemy's Generals, he marched to meet *Mithridates* in the
 Plains of *Cabira*, and had several Skirmishes with him. In one of those he took *Pom-*
ponius Prisoner, who being asked whether he would grant the King his Friendship if
 he had him cured of his Wounds, replied, *He must first gain the Friendship of Lu-*
cullus: And *Mithridates* as magnanimously stopped those who would have killed him
 for this Answer, and said, *An unfortunate brave Man should never be the Object of his*
Revenge. Nevertheless, when the King found he could not bring *Lucullus* to a Bat-
 tle, he hired a young *Scythian* Lord § 7, to assassinate him in his Tent. But
 the Attempt was by Accident prevented from taking effect; and soon after, § 8, tick
Lucullus was as accidentally delivered from the Inconveniences he suffered in a bad
 Situation, and brought, under the Guidance of a fugitive *Greek*, to the top of a Moun-
 tain over-against the King's Camp. Then the Skirmishes were renewed between the
 two Armies, and *Lucullus* having routed a large Detachment of *Asiaticks*, their whole
 Army were struck with such a Pannick upon it, that they all fell upon one another,
 ran away in haste out of the Camp, and dispersed; and the King himself had been
 taken Prisoner, if the *Romans* sent after him had not fought with one another for his
 Baggage, and thereby given him Time to escape. He retired § 9, to *Ti-*
granes in *Armenia*, and lest his Queens and Sisters should fall into the Enemy's Hands,
 sent an Eunuch, to put them all to death; and he inhumanly put these cruel Orders in
 Execution. § 10. This Barbarity exasperated the People of *Pontus* against
 the King, and they surrendered up most of their strong Holds to *Lucullus*; who
 took *Amisos* their Capital by Storm, and treated the conquered with such Humanity,
 that he gained both their Love and Esteem. In the mean time, § 11, the
Pro-Consul Servilius, in *Macedon*, severely punished a *Legion* which mutinied against
 him, and marched his Army through so many rough and unknown Countries, that
 he was honoured with a *Triumph* on his return.
 682. § 12. During these Transactions in the East, *Ausidius Orestes* and *Lentulus Sura*
 were promoted to the *Consulate*, and the brave *Crassus* was nominated *Prætor* to act
 against *Spartacus*. § 13. The Reputation of *Crassus* was so good, that he soon
 raised a very large Army, recovered the Loss his Lieutenant *Mummius* had suffered
 by his Rashness, and defeated *Spartacus*, who after a fruitless Attempt to get to *Si-*
cily, posted himself in a Peninsula near *Rhegium*. There, § 14, *Crassus* shut
 him in, intending to have starved him. But he bravely forced his way through the
 Lines, and became again Master of the Field. He would probably have been in-
 vincible, if his Troops had not been again divided. But the *German* and *Gallic* Slaves
 separated from him, and chose their own Commanders; and then *Crassus* found means
 to draw them into a Snare, and killed 30000 of them, before *Spartacus* could come
 to their relief. § 15. In the mean time, *Pompey* returned from *Spain*, and the
Romans resolved to send him to finish the War with the Slaves. *Crassus* therefore,
 Vol. V. i that sus,

379th Con-
sulship.The War of
the Slaves
under Spar-
tacus.His first
Successes,
and Pru-
dence.380th Con-
sulship.Cninx bea-
ten.Spartacus
defeats Gel-
lius and A-
nius.Lucullus
pursues Mi-
thridates.The Brave-
ry of Pom-
ponius,and Mag-
nanimity of
Mithrida-
tes.The Asia-
tick Army,
struck with
a Panick,
disperses.Mithrida-
tes retires to

Armenia,

and murders
his Wives

and Sisters.

Lucullus
takes Ami-
sos.Servilius
makes a Pro-
gress in Ma-
cedon, and

triumphs.

381st Con-
sulship.The Prætor
Crassus de-
feats Spar-

tacus,

whorecovers
himself.His Army
again divi-

ded and bea-

ten by Craf-

that his Rival might not reap the Fruits of his past Labours, resolved to give a decisive Battle immediately; *Spartacus* was slain in it fighting with great Bravery, and himself slain. Year of ROME 682.

§ 16, his Troops utterly destroyed. When *Pompey* came, there was only a small Body of 5000 Fugitives in Arms: but nevertheless, such was the Partiality of the Romans for their Idol, that *Crassus* with great Difficulty obtained an Ovation, whilst *Pompey*, who had done much less in *Spain*, was honoured with a Triumph for what he did there.

§ 17. In *Asia*, *Lucullus*, after he had conquered almost all *Pontus*, sent *Claudius Tigranes*, to require him to deliver up *Mithridates*. The *Armenian* King peremptorily refused it; and when *Claudius* returned, § 18, he found the great *Lucullus* very compassionately easing the *Asiatics* of the grievous Oppressions they suffered from the *Publicans*. This exasperated the *Publicans* against him, and they sent to *Rome* defamatory Stories of him, which by degrees disposed the People to recall him, tho' they were not very hasty in it.

§ 19. The two Rivals, *Pompey* and *Crassus*, now contended with Zeal for the *Consulship*, and both succeeded. But *Pompey*, § 20, who artfully accommodated himself to all Seasons and Parties, greatly gained the Ascendant in the Affections of the People, and was in reality Master of all Favours, and the Arbiter of every Man's Fortune. The new *Censors*, § 21, *Poplicola* and

Lentulus, who punished the irregular with great Severity, paid him very distinguishing Honours; and, tho' *Crassus*, § 22, entertained the People with a surprising Profusion and Magnificence at 10000 Tables, he could not get the better of his Rival in their Esteem. At this Time, *Cicero's* Eloquence prevailed against *Verres* the oppressive *Sicilian* *Prætor*, who was forced to go into Banishment; and *Virgil* was born.

§ 23. In the mean time, the City of *Heraclea*, after a two Years Siege, surrendered to *Cotta*, who very basely plundered it, and greatly enriched himself with the Spoils. Whilst *Lucullus*

§ 24, who took *Synope* by Assault, treated the Inhabitants with great Generosity and Good-Nature. After this, § 25, *Lucullus* boldly resolved to attack *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* together, entered *Armenia*, at the Head of only 12000 Foot and 3000 Horse, and attacked and defeated *Tigranes*, near *Tigranocerta*, his favourite City. § 26. Upon this, *Tigranes* soon got together an Army of 300000 Men, at which *Lucullus* greatly rejoiced. He hoped to destroy all the Forces of the most powerful Monarch at one Blow; and in order to bring him to a Battle, laid siege to *Tigranocerta*. Accordingly *Tigranes* advanced with his Army, and *Lucullus*

§ 27, bravely attacked him, gained a compleat Victory over him, in which he killed an 100000 Men, and in a few Days after § 28, made himself Master of *Tigranocerta*, in which he found great Treasures. And now, whilst *Rome*

§ 29, was advancing *Hortensius*, a famous Orator, and *Cæcilius Metellus*, to her greatest Honours, and amusing herself with Shows, this great General, § 30, formed the vast Design of subduing all *Asia*. To this end, he sent an Embassy, as

§ 31, amused both Parties, with evasive Answers, or false Promises; and *Lucullus* therefore resolved on Revenge, and to this end, sent for all the *Roman* Troops he had left in *Pontus*. But those Troops despised his Orders; the Infection of their Mutiny spread itself even to the Army he had with him, and the People of *Rome* (who

§ 32, to wound the General through his Lieutenant's Side, condemned *Cotta* for plundering *Heraclea*) deprived him of his Titles and Government; and § 33, raised *Cæcilius Metellus* and *Marcus Rex* to the *Consulate*. In the mean time,

§ 34, *Lucullus* intent on finishing the great Work he had begun, prevailed, though with much Difficulty, on his Troops to take the Field, and march against *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, who appeared each at the Head of a separate Army. But they were grown more cautious, and unwilling to engage; and therefore § 35, in order

to draw *Tigranes* to a Battle, the *Roman* marched towards *Artaxata*, where *Tigranes* had placed his Wives and Children. Upon this, the *Armenian* ventured a pitched Battle, in which the *Romans* gained a compleat Victory, and made a greater Slaughter of the Enemy than in the Battle of *Tigranocerta*. After this Success, § 36,

Lucullus would fain have taken *Artaxata*, but his Troops forced him to lead them into *Mesopotamia*; and there he finished this glorious Campaign, with taking *Nisibis*, a strong City on the River *Mygdonius*.

§ 37. Nevertheless, *Metellus* gained more Honour at *Rome* by his *Cretan* Expedition, than *Lucullus* by these prodigious Conquests in *Asia*. The *Romans*, who were so fond of their own Liberties, were ever intent on robbing other Nations of theirs, and could not brook the Independence of the Island of *Crete*; and therefore they sent *Metellus* against it, and he, in this Campaign, took *Cydonia* the Capital, and several other Cities.

§ 38. At *Rome*, the People raised *Calpurnius Piso* and *Acilius Glabrio* to the *Consulate*; and their *Tribunes*, through *Pompey's* private Assistance, began to recover their former Degrees of Power to the great Danger of the Republick. *Cornellius* the

Year of the Tribune, to mortify the *Patricians*, got the *Calpurnian Law* passed, which forbid *The Cal-*
ROME unlawful canvassings for Elections. *Roscius Otho* honoured the *Knights* with a new *purnian*
 686. Mark of Distinction. And *Gabinus*, § 39, in all Probability, at the Insti- Law.
 gation of *Pompey*, proposed *The Gabinian Law*; which was for erecting a new Office
 of *Pro-Consul of the Seas*, with a larger Province and greater Degree of Power than
 had ever yet been given to any Magistrate. The Design was to clear the Seas of the
Pirates, and the Man in view was *Pompey*. And therefore § 40, tho' he pre- *Pompey's*
 tended to decline it, his usual Artifice being to decline those Things which he most *Artifice*.
 desired, and thereby conceal his Ambition under the Appearance of Modesty; yet
 neither § 41, the Opposition of two *Tribunes*, nor the wise and just Reasonings *chosen Pro-*
 of *Catulus* the *Prince of the Senate*, could divert the People from it. The Law was *Consul of*
 passed, that new Office erected, and *Pompey* invested with it. Which was no sooner the Seas.
 done, but he made Preparations § 42, for this great Expedition; and carried
 it on with such Success, that instead of the three Years allowed him, he finished it in *destroys the*
 less than four Months. § 43. He drove the *Pirates* out of the Seas, took all *Pirates*.
 their Fastnesses, and transplanted the Prisoners he took into deserted Cities, but chiefly
 to *Soli*, which he called *Pompeiopolis* from his own Name. *Pompeio-*
polis.

BOOK LX.

§ 1. **W**HEN *Pompey* had thus finished the War with the *Pirates*, he was much *Pompey's*
 inclined, as usual, to rob *Metellus*, who had almost reduced *Crete*, of the *baseness to*
 Glory of his Labours, and assume to himself the Honour of the Conquest of the *Metellus*,
 Island. The People sent an Invitation to him, and he readily sent a Lieutenant with
 some Troops to take that Province out of the Hands of *Metellus*. But the old Gene- *who beats*
 ral opposed his Lieutenant by Force of Arms, drove him out of the Island, and com- *his Lieute-*
 manded the Reduction of it himself. And tho' *Pompey* had Interest enough to get it *nant,*
 postponed for three Years, the People at last did him the Justice of a *Triumph* for his *reduces*
 Victory. The Jealousy of *Pompey*, § 2, appeared likewise in a stronger *Crete,*
 light with Regard to the brave *Lucullus*. He had lately lost much Ground, and some *and tri-*
 Credit. The *Romans* had sent *Glabrio* and *Marcus Rex* to succeed him; *Mithrida-* *umphs.*
tes had beaten his Lieutenant *Fabius*, and in another Battle, § 3, gained a *Pompey's*
 great Victory over *Triarius*: And § 4, when he came to oppose the juncti- *base at-*
 on of the separate Armies of *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, his *Legionaries* absolutely re- *tempt to*
 fused to obey him. *Cappadocia* was therefore a Prey to the latter, and the former *supplant*
 was by degrees recovering his old Cities; and *Pompey*, who wanted to reap the Glo- *Lucullus.*
 ry of the past Exploits of *Metellus*, took this Method to procure a Commission to suc-
 ceed him. § 5. Soon after the Promotion of *Æmilius Lepidus* and *Volcatius* 386th Con-
 687. *Tullus* to the Consulate, *Manilius* the Tribune of the People § 6, proposed the *fulship.*
 Law, from him called *The Manilian*, which enacted, That *Pompey* should have a new *The Mani-*
 Commission, empowering him to succeed *Lucullus* and carry on the War in Asia, added to *lian Law.*
 that of *Pro-Consul of the Seas*. This was indeed giving him almost an absolute Pow-
 er over the greatest Part of the known World; but nevertheless, with the Assistance
 of *Julius Cæsar* and *Cicero* now *Prætor*, it was passed. And when § 7, the
 News of this extraordinary Authority was brought him in Asia, *Pompey* signally dis- *Pompey's*
 played both his Dissimulation, and his Meanness of Spirit. He pretended great Con- *Dissimula-*
 cern at being burthened with this Authority; but left no Means untried to lessen, and, *tion and*
 if possible, utterly destroy, the Fame of his Predecessor in Asia. *Lucullus* expressed *Meanness*
 great Resentment at this: But the new General artfully drew off all his Troops from *of Spirit.*
 him, and he was forced to return to Rome. § 8. There, after three Years *Lucullus*
 Solicitation, he obtained a *Triumph*, which was very magnificent; gave himself up *triumphs.*
 to Pleasures; lived in the most pompous and expensive Way imaginable; and died, *His Death,*
 much lamented by the *Romans* in a very advanced Age. *Pompey*
 § 9. In the mean time, *Pompey* tried to bring *Mithridates* to a Peace which he re- *surrounds*
 fused; and then the *Roman* marched after him, surrounded him and his Army in his *Mithrida-*
 own Dominions, and had like to have starved them there. But the King at length tes,
 broke through the Enemy's Lines, and retired towards *Great Armenia*. § 10. and defeats
 There old *Tigranes* was much weakened by the Revolt of his Son, who went over to *him.*
Pompey; and the *Roman Army*, § 11, pursuing hard after *Mithridates*, *Nicopolis*
 overtook him near the *Euphrates*, attacked him in the Night, and entirely routed his *founded.*
 Army. § 12. *Pompey* founded a new City upon the Place, which he called *Tigranes*
Nicopolis, from his Victory; and then entered *Great Armenia*, where after he had *surrenders*
 taken several Cities, old *Tigranes* came and surrendered up himself and Kingdom to *up himself*
 the *Roman General*, who received him with great Civility and Respect. § 13. and King-
 The next Day, *Pompey* adjusted the Disputes between the Father and Son, put old *dom to*
Tigranes *Pompey*,

- Pompey *Tigranes* in Possession of his old Dominions, and gave the Prince *Sopbene* and *Gor-* Year of
puts his Son diene. But the latter soon after formed another Plot against his Father, and then *ROME*
in Chains, Pompey seized him and put him in Chains; and, during his stay in *Armenia,* added 687.
and very Syria to the Dominions of *Rome.* § 14. That ancient Kingdom had been
unjustly sei- possessed by the Race of the *Seleucidae* above 200 Years, and the only remaining
zes the Branch of it, who had a Title to that Throne, was *Antiochus.* § 15. He
Kingdom of therefore came and made his Claim to *Pompey*; but the *Roman,* who had only the
Syria, and outside of Virtue, very unjustly deprived him of his Inheritance, and made it a *Ro-*
makes it a man Province. § 16. This done, he marched in pursuit of *Mithridates,*
Roman and in his March, made all the North of *Asia* know and dread the *Roman*
Province. Name.
- 387th Con- § 17. In the mean time, *Aurel. Cotta,* and *Manlius Torquatus* obtained the Con- 688.
sulship. sulate at *Rome,* but with great Difficulty. They had the infamous *Catiline* for a
Catiline's Competitor; who had committed Murders without Number, and whose Lusts and
Character, Incests are not to be described. § 18. But he had a Mixture of seeming Vir-
and his tues with these real Vices, and thereby attached so many People to him, that he for-
Plots. med two Plots, for murdering the *Consuls* and destroying the Government, and failed
in both. § 19. Nevertheless, *Cæsar* and *Crassus* still retained some Af-
fection for him; and the latter got the seditious *Piso* sent *Pro-Prætor* into *Spain,* where
he was killed.
- Pompey § 20. During this Winter, *Oreses* King of *Albania* formed a Design to surprize
subdues O- Pompey's Troops in their Winter Quarters, on the Feast of *Saturnalia*; but *Pompey*
refes, was informed of it, defeated all his Parties, and forced him to sue for a Peace, which
and Ar- was granted him. § 21. Then *Pompey* marched after *Mithridates,* subdued
toces, *Artoces,* King of *Armenia,* who opposed him in his March; and forced that Prince
to make such a Peace with *Rome,* as her General approved. § 22. From
thence he resolved to enter *Colchis*; but upon Information, that *Cosis,* the Brother of
and Cosis. *Oreses,* had prevailed on him to shake off the *Roman Yoke,* he turned towards him,
§ 23, fought a pitched Battle with him, in which he killed *Cosis* with his
own Hand, utterly destroyed his Army, and then conquered and ravaged all *Albania.*
§ 24. After this Defeat, *Oreses* submitted to the Dominion of the *Romans*:
Pompey granted Peace to many other Nations on the *Caspian Sea*; and then returned
to *Little Armenia,* to settle the Affairs of his Conquests. § 25. In the mean
time, *Mithridates* advanced towards the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, where his Son *Macha-*
res reigned, and the latter for fear of his Father, killed himself; upon which *Mithri-*
dates seized his Dominions, and thereby enabled himself to carry on the War.
- Machares § 26. *Pompey,* in his Way from *Armenia* to *Pontus,* came to a Castle, where *Mi-*
kills him- *thridates* had left some of his Wives and Daughters; and *Stratonice* who commanded
self. in it, surrendered it up to *Pompey,* upon a Promise of Safety and Protection to her Son
The Cruel- *Xiphares.* But *Mithridates,* when he heard the News, ordered her Son to be cut in
ty of Mi- pieces in her own Sight, and thereby revenged the ill Treatment of his Wife on his
thridates. own Blood. § 27. When the *Roman General* came to *Pontus,* he there set-
tled the conquered Countries, and disposed of Crowns and Provinces at Pleasure.
- Jul. Cæsar § 28. But whilst he was thus shining in the *Levant,* *Julius Cæsar* was captivating the
captures Hearts of the People at *Rome.* He was naturally generous; and being now *Ædile,*
the Hearts § 29, he affected Popularity more than ever. His Behaviour was so very
of the Peo- engaging, that no Man went from him displeased. His Manner, and the very Tone of
ple at his Voice, helped to make him agreeable; and he gained so much on the People, by
Rome. the magnificent Shows he gave them, that they chose his Friend *C. Julius Cæsar Con-*
378th Con- sul with *Marcius Figulus.* § 30. On the other hand, *Pompey* was pursuing his
sulship. mighty Scheme of reducing the whole Empire of the *Seleucidae* in *Asia,* to the State of
Pompey a *Roman Province*; and to this End, intended to enter *Syria* by *Comagene.* But there
enters Sy- he found two little Kings in Arms, and subdued them both; and on his Journey re-
ria. ceived the News of the Death of *Mithridates.* § 31. This Prince, who was
Mithrida- residing in the *Bosphorus,* had formed the romantick Scheme of forcing his Way, like
tes proposes *Hannibal,* into *Italy,* and raised a great Army § 32, for that Purpose, and being
to enter Ita- Master of *Panticapæum* on one Side of the *Bosphorus,* he resolved to seize *Phanagoria,*
ly, which was on the other. But the *Phanagorians* received a *Roman Garrison*; and the
is betrayed, Officer whom he sent with his Daughters to the *Scythian Kings,* betrayed him, and
delivered them up to *Pompey.* § 33. Nevertheless, the King declared his
Design of going into *Italy,* at which his Troops greatly murmured; and
§ 34, having pronounced Sentence of Death on his Son *Pharnaces* for a Conspiracy,
the Son drew the Army into an open Revolt, and forced *Mithridates* to flee to his Pa-
and killed. lace for Refuge. § 35. There, he first took Poison, which was too slow in
its Operation; and then, a faithful *Gaul,* at his own Request, dispatched him.
§ 36. The Messengers of *Pharnaces* brought this News, and his Submission, to *Pom-*
pey, and he received them graciously. He did not carry his Virtue so far as to re-
venge

Year of venge Crimes which were for his Advantage. Then he entered *Arabia*, and when he Pompey
 ROME had seized the Dominions of *Arctas*, turned towards *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*. *subdues A-*
 689. § 37. *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*, the Sons of *Alexander Jannæus*, were then disputing *rabia*,
 for those Provinces; and when *Pompey* entered *Damascus*, they both sent Ambassadors
 to him. The *Roman* ordered both Brothers to appear in Person before him; and up-
 on hearing their Pleas, inclined to favour *Hyrcanus*. This *Aristobulus* perceived, and
 went from *Damascus* without taking his Leave of *Pompey*; which so enraged him, that enters Ju-
 he marched after *Aristobulus*, took all his Forts in the Country, forced him to retire *dæa*,
 to *Jerusalem*; and § 39, after he had for some Time besieged the Temple, and takes
 which was the Citadel of that City, he took it by Storm. § 40. Then he *Jerusalem*.
 entered the Temple himself, with all the State of a Conqueror; and displayed his Mo-
 deration so signally on this Occasion, as has deservedly gained him the Praises of all
 the Ancients: He carried away none of the Golden Vessels or other Treasures which His great
 he found there; tho' they were so great, as to amount to almost forty Millions of Moderati-
 Pounds *Sterling*. on, on that
 Occasion.

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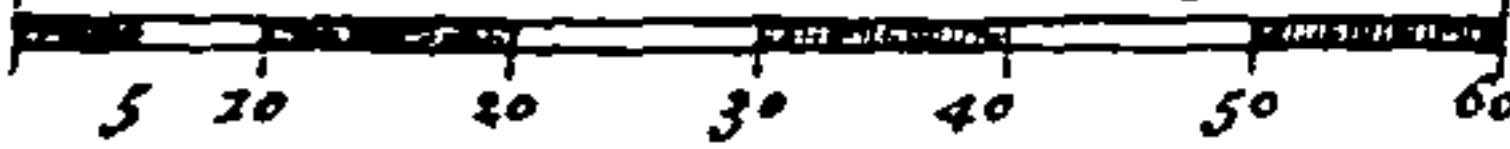


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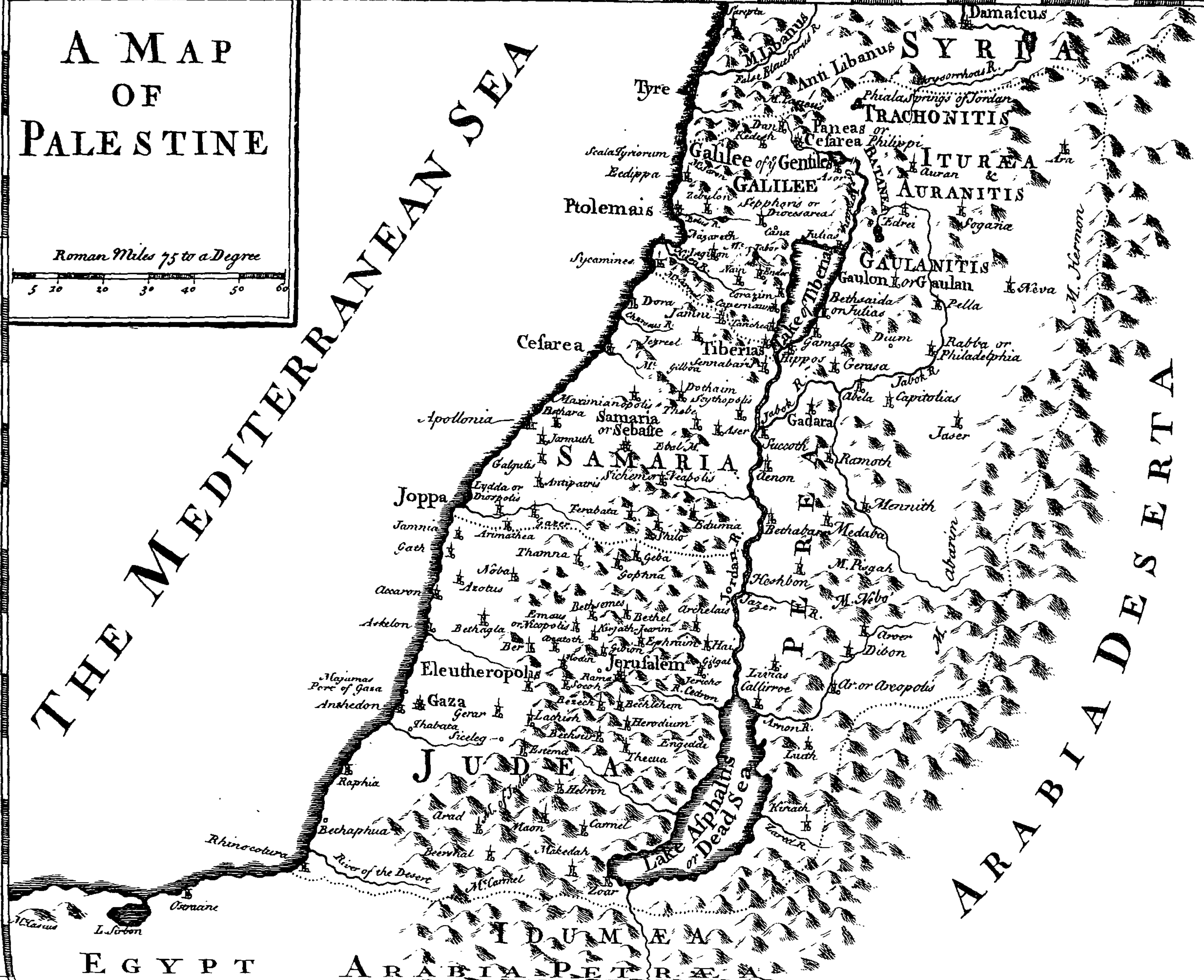
PAG. 6. Note 6. Col. 1. Line 19. for PFZ read PIZ; l. 30. for PAA signifying r. PAT signify. p. 27. n. c. 1. l. 27. for *during my absence*, r. *during his absence*. p. 48. in the Margin, for *Job. Amstol.* r. *Fol. Amestl.* p. 55. l. 47. for *Prætor* r. *Prætors*. p. 76. l. 41. for *It determined* r. *it was determined*. p. 148. l. 6. for *Consul Fabius* r. *Consul Fulvius*. p. 168. l. 49. r. § III. p. 193. l. 6. for *Futland* r. *Fnitland*. p. 248. l. 40. r. § XLVI. p. 335. l. 40. for § XXXII. r. § XXXIII. p. 338. l. 7. for *Asculini* r. *Asculæni*. p. 341. l. 5. for *finishing* r. *finishing*. p. 345. l. 31. for *Alliances* r. *Alliance*. p. 356. l. 18. for *Apollonius* r. *Aponius*. p. 363. l. 22. for *the Assassines* r. *by Assassines*. p. 392. l. 30. for *suspected him an Enemy* r. *suspected him to be an Enemy*. p. 411. l. 49. for *Patroni* r. *Patronis*. ib. n. 62. l. 2. for *Patroni* r. *Patronis*. p. 416. in the Margin, for *Pl. 14.* r. *Pl. 15.* p. 424. l. 3. for *begun* r. *begun*. p. 429. l. 13. for *begun* r. *began*. p. 430. l. 7. for *with small* r. *with a small*. p. 433. l. 26. for *According* r. *Accordingly*. p. 440. l. 7. for *rocovered* r. *recovered*. p. 455. l. 23. for *were punished* r. *was punished*. p. 456. l. 5. for *feint* r. *faint*. p. 463. l. 22. for *was such* r. *were such*. p. 471. l. 10. for *whatever Charm* r. *whatever Charms*. p. 481. l. 14. for *could only entertain feint* r. *could entertain only feint*. p. 484, 485, 486, 487. in the Margin, for *SCRIBONIUS LIBO* r. *SCRIBONIUS CURIO*. p. 504. l. 56. for § LIII. r. § LIV. p. 532. n. 49. l. 2. for *to beheaded* r. *to be beheaded*. p. 537. l. 5. for *Affection* r. *Affections*. p. 550. l. ult. dele *for*. p. 574. l. 23. for *by the Records it appeared* r. *by the Records. It appeared, &c.* p. 577. l. 18. for *C. Julius* r. *L. Julius*.

A MAP OF PALESTINE

Roman Miles 75 to a Degree



THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA



ARABIA DESERTA

EGYPT

ARABIA PETRAEA

A MAP OF SYRIA

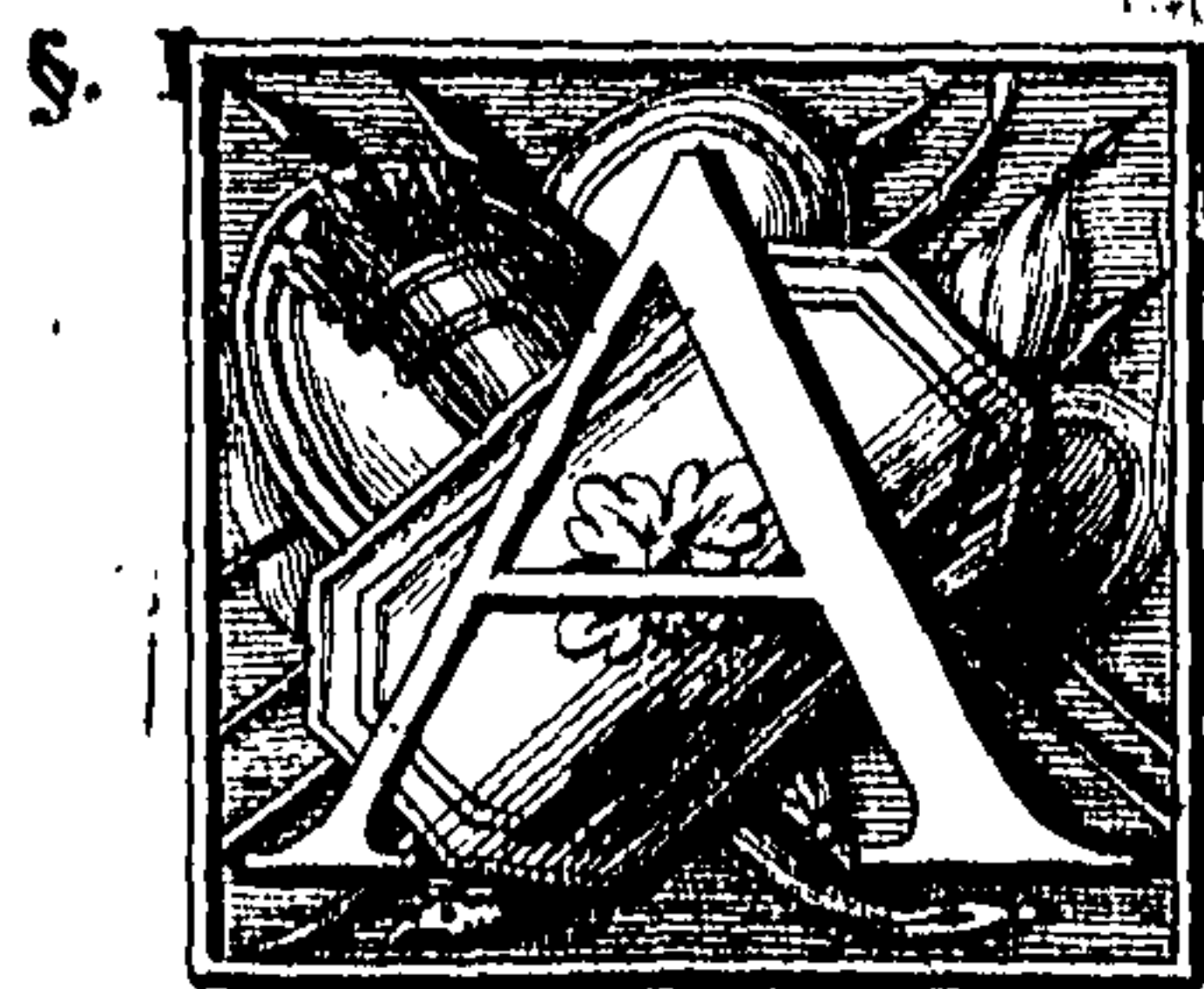
Roman Miles of 5000 feet each
5 10 15 30 45 60 75





THE Roman History.

BOOK XLIX.



AFTER the Destruction of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, *Rome* had no more Enemies in *Africa*; and maintained her Dominion in the Eastern Parts of *Europe*, in Peace. The whole *Carthaginian State* was become subject to the *Senate and People of Rome*; and no longer submitted to them out of deference, as Allies; but out of Necessity, as subdued Nations. Even the Reverence which the Kings of *Numidia* paid to the *Sovereign Republick*, was not so much the Effect of their Gratitude to *Rome* their Benefactress, as of their Fear of the *Prætor* she annually

Year of
ROME
DCVII.

sent to *Africa*: tho' she had presented *Micipsa* and his Brothers with the Country which had been so long in dispute, between their Father *Massinissa* and the *Carthaginians*. The same Tranquillity reigned in *Macedon*, and in *Epirus*, *Illyricum*, *Thessaly*, and all the *Grecian States* in *Europe*. The *Achæans* in particular, loudly proclaimed the Happiness they enjoy'd, since *Corinth* was destroyed, and *Rome* become their Sovereign. They said, *They had been utterly ruined, if this happy Revolution had not delivered them from their domestick Tyrants, which were become insupportable to them.* And indeed, nothing could be more mild than the present Government of the *Romans* in *Greece*. Every City enjoyed its Liberties, and only paid a small Tribute to its new Masters. The

Plut. in The- mistoc. & Zonaras.

Year of
ROME
DCVII.

Achæans, and in general all the *Greeks*, were governed by a *Prætor*, sent annually to *Achaia* from *Rome*; and enjoyed great Tranquillity under the shelter of so powerful a Protection. So that *Thebes*, *Lacedæmon*, *Athens*, *Argos*, *Sicyon*, and many other ancient Cities, continued their Commerce, and maintained their Alliances with the different Nations of the *Levant*. Being subject, but not enslaved, to *Rome*, they wore the Yoke without feeling it; and happy had it been for them, if they had still retained a due Sense of their present Happiness.

The Sovereigns of *Asia* were the only Princes in the East, whom *Rome* had not yet so far subdued, as to reduce their Kingdoms to *Roman Provinces*. The Republick had long contented her self, with exercising a new kind of Authority over them, which had much the resemblance of sovereign Power. She had made herself the Arbitress of their Differences; so that no Affairs of Importance were then determined, without Appeal to the Tribunal of the *Roman Senate*. But the *Asiatics* had now, for some Years past, dispensed with going so far, for the decision of their Quarrels. The *Carthaginian Wars*, and the Insurrections in *Macedon* and *Achaia* against the Republick, had either engaged her too much to permit her to attend to the Affairs of *Asia*; or had suspended the Attachment of the *Asiatics* to her, till such time as she should recover her former Grandeur. So that many considerable Things had of late been done in *Asia*, in which *Rome* had had no part. Contrary to her Intention, and in spite of her Policy, the Spirit of Discord had brought about many Revolutions there.

¹ Macc. b. 10.
Josephus.

§. II. In *Syria*, the Throne of ¹ *Demetrius Soter* had been invaded, by that *Alexander Bala*, who called himself the natural Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*. *Demetrius* had been defeated ² and put to death by his Rival; and had left two Princes under Age. The

¹ This is the same *Demetrius Soter* the first of that Name, whom we have seen in the fourth Volume of this History, mount the Throne of his Father, and afterwards defeated and killed by *Alexander Bala*. *Polibi*, *Josephus*, and *Justin* agree with the 10th Chapter of *Maccabees*, concerning the unfortunate Death of this Prince. Nay, *Appian* himself attests it, when he expressly says, that *Demetrius Soter* lost his Crown and his Life. Δημήτριος ἔπεσε τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ ἐπιτέλειος. Tho' his Latin Translator makes this Author say, that the dethroned King ended his Days in Banishment. Whereas if he had at all reflected on the natural Signification of the *Greek Expressions*, he could not give them a Sense which they will by no means bear.

² *Demetrius Soter* when ready to come to a decisive Battle with *Alexander Bala*, had provided for the Safety of his two Sons. He had entrusted them, says *Justin*, with one of his old Hosts, a Native of *Cnidus*, a City of *Caria*, in the Neighbourhood of *Rhodes* and *Halicarnassus*. This Confident, is the same Man to whom the Author of the History of the *Maccabees* and *Josephus* give the Name of *Lasthenes*. Being then an Inhabitant in the Island of *Crete*, he did the Office of a Tutor to the two young Princes, and took upon him the Care of them in their Infancy. And therefore *Demetrius Nicanor* had such an Affection for him, that he always look'd upon him as his own Father. He honours him with this Title in the Letter which we have preserved in the History of the *Maccabees*. And indeed *Lasthenes* could not well expect less Gratitude from a Pupil who owed his Crown to him. This zealous Tutor had made it his whole Business to raise the Hopes of *Demetrius Nicanor*. He had not concealed from him any of those great Sums of Money which *Demetrius Soter*, uncertain of the Event, had saved from Shipwreck before his defeat. They were all employ'd, by the Direction of this faithful Governour, to make powerful Preparations for a War, with the Usurper of the Crown of *Syria*. The young Prince embarked at the head of this new Army, and came to *Cilicia*, resolving to recover the Inheritance of his Fathers. *Alexander Bala* was then in *Phœnicia*, and trembled at the News of his Rival's March and Exploits. And in order to prevent the Revolt of his Subjects, on the approach of so formidable an Enemy, he

made all haste to *Antioch*. There he found means to disconcert, at least for some time, the Measures of the Conspirators; and his Presence suspended the Storm which was gathering against him. *Jonathan*, for his part, did not forget the many Favours *Alexander* had bestow'd on the *Jews*. The Misfortunes of this Prince did not abate his Zeal, but he valued himself upon continuing constantly attached to him, to the last. It may be affirmed, that *Jonathan* was the only Person who dared oppose the rapidity of the torrent which encreased every day. Young *Demetrius* had already been proclaimed King by the People of *Celo-Syria*; and it was to be feared, that this Conquest would draw *Phœnicia* after it. *Apollonius*, surnamed *Darus*, who commanded in this Province, had betrayed the Interest of his Sovereign, to follow the Fortune of the new Conqueror. This was the same *Apollonius* who marched against the *Jews* by order of young *Nicanor*, who was exasperated at their inviolable attachment to *Alexander*. Whilst *Demetrius* was preparing to march to *Antioch*, the perfidious General marched into *Judea*. He advanced as far as *Jamnia*, a City on the Sea-Coasts, between *Azotus* and *Joppa*. From thence he sent a Defiance to *Jonathan*, the High-Priest and Governour of the *Jewish Nation*. This great Man, exasperated by the bravadoes of *Apollonius*, came in sight of *Joppa*; and was there joined by his Brother *Simon*, who commanded a separate Body. The two Commanders united summoned the City to surrender. The affrighted Inhabitants durst not expose themselves to the hazards of a Siege, but submitted, and opened their Gates. Then *Jonathan* and *Simon* together, gave battle to the Army commanded by *Apollonius*, and the *Syrian Troops* could not sustain the Valour of the two Heroes. They were cut in pieces, and forced to flee. The greatest part of those who were dispersed about the Country, and pursued by the Conquerors, fled precipitately for Refuge to *Azotus*; and were so terrified, that not thinking themselves safe under the Walls of the City, they had recourse to a Temple, dedicated to *Dagon*, a *Syrian God*. But *Jonathan* did not think any regard due to this Idolatrous Asylum. He entered the City of *Azotus* by force, and burnt it. The Temple was reduced to Ashes, and they who had shut themselves up in it, perished.

Book XLIX. The ROMAN HISTORY.

3.

The Eldest, still very young, after he had been long concealed by the 3 *Cretans*; and supported by a *Syrian* Faction, had appeared at last 4 in *Syria*, in order to take Possession of his Father's Throne; but the ambitious 5 *Ptolomy Philometor* had prevented

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rished in the Flames. And the Neighbouring Places had the same Fate. They were all burnt, except some rich Spoils which the *Jews* saved from the Fire. In these several Expeditions *Apollonius* lost about 8000 Men; and *Jonathan* had now no more Enemies to fear. They were dispersed by the Fame of his Exploits. Being then Master of the Field, he turned his Arms towards *Ascalon*. The terror of his Name intimidated the Inhabitants, and they prevented the Conqueror; they brought him with Pomp into their City, where he was received with the acclamations of the People. Thus, crowned with Honours, in all the Places through which he passed, he led back his triumphant Army to *Jerusalem*, loaded with the Riches he had taken from the Enemy: And *Alexander*, informed of these great Successes, signally testify'd his Gratitude, by the new Marks of Distinction with which he honoured *Jonathan*. He sent him a Clasp of Gold, such as the Princes and Lords related to the Royal Family used to wear; and gave him the absolute Sovereignty of the City of *Accaron*, and its Territory.

3 *Demetrius Soter's* second Son was called *Antiochus Sidetes*. But *Josephus* gives him the same Surname as his Father, *Soter*. It is conjectured, that that of *Sidetes* was taken from a City of *Pamphylia*, which the ancient Geographers call *Side*. *Strabo*, *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* place it at the Mouth of the River *Eurymedon*. Perhaps, this Prince had this Surname, because this City either gave him Birth or Education. At least, we are told by *Justin*, B. 35, That *Antiochus Sidetes* was brought up in *Asia*.

4 *Demetrius Nicanor* was but about fifteen Years of Age, when he appeared in *Syria* to maintain his Pretensions. Which is proved thus. His Father *Demetrius Soter* escaped from *Rome* at the Age of 23, in order to get into *Syria*. The time of his escape coincides with the 591st Year since *Romulus*: After which he married, and reconquer'd the Kingdom of his Ancestors from *Antiochus Eupator*. And from this time, to the Year of *Rome* 606, when *Demetrius Nicanor* began his Expeditions against *Alexander Bala*, are but 15 Years. And consequently, this young Prince was but about that Age. *Justin* gives him near the same number of Years. He says, B. 35, That *Demetrius* had already attained the Age of *Puberty*, when he left his retreat with design to make War in *Syria*.

5 *Demetrius Nicanor* was not *Alexander Bala's* most formidable Enemy. He had another more formidable, in *Ptolomy*, his Father-in-Law. The Troubles in *Syria* raised in this ambitious Prince, the Design of uniting in himself the two Crowns of *Egypt* and *Asia*. The Circumstances were favourable, and Fortune seemed to pave the way for his entrance into *Alexander's* Dominions. This Prince had married *Cleopatra* the Daughter of *Ptolomy*, and was in danger of being dethroned by *Demetrius Nicanor*. This was enough to free the King of *Egypt's* Conduct from all suspicions; for it was generally believed that he was only hastening to the Defence of his Son-in-Law. *Ptolomy* therefore got together a Fleet of Gallies; and the Troops he led by Land were so numerous, that the Author of the History of the *Maccabees* compares them to the Sand on the Sea-shore. Thus he entered *Syria*, under the specious Pretence of assisting his Friend and Relation, against the Enterprizes of an unjust Aggressor; and all the Cities through which he passed, received him with eagerness. Nay, the People even prevented him in his approach, and ran

in crowds to meet him. *Alexander* had given them Orders to pay the King of *Egypt* the Honours that were due to him as the Father-in-Law of their Sovereign. But the faithless *Ptolomy Philometor* with all those specious Appearances, only took advantage of the credulity of the unfortunate *Alexander*. He made it his first Business to put *Egyptian* Garrisons into the Cities which had opened their Gates unto him; and thereby got them into his own Power, and secured to himself the Possession of them. As he passed by, he was shewn the Ruins of *Azotus* and the Temple of *Dagon*. Some parts of dead Bodies, which lay in the Road, brought to Remembrance the Slaughter of *Apollonius's* Troops; and the Enemies of the *Jews* told the King, that these were the melancholy Effects of *Jonathan's* Fury. The King of *Egypt*, without making any answer to these Complaints, kept a profound silence; but probably resolved, to signalize his Resentment at a proper time, against the *Hebrew* General, whom he knew to be *Alexander's* most open Friend. Nevertheless *Jonathan* came to *Joppa*, attended with a numerous Train, dressed in the richest manner; and there he saluted *Ptolomy*, who gave him as favourable a Reception as he could desire. They both spent the Night in the same City, and the next Day left it. *Jonathan* accompanied the King as far as the *Eleutherus*, a River of *Phœnicia*; and then returned to *Jerusalem*. *Ptolomy*, on the other hand, advanced into *Syria*, and made himself Master of all the Places he found in his way, as far as *Seleucia* a maritime City, on the Mouth of the *Orontes*. And now, it was in vain for him to dissemble any longer. The least sagacious began to see into the bad Designs which he had hitherto concealed under very specious Appearances: And indeed *Ptolomy* was tired with dissembling. He sent a Deputation to *Demetrius*, to invite the young Prince to join with him against their common Enemy; and to convince him of his Sincerity, the King of *Egypt* offered him, as to the lawful Heir of the Crown, his Daughter *Cleopatra*, *Alexander Bala's* Wife, in marriage. He said, he was determined to take this Princess out of the Hands of a perfidious Creature, who in return for his Benefactions, had hired Assassins to murder him: A Crime which he had probably forged, the better to palliate his Injustice. However, *Demetrius Nicanor* durst not withstand the pressing Sollicitations of the Ambassadors, but came to *Ptolomy*, who had nothing in view but his own Interest in this Alliance. For fear of having two Enemies at once, he made use of *Demetrius* to hasten the Destruction of *Alexander*. When delivered from this formidable Competitor, he took it for granted the other would fall an easy Sacrifice. But be that as it will, *Cleopatra* actually broke her Vow to her first Husband, and consented to marry the young Prince; who very unfortunately accepted of this false Princess, who was not ashamed to break through her former Engagements. He did not then know, that her Ambition would one day sow the Seeds of Discord in his Dominions, and even on the Throne itself.

After *Ptolomy* had presided at the Ceremonies of the Marriage, he set out for *Antioch* the Capital of *Syria*, and there threw off the Mask. He treacherously caused himself to be crowned King of *Syria*; and then *Demetrius* perceived that he had laid too much stress on the Promises of an artful Prince, who, without regard to the most sacred Rights, set no bounds to his Ambition.

Year of vented it. He had marched with a great Army, from *Egypt* to *Antioch*, made himself
 ROME. Master of it, and there caused himself to be proclaimed King of *Syria*. But, as a rare
 DCVII. Instance of his great Justice, or rather of his Fear of displeasing the *Romans*, he restored the

All these Things were transacted in the Heart of the Kingdom, in the absence of *Alexander Bala*. Deceived by the false Assurances his Father-in-Law continually gave him, he employed himself in *Cilicia*, in reducing the Nations in that Country to his Obedience. But the News of the Unfaithfulness of his Wife, and the Treachery of his Father-in-Law, soon convinced him of his Mistake. Nevertheless he did not suffer himself to sink under this shocking News; but assembled his Troops without loss of Time, and made great Marches, to stop the Progress of the Usurper. *Ptolomy* prevented him, and offer'd him battle, according to *Strabo*, near the River *Oenoparas*, in the Plains of *Antioch*. *Alexander* had no resource but in his Valour, and therefore accepted the Challenge. But Fortune did not prosper his Courage. His Troops were entirely defeated; and being himself forced to take refuge in *Arabia*, he there perished miserably, by the Hands of the Traytor *Zabdiel*, one of the Lords of the Country; the same Man to whom *Uranus*, quoted by *Stephen of Byzantium*, gives the Name of *Rhabilus*. This Barbarian cut off his Head, and sent it to *Ptolomy*; who did not long enjoy the Fruit of his Crimes. Three days after, Death put an end to his ambitious Projects and his Life together. *Nicanor*, delivered from a Master and a Rival, took Possession of the Throne. The People no longer hesitated about acknowledging him for their Sovereign. And thus, supported by the *Asiatick* and *Syrian* Troops, he destroyed all the *Egyptian* Garrisons which kept Possession of the most considerable Places in the Kingdom, and forced the rest of the Foreign Troops to return into their own Country.

This is the account, which the Author of the History of the *Maccabees* gives of the Troubles in *Syria*. He represents *Ptolomy Philometor* as a perfidious Prince, who trampled under his Feet the Laws of Nature and Justice, in order to raise himself on the Ruins of his own Son-in-Law. We have therefore reason to be surprized, that *Josephus* should neglect these valuable Memoirs, which his own Nation afforded him. We don't know either *Ptolomy* or *Alexander*; by the Pictures he draws of them; neither does the Order of Events, as he settles them, agree with the Sacred Text. His Account of the famous Revolution, which ended both the Reign and the Life of *Alexander Bala*, is as follows.

Demetrius Nicanor was entered into *Cilicia* at the Head of a numerous Army; when *Ptolomy Philometor*, informed of the Danger which threatned his Son-in-Law, hastened to his Defence, with all his Forces both by Sea and Land. But how great was his Surprise, when upon his arrival at *Ptolomais*, he understood that *Alexander* had a design upon his Life! *Ammonius*, the Confident and greatest Favourite of the King of *Syria*, had undertaken to execute this detestable piece of Treachery. He had laid Snares for *Ptolomy*, with an intent to kill him. The King of *Egypt*, being happily informed of it in time, escaped the Danger; and wrote to *Alexander* complaining of the Attempt, and demanding the Death of the Criminal. But this Minister had only executed his Master's Orders; and therefore this Prince had no regard to his Father-in-Law's Complaints. *Philometor* was highly exasperated at this, and immediately resolved to signalize his Resentment against the Author of such horrible Perfidiousness. *Alexander* had long committed the whole Care of the Government to this *Ammonius*; and this insolent Minister only used his Au-

thority to make the Yoke the heavier on the People. Those of *Antioch* enraged at his Violences and Rapines, were weary of groaning under his Oppressions, and there was a general Insurrection throughout this great City, which cost the imperious Favourite his Life. Being surrounded on all sides, he had disguised himself like a Woman, the better to make his escape from the Rage of a mutinous Populace. But they knew him in this Habit, and he fell a Sacrifice to their Fury. Nor did the Death of *Ammonius* put an end to the Sedition. The Rebels were uneasy, to see a Prince upon the Throne, whom his Ministers, and his own Indolence together had made odious. *Ptolomy*, who only waited an Opportunity to signalize his Revenge, took advantage of the present Disposition of the *Syrians*, and thought of nothing but turning his Army against the unfortunate *Alexander*. In the first place, he took from him his Daughter *Cleopatra*, who, too easily complying with her Father's Will, broke through all Shame, to marry a second Husband. *Ptolomy* had by his Ambassadors, offered her in Marriage to *Demetrius Nicanor*, with a Promise to settle him on the Throne; and the young Prince embracing those advantageous Offers, the Marriage was publicly solemnized. After this, the King of *Egypt* used all his Power to engage the People of *Antioch* in favour of *Nicanor*. But the Inhabitants of this great City still remembered the Evils they had suffered under the Reign of *Demetrius Soter*, his Father; and were afraid the Son would prove a Tyrant and an Avenger. However, their hatred to *Alexander* so far got the better of their old Prejudices, that they entered into a Confederacy against him, and forced him to leave *Antioch*. The dethroned King retired into *Cilicia*, and *Ptolomy* entered the Capital, where he was saluted King both by the People and his own Troops; who jointly forced him to put two Crowns on his Head, one as King of *Egypt*, the other as King of *Asia*. And though a more ambitious Prince would doubtless have been elated with the Glory of a Crown, which made him Master of the richest Countries in the East; yet, if we may believe *Josephus*, *Ptolomy* knew how to set bounds to his Ambition, when not founded on the Rules of the strictest Equity. Besides, he was to take care of offending the *Romans*, whose Policy chiefly consisted in gradually lessening the Power of Sovereign Princes. *Philometor* therefore assembled the Inhabitants of *Antioch* together; and with a Generosity scarce to be paralleled, declared to them that he could not without injustice, place himself on the Throne of *Syria*, by excluding the lawful Heir. He represented to them, that *Demetrius* had such amiable Qualities, as foretold a mild and peaceable Reign. And in short, he calmed their Fears, that *Nicanor* might think it his Duty to punish their old Revolt against *Demetrius Soter*, his Father; and for their greater Security, offered to be their Guaranty for the young Prince's Conduct. He undertook to assist him with his Advice, and to teach him the Art of Reigning. The disinterestedness and the Representations of *Philometor*, had their desired Effect; and *Demetrius* was proclaimed and acknowledged King of *Syria*, by the Inhabitants of *Antioch*.

In the mean time, *Alexander* who was driven from his Capital, was preparing to return into his Dominions by Force. After he had assembled a numerous Army, he destroyed *Cilicia* and *Syria* with Fire and Sword. *Philometor* and his new Son-in-Law marched to oppose their common Enemy; and came to a pitched Battle, in which they were victorious. The

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the Crown to young *Demetrius*, and married him to Queen *Cleopatra* his Daughter, whom he had before given in Marriage to *Alexander Bala*. The latter therefore, having no resource but in his Valour, marched against the united Armies of *Philometor* and *Demetrius*, and engaged them. But the *Egyptian* Army prevailed. *Alexander* fled, and sought for refuge in *Arabia*. In the pursuit, *Philometor* fell from his Horse, and was mortally wounded in the Head. He lay senseless four Days, and only came to himself long enough to enjoy a barbarous Sight; which was the Head of *Alexander*, which the *Arabian* Prince to whom he fled for Refuge, had caused to be struck off. The Joy he felt on this occasion, caused so sudden a change in him, that he died whilst he was tre-

unfortunate *Alexander* instead of gathering together the scatter'd Remains of his Army, sought to save himself by flight, and took Refuge in *Arabia*. He thought himself safe with *Zabex*, a considerable Man in the Country; and there resolved to wait for a turn of Fortune. But the Place proved fatal to him. The treacherous *Zabex* stabbed him with his own Hand, and made this base Act matter of Merit with *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*. But the latter was scarce able to taste the Fruits of his Victory. In the Heat of the last Battle, his Horse, affrighted with the cry of an Elephant, started, and threw him. A great Company of *Alexander's* Soldiers surrounded him, and he would have been killed on the Spot, if his Guards had not saved him from the Fury of the Enemy: And this only prolonged his Life for some Days. The mortal Wounds he had received in his Head the moment he fell, soon brought him to his Grave. For four days he was senseless and speechless. The fifth, he seemed to recover his Senses; and in this interval, the Head of *Alexander* was brought him as a Present from the perfidious *Zabex*. But the Joy and Pleasure he felt at seeing himself deliver'd from an Enemy who had conspired his Destruction, immediately put an end to his Life. As for *Demetrius Nicanor*, continues *Josephus*, he forgot his Obligations to his Benefactor *Ptolomy*. He was scarce settled in peaceable Possession of the Throne, before he forced, by his ill Usage, the *Egyptian* Soldiers to leave *Syria*. These Foreign Forces, enraged with the Ingratitude of a King, who so ill rewarded their Services, retired to *Alexandria*; and that, with such precipitation, that they left their Elephants at the disposal of *Demetrius*.

It is easy to perceive the difference between the sacred Text, and this relation of *Josephus*: And in this opposition between the two Historians, we cannot but give the Preference to the *History of the Maccabees*, whose Certainty God himself assures us of, by his Church.

Nevertheless, it may be said, in order to reconcile *Josephus* with the Holy Scripture, that *Alexander* formed the Design of getting *Philometor* assassinated by *Ammonius*, after the unjust Proceedings of this Prince had manifested his boundless Ambition and want of Faith. It is, doubtless, of this *Ammonius* that *Florus* speaks in the Epitome of the 50th Book of *Livy*. At this time, says that *Latin* Author, the Kingdom of *Syria* was governed by a slothful and voluptuous King, who was very like *Prusias*, in his excessive Debaucheries. *Ammonius* discharged the Offices of a Sovereign in his room. This Man of Violence had established his Power by the Massacre of the greatest Lords of the Court. Even Queen *Laodicea*, and *Antigonus*, the Son of *Demetrius Soter*, were not secure from his Violences. This King sacrificed both to the Suspicions of his Minister. This relation of *Florus*, gives us reason to conclude, that *Demetrius Soter* had three Sons, viz. *Demetrius*, surnamed *Nicanor*, *Antigonus Sidetes*, and *Antigonus* who perished by the Artifices of *Ammonius*.

Nevertheless it is certain, that *Josephus* is not the only Author who contradicts the Holy Scripture.

VOL. V.

According to *Diodorus of Sicily*, B. 32. Eclog. *Alexander Bala*, after he had lost the Battle with *Demetrius*, fled to *Aba* a City in *Arabia*, to *Diocles* one of the chief Lords of the Country, whom this Prince had a little before entrusted with the Care of his Son *Antiochus*, who was yet a Child. And this Historian ascribes the Death of *Alexander Bala* to the Officers who attended him in his flight. He says, these Traytors sent Messengers to the Conqueror, and offered to rid him of an Enemy who was formidable to him, even in his retreat. *Demetrius*, who had no other point in view, but to secure himself in the peaceable Possession of the Throne of *Syria*, accepted the Offers made him in the Name of the Conspirators; and they seized *Alexander*, and to please the new King, became the Murderers of him, whom they had hitherto acknowledged to be their Sovereign.

Nor is *Justin* more favourable to the Memory of *Alexander Bala*, than *Josephus*; as appears by the Description he gives of him, in the 35th Book of his History. According to him, this Prince, wholly devoted to his Pleasures, shut himself up in the inner Parts of his Palace with his Women, on whom only he bestowed all his Time and Cares. *Demetrius Nicanor* took advantage of the inaction of *Alexander*, and entered *Syria*. Upon the report of his march, the *Syrian* Troops came over to him; and the Inhabitants of *Antioch* followed their Example. Tired with living under a King, who, by his Pride and Effeminacy, was become hated by all his People, they flattered themselves, that so open a Declaration in favour of the Son, would wipe off the Shame of their Rebellion against his Father. Nevertheless, *Justin* does not agree with *Josephus*, in the Character of *Ptolomy Philometor*. He represents him as a stupid Prince, whose Effeminacy and Debaucheries had stupified him more than the fat with which he was overloaded. But, besides that this Character does not agree with that given of him in the *History of the Maccabees*, it is certain, that neither his Expedition against *Alexander*, nor his Death in the Field where he was Victorious, shew him to have been cowardly and timorous. *Ptolomy* died in the 34th Year of his Reign, and not the 35th, as *Eusebius* pretends without Reason; unless he adds to the 34, the Year which ended his Life, and begun the Reign of *Demetrius*, who merited the surname of *Nicanor*, or the Victorious, by his last Victory. As for *Alexander Bala*, the Holy Scripture makes him reign about six Years, reckoning from the 160th Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, or *Æra of the Seleucidae*, to the 167th; which was the first of the Reign of *Demetrius Nicanor*, and the last of the King of *Egypt*. We cannot therefore say with *Eusebius*, that *Alexander Bala* survived *Philometor* 4 Years; and that the latter reigned 10 Years and 7 Months. The profane Historians themselves agree, that the King of *Syria* died before *Ptolomy*. The Chronologist we have just quoted, adds, that *Alexander* had married the Daughter of *Ptolomy Euergetes* the Brother of *Philometor*. But this appears to be a mistake, both by Sacred Historians and Profane.

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Year of panning. So that *Egypt* was now no longer divided between him and his Brother ;
 R O M E *Phyſcon* was ſole Maſter of this great Kingdom. As for *Demetrius*, he recovered the
 DCVII. Poſſeſſion of his Father's Dominions, took the Name of *Nicanor* or *Nicator*, and reigned
 ~~~~~ ed long<sup>6</sup> over them.

§. III. *Judea* was ſtill ſubject to the excellent Government of *Jonathan*. Being  
 High-Prieſt, and at the ſame time the Head, of the holy Nation, he had taken the Cities  
 of <sup>7</sup>*Joppa*, <sup>8</sup>*Azotus*, and <sup>9</sup>*Aſcalon* from his Enemies, and had ſignalized himſelf by  
 gaining

6 The Interests of the Kings of Syria, from *Antiochus the Great*, downwards, are ſo blended with the History of ancient *Rome*, that we think it inexcusable not to give the Reader all the Knowledge of them, which can be learnt from all the Monuments the Ancients have tranſmitted to us. We find theſe Princes on the Syrian Medals, according to the order of their Succeſſion to the Crown. The firſt Medal in the adjoining Plate, gives us on one ſide, the Head of *Antiochus the Great*, with the Diadem or Royal Fillet, the uſual Mark of Royalty; and on the reverſe, the Figure of a Galley. By this Symbol the Syrians repreſented the City of *Tyre*. From whence it is conjectured, that they intended thereby to allude to the Means whereby *Antiochus* became Maſter of this great City. It was delivered up to him at the ſame time as *Ptolomais*, by the Treachery of *Theodotus*, Lieutenant General of *Ptolomy Philopator* King of *Egypt*. The Letters P T Z are arithmetical Characters, which among the *Greeks* are correſpondent to the *Arabian* Cyphers 117. By theſe Letters we learn, that the Medal was ſtruck in the 117th Year of the Empire of the *Seleucidae* in *Aſia*, which correſponds with the 30th Year of the Reign of *Antiochus the Great* the third of that Name, and with the Year of *Rome* 558.

§ Pl. 3. No. 8. *Seleucus Philopator* the Son and Succeſſor of *Antiochus*, is repreſented on the ſecond Medal, with the ſame Symbol which is on the former. The Letters P G A. ſignifying the 133d Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, or *Seleucidae*, and the 9th of the Reign of *Seleucus*.

Pl. 3. No. 3. The third Medal has conveyed to us the Head of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, ſo famous in the History of the *Maccabees*, for the horrible Cruelties he exerciſed againſt the People of the *Jews*. On the reverſe is the Image of *Jupiter*, armed with a Thunderbolt, and holding his Sceptre in his Hand, with this Inſcription, || Pl. 3. No. 9 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ. The Surname of GOD, expreſſed by the *Greek* term ΘΕΟΥ is one of thoſe Titles with which the Monarchs of *Egypt* and *Aſia* loved to diſtinguiſh themſelves, to ſhew, either their high Birth, or their Pre-eminence above other Men.

Pl. 3. No. 4. On the fourth Medal, we ſee, on one ſide, the Head of *Antiochus Eupator*, the Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*; and on the other, a *Jupiter* ſitting, and holding a winged Victory in his Hand. The youthful Look of this Prince proves that he was very young when he mounted the Throne, as we have proved, from the ancient Hiſtorians, in the preceding Volume.

Pl. 3. No. 5. The fifth Medal carries the Head of *Demetrius Soter*, the Son of *Seleucus Philopator*. Beſides, the Surname of *Soter*, or *Preſerver*, this Medal gives him thoſe of *God* and *Philopator*. The winged Victory on the reverſe, probably alludes to the Advantages gained by *Demetrius* over *Eupator*, and *Lyſias* the Guardian of this young Prince, as we have obſerved, in the preceding Volume.

Pl. 3. No. 6. On the reverſe of a ſixth Medal, which has the Name of *Soter*, we read the *Greek* Letters P T B which ſignify the 162d Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, and the 12th or laſt of the Reign of *Demetrius*.

Pl. 3. No. 7. The 7th Medal has tranſmitted to us the Head of

*Alexander Bala*, the natural Son of *Antiochus Epiphanes*, and that of *Cleopatra*, the Daughter of *Ptolomy Philometor*. It is well known, that *Alexander* married her after he had taken away the Crown from his Rival *Demetrius*. On the Head of this Queen we ſee a Buſhel, after the manner of *Iſis* and *Serapis*, two *Egyptian* Deities. This Buſhel joined with the Cornu-Copia on the Medal, are Symbols of the Happineſs the People promiſed themſelves from the Marriage of the King of *Syria* with the Daughter of the King of *Egypt*. The reverſe is the ſame with that of the Medal of *Antiochus Eupator*; only we here find the Titles of ΘΕΩΤΑΤΩ and ΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ which diſtinguiſh *Alexander*. The firſt ſhews that he gloried in having had for his Father *Antiochus Epiphanes*, ſurnamed ΘΕΩΣ. By the ſecond he repreſents himſelf as a BENEFICENT Prince; or if you will, the *Greek* Word ΠΕΡΕΤΗΣ which answers to the *Latin* term BENEFICUS, is taken in the ſame Senſe as *Beneficiarius*, that is to ſay, *A Lord who has Vaffals*. Thus ſome Commentators have interpreted that Paſſage of *St. Luke* ch. 25. as it ſtands in the *Vulgate*. *Reges Gentium dominantur eorum, & qui poteſtatem habent ſuper eos BENEFICI vocantur*.

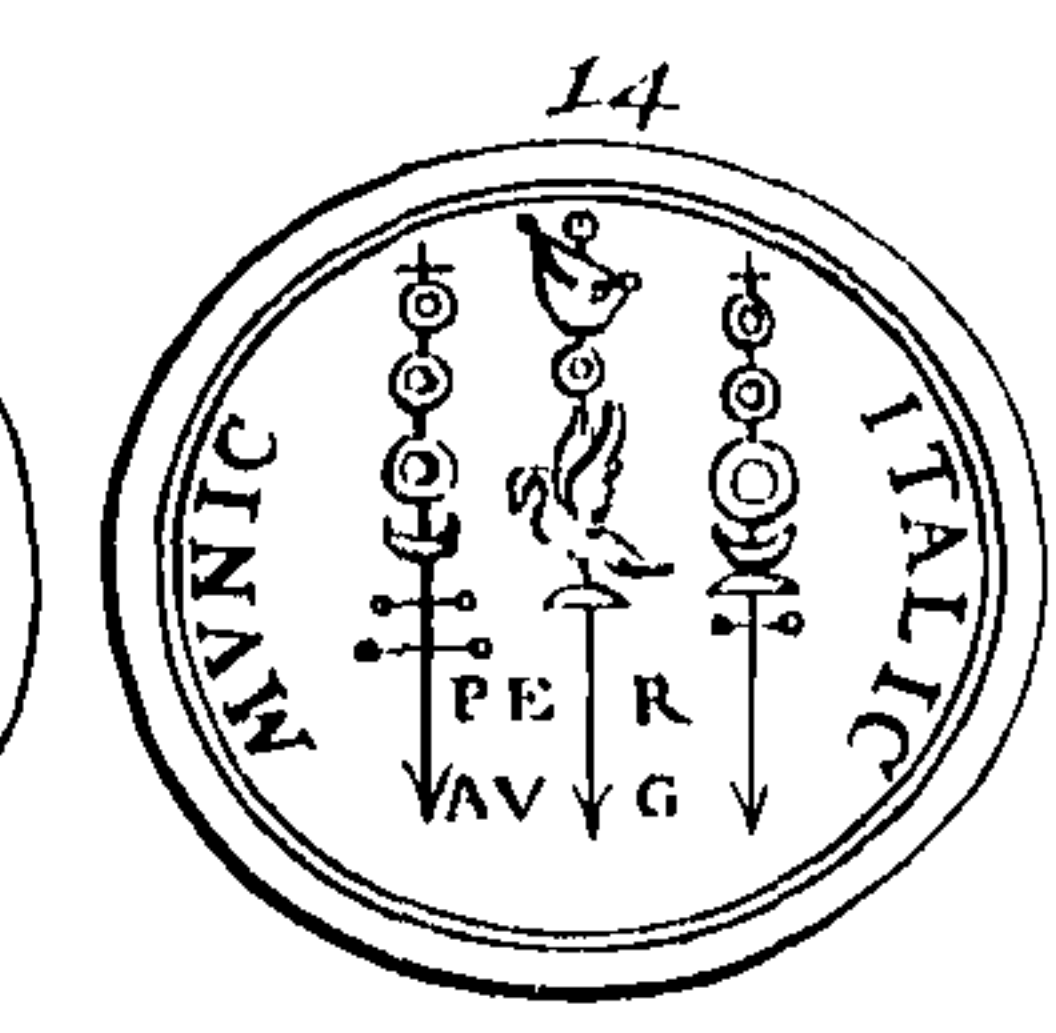
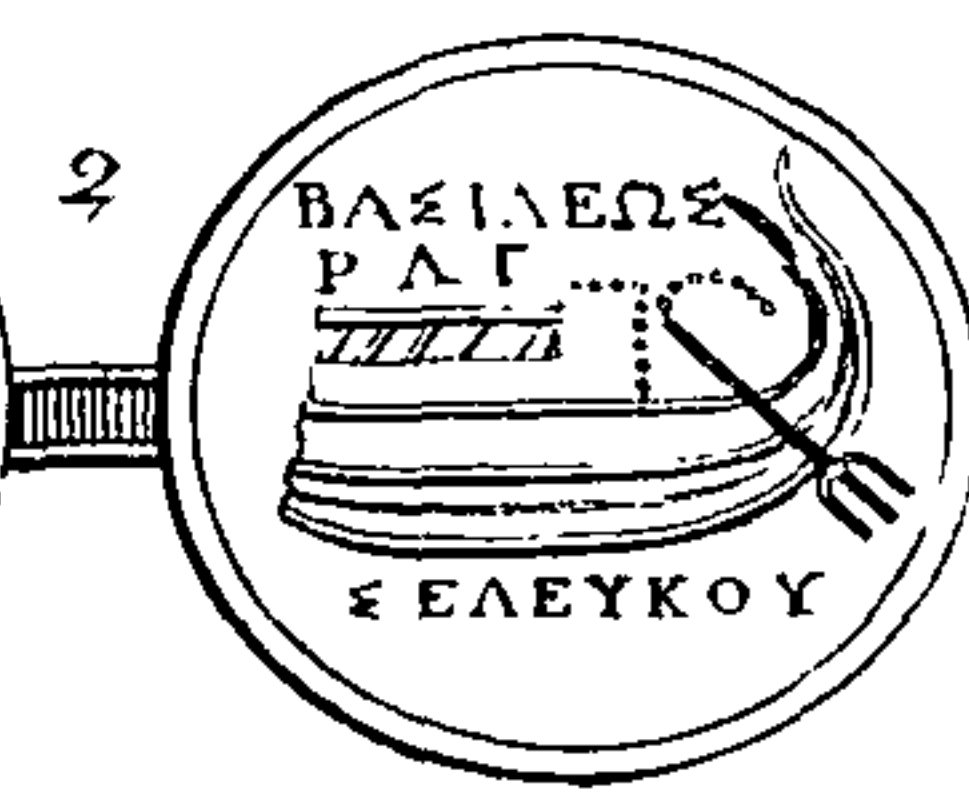
In the Year of the Empire of the *Greeks* 166, the *Tyrians* ſtruck a Medal, § in honour to *Alexander*, which has this Inſcription, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. The Name of ΤΥΡ is here in a Monogram, on the upper end of *Hercules's* Club, who was worſhipped in this City. The Maſter of the Mint, has taken care to point out to us, by the *Greek* Characters P T Z placed behind the Head of the Eagle, the Year of the *Seleucidae* 166, which was the laſt of *Alexander*. Which is a Proof of the Agreement of the Medals with the Holy Scripture, which fixes the firſt Year of the Reign of *Demetrius Nicanor*, to the 167th Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, or *Seleucidae*.

To theſe eight Medals we add that of *Ptolomy Philometor*, || the ſixth of the Name. The reverſe is charged with an Eagle holding a Thunderbolt in his Talons, and a Palm Tree. This King is here honoured with the Title of GOD. From the Letters O P P ſome conjecture that it was ſtruck by the Inhabitants of *Oppon*, an ancient and great Trading City which *Ptolomy the Geographer* places in that Part of *Ethiopia* which was ſubject to *Egypt*. By the Letters I Δ and the Letter L inverted in this Medal, as in ſeveral others, the Maſter of the Mint doubtleſs intended to ſignify the 14th Year of the Reign of *Philometor*, ΙΔ Δυναſτατος.

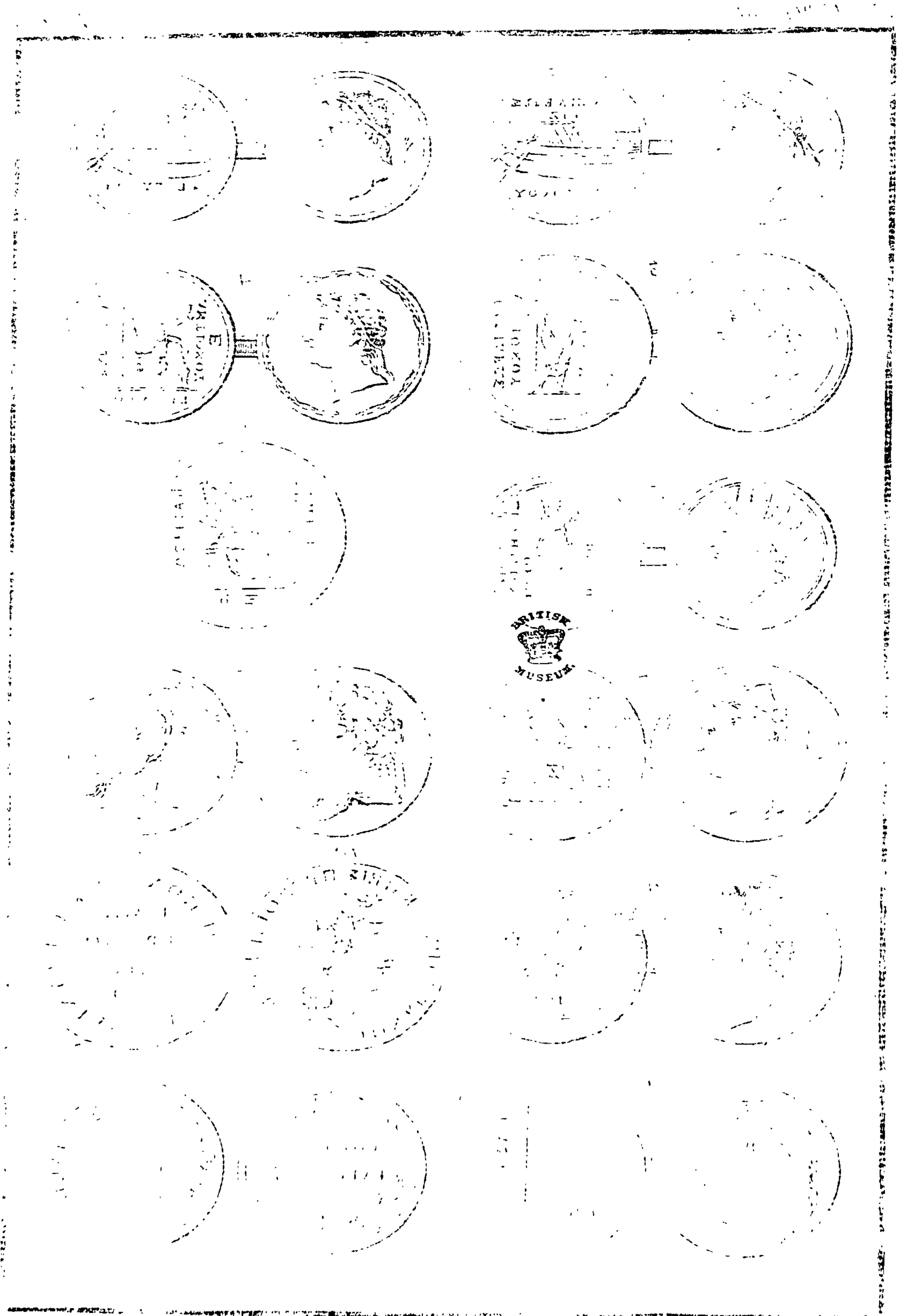
7 The City of *Joppa* in *Paleſtine*, now known by the Name of *Jaffa*, was in the North part of the *Tribe of Dan*, on the Coaſt of the *Mediterranean* Sea. It might paſs for one of the moſt ancient Cities in the World, if what ſome Authors ſay of it were true, that it was built before the Flood. It was ſtrengthened with a Port, at which the Ships which brought the Materials for building the Temple landed them, in order to their being carried to *Jeruſalem*. But it ſcarce deſerves the Name of a City, ſince it is come under the Dominion of the *Turks*.

8 *Azotus* is now only a ſorry Village which the Natives of the Country call *Alzete*. It ſtands three Miles from the Coaſts of the Sea of *Syria*. It was formerly one of the five Chief Cities of the *Philiftines*.











gaining many Battles. His Name was equally formidable to the Kings of *Syria* and *Egypt*, and being always a Friend to the *Romans*, he enabled his People to enjoy the Fruits of his Wisdom and Valour. He had faithfully maintained an Alliance with *Alexander Bala* as long as he had lived: When *Ptolomy* enter'd *Syria* to conquer it, *Jonathan* had paid him the Honours due to his Rank, without declaring for him: And he afterwards procured the Friendship of *Demetrius Nicanor*, as soon as he saw him established in the Throne. So that by a wise Conduct, and by paying proper regards to two powerful neighbouring Monarchs, he both preserved Peace in his State, and enlarged its Borders.

§. IV. In *Bithynia*, the most tragical Scenes had lately been presented. *Prusias*<sup>10</sup>, Polyb. apud Valerium. App. de Bello Mithridatico. Epit. Liviana: and others. who reigned there, was both a bad King and an unnatural Father. He made a contemptible Figure on the Throne, and was become insupportable to his Subjects for his Tyranny. He was a Monster of a Man, who had no one<sup>11</sup> Virtue to make amends for the enormity of those Vices which made him hated by his People. And as he was of a mean and base Spirit, he servilely revered the *Roman* Republick, of which he called himself a *Freed-Man*. In order to preserve her Favour, he had committed to the *Romans* the Care of the Education of *Nicomedes*<sup>12</sup> his eldest Son, an amiable Prince, whom the *Bithynians* longed to have set over them. But the Father seemed to prefer his Children by a second Bed, before him. And as *Prusias* was no less intolerable to his Neighbours than to his Subjects, he had several times entered the Kingdom of *Pergamus* with Sword in hand and ravaged it. *Attalus* had complained of this to the *Roman Senate*, and *Prusias* had been condemned by them, to give the *Pergamian* 20 Ships with Decks, and to pay him<sup>13</sup> 500 *Talents*, by way of Satisfaction. This Debt he had already in part discharged, but hoped by his Son's Interest, who resided at *Rome*, to prevail on the *Conscript Fathers* to oblige *Attalus* to forgive the Remainder. With this view, he sent on an Embassy to the Senate a Lord of his Court, named *Menas*, who was equally capable of a Negotiation, and of any desperate Attempt. Accordingly, his Instructions were to make use of *Nicomedes's* Interest at *Rome* to gain his Point; and in case he could not succeed, to dispatch this Son, who was now of an Age to entertain ambitious Desires. For the more easy execution of this, he embarked with the Ambassador 2000 Men, which was an extraordinary Guard; but they were necessary in order to an attempt on the Life of the Heir of a great Kingdom, and to facilitate the escape of *Menas* after the Assassination.

When *Menas* came to *Rome*, he employed *Nicomedes* to use his best Offices with the Senate; but *Andronicus*, the Ambassador of the King of *Pergamus*, pleaded his Master's Cause so forcibly with them, that their former Decree was confirmed. What remained therefore was, to put the barbarous Orders of *Prusias* in execution, and kill *Nicomedes*. But this Prince was really beloved by the *Romans*, and it seemed dangerous to attempt his Life in this great City, and in the sight of its formidable Senate. In short, *Menas* at last resolved to communicate to the Son, his Father's Designs, and to turn that Violence which he was order'd to offer to the young Prince, against the Tyrant himself. The Affair was concerted with great Secrecy and Artifice. The important Secret was com-

<sup>9</sup> *Ascalon*, now *Scalona*, was one of the five chief Cities in the Country of the *Philistines*. At present it is almost buried under its Ruins, which are yet to be seen on the Coasts of the *Syrian* Sea.

<sup>10</sup> We have already given the Reader a knowledge of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, by our Accounts of the Affairs he had with the *Romans*. The Ancient Historians give him the Surname of *The Hunter*. But he had not the Surname of ΜΟΝΟΔΟΝΤΗΣ, that is, *The single-toothed*, as *Tzetzes* pretends. *Valerius Maximus* and *Pliny* say, that this Surname belonged only to one of his Sons, who was called *Prusias* as well as himself. This Son was called ΜΟΝΟΔΟΝΤΗΣ, because instead of distinct Teeth, he had only one continued semicircular Tooth in each Jaw. In this he was like *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, as we have observed in the second Volume.

<sup>11</sup> *Polybius* says of *Prusias*, in his Treatise *Of Virtues and Vices*, That he knew how to choose the Part he was to act, like an able Politician. This only excepted, he had, says that Historian, in an ill misshapen and disfigured Body, a Soul still more deformed. He was

timorous and cowardly, and had no one Royal or Military Virtue. *Polybius* says, he was so swallow'd up in Effeminacy and Debauchery, that he seemed another *Sardanapalus*. His most important Business was to dress himself, to conceal the ugliness of his Face. He was not ashamed to put on Woman's Cloaths, and shew his Subjects a Figure as hideous as it was ridiculous, in a Habit so little suitable to it. No wonder therefore, that a King of this Character, should despise the liberal Arts and all kinds of Knowledge, which tend to form the Mind, and improve the Taste.

<sup>12</sup> *Nicomedes the Second* was the Son of the Sister of *Perseus*, whom *Prusias* had married for his second Wife. After the Death of his first Wife, this Prince according to *Appian*, married the Daughter of *Digylles*, one of the petty Kings of *Thrace*, and had several Children by her.

<sup>13</sup> 500 *Talents*, make 1500000 *Livres*, at the rate of 1000 *Crowns* for each *Talent*. See our former Remarks on the *Greek* and *Roman* Money.

communicated

Year of  
ROME  
DCVII.

Mac. Ch.  
10, & 11.

Polyb. apud Va-  
lerium. App. de  
Bello Mithri-  
dat. Epit. Li-  
viana: and o-  
thers.

96875 l. Sterl.



Year of R O M E. DCVII. communicated to the *Pergamian* Ambassador, who obtained leave of the King his Master, to transport *Nicomedes* into *Asia* on board his Ship; and *Attalus* took him into his Protection. *Menas* embarked his 2000 Men at the Port of *Ostia*; and *Andronicus* followed close after him, and brought *Nicomedes* safe to the Place appointed. The two Ambassadors had agreed to come to the Port of a small City in *Epirus*, called *Bernice*<sup>14</sup>, at near the same time. There they both landed their Men, as it were to refresh them after the Voyage; and *Nicomedes* went ashore regally apparelled, in a purple Habit, with the Royal Fillet round his Temples, and a Scepter in his Hand. Then *Andronicus*, with his 500 Men, saluted and proclaimed him King of *Bithynia*. *Menas* immediately pretended to be surprised at a Step which tended to dethrone *Prusias*, tho' concerted; and in great haste assembled his 2000 *Bithynians*, and artfully addressed himself to them in this manner. *We are now reduced to the Necessity of judging between the Father and the Son, between Prusias and Nicomedes. One has the Romans and the King of Pergamus in his Interest, and the Wishes of all the People of Bithynia. The other supports himself by his great Age and long Possession of the Throne. We might live a great while under young Nicomedes, but Death must soon remove old Prusias from us. The Son has indeed assumed the Title and Regalia of a Monarch, before his time: But it must be confessed, that the Bithynians would long since have stripped the Father of them, if their Power had been equal to their Hatred. Choose therefore which you will espouse; whether the Interests of the King in Possession, or of him whom this Opportunity offers to you. Only remember, that Attalus has taken Nicomedes under his Protection, and that the Pupil of the Romans cannot fail of their Protection.* This said, he saw in the Countenances of his Men, an unanimous determination to adhere to the young Prince; and he went on to confirm and establish their Affections to him, in the following Words. *How narrowly, cried he, did the Hope of Bithynia escape being cut off in the prime of his Age! The inhuman Prusias gave me Orders to assassinate his Son. But I saved him from Destruction. And shall I, after this, be base enough to desert him?*

Then the 2000 *Bithynians* immediately joined the Troops of *Andronicus*; and acknowledged *Nicomedes* to be their King. After great Shouts and repeated Acclamations, the two Bodies of Men reimbarbed, set sail, and landed in a Port of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Attalus*<sup>15</sup> received young *Nicomedes* with great Joy; and immediately dispatched Messengers to *Prusias*, to require him to assign over some Provinces to his Son, and fix certain Revenues on him for his Subsistence. To which the old King proudly answered, *That Nicomedes should soon have the Kingdom of Pergamus for his Lot; which he would put him into Possession of, as soon as he had conquered it.* So that all Preparations were immediately made for an open War; but *Prusias* was too weak to maintain one. He therefore had recourse to *Rome*, and intreated the Senate, to nominate three Commissioners for *Asia*, with Powers to settle *Bithynia* and *Pergamus* in Peace. But it is uncertain, whether the Affair of the two Monarchs was at all seriously<sup>16</sup> considered at *Rome*. At least, there was something strangely ridiculous in the Choice the *Romans* made of these Commissioners. One of the three whom the *Roman Prætor* sent to *Asia*, was mad, the second was lame, and the third extremely stupid. Whence that saying of *Cato*, who was then alive, *That the Bithynian Embassy had neither Feet, Head, nor Understanding.* It may easily be imagined, that Men of this Figure and Character had no great Weight, in the two Courts; so that they returned<sup>17</sup> without terminating the Differences between them. The next recourse therefore was to Arms; but the *Bithynians* refused to fight against *Nicomedes*. So that the old King finding his Affairs desperate, applied himself to one of the petty<sup>18</sup> Sovereigns of *Thrace*, whose Daughter he had married, for his second Wife; and all the Succours he could get, were only 500 Men. In the mean time, Ni-

14 *Bernice* was anciently a City of *Epirus*. *Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. B. 7 Ch. 21*, speaks of one *Ammon*, a Bishop of *Bernice*, and not *Berenice*, as some by mistake read it. *Plutarch* mentions this Place, in his *Life of Pyrrhus*.

15 *Attalus*, to stir up the Ambition of *Nicomedes*, interpreted certain Verses in his Favour, which were ascribed to one of the *Sibylls*; and it is said, that these Verses promised the young Prince the Kingdom of *Bithynia*.

16 At least *Appian* says, that *The Prætor of Rome* deferred for some days the Audience, which *Prusias's* Ambassadors desired to obtain without delay.

17 The *Roman* Deputies, says *Appian*, in vain endeavoured to force the two Parties to lay down their Arms, by dint of Authority. *Attalus* and *Nicomedes* seemed to submit; but the *Bithynians* protested they could no longer bear the Tyranny of *Prusias*. These Disputes disconcerted them; and they thought proper to retire without concluding any thing, and inform the Senate of the Complaints the People of *Bithynia* made against their King.

18 This petty Sovereign of *Thrace*, is the same that we have just now called *Diagylles*. He was then at War with *Attalus*, who, according to *Strabo*, had ravaged his Dominions.



*Nicomedes* advanced into *Bithynia*, at the Head of the *Pergamian* Troops; and his Father's Subjects in general, particularly the Lords of *Bithynia*, strove who should first join him. In this universal Revolt therefore, *Prusias* quitted the City of *Nice*<sup>19</sup>, where he was not safe; and fled for Refuge to *Nicomedia*<sup>20</sup>, a City whose Affections he thought such, that he might safely entrust himself there, and which he thought strong enough to endure a Siege. Whilst he was there waiting for the Enemy, and increasing the Fortifications, *Nicomedes* appeared. At the sight of a great Army, the *Nicomediens* were seized with dread, opened their Gates to the young Conqueror, and left the old King at his Mercy. The only *Asylum* for *Prusias* was the Altars; and he retired into a Temple of *Jupiter*. But the Holiness of the Place could not screen him from the Violence of his Son. This Disciple of the *Romans* was already tainted with that depravity of Manners, which began to get ground among them. He was impious enough to order the Assassination of his Father; and to send Murderers<sup>21</sup> into the Temple, who took from the unfortunate King both his Crown and his Life. And therefore the Ancients make it a doubt, whether was the more wicked, the barbarous *Prusias* who would have murdered his Son, or the inhuman *Nicomedes* who embrued his Hands in the Blood of his<sup>22</sup> Father. It being according to them equally inhuman, either to deprive those of Life to whom we have given it; or those, to whom we owe our own<sup>23</sup>.

Year of  
ROME  
DCVII.  
App. &c.

<sup>19</sup> The ancient Geographers place the City of *Nicaea*, or *Nice*, in *Bithynia*, near the Lake *Ascanius*, now the Lake of *Isnich*. It's acknowledged Founder was *Antigonus*, the Son of *Philip of Macedon*; and from thence it was first called *Antigonia*, according to *Strabo*, and *Pliny the Naturalist*. Afterwards it was repaired and embellished by *Lyfimachus*, who gave it the Name of his Wife *Nicaea*, the Daughter of *Antipater*. But *Stephen of Byzantium* assures us, that *Nice* was originally a Colony of the *Bottiaei* a People of *Thrace*, and was then called *Anchore*. The Orientals now call it *Isnich*, or *Nichor*, according to *Leunclavius*. But *Sophian* pretends, that it still preserves its ancient Name in that of *Nichea*. *Pliny* is the only Author who mentions two Cities of *Nice* in *Bithynia*; one 25 Miles East from *Prussa* or *Bursa*, and 44 North of *Nicomedia*; and the other near a Gulph which he calls *Ascanius*, as well as the Lake of that Name. The latter he says is called *Olbia*. But *Pliny's* single Authority ought not to be preferred to those of *Strabo*, *Stephen of Byzantium*, *Ptolomy*, and *Antoninus*, who allow of only one City of *Nice* in *Bithynia*. Indeed *Ptolomy* mentions a Place called *Olbia*, near *Nicomedia*. But it is certain, that no ancient Geographer calls *Nice* by that Name. Besides, we don't know where this Lake of *Ascanius* is, which *Pliny* only mentions. It is therefore natural to suppose, that he means by it The Gulph of *Astaces*, or *Olbia*, now known by the Name of The Gulph of *Nicomedia*. Add to this, that the City of *Nice* was one of the most considerable Cities in *Bithynia*. This we may infer from the reverse of a Medal § of the Emperor *Domitian*. It is charged with the Figure of a *Bacchus*, with this Inscription, Τ Ο Ν ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΣ ΠΡΩΤΟΙ. Π. ΚΑΙ ΒΙΘ, by which Words the *Nicaeans* glory in acknowledging *Bacchus* to be THE FOUNDER of *Nice*, and declare it to be of THE FIRST RANK among the Cities of *PONTUS* and *BITHYNIA*. This Pre-eminence is expressed by the Greek Word ΠΡΩΤΟΙ, as the Names of the Provinces of *PONTUS* and *BITHYNIA* are pointed out by the Letter Π, and the Greek Syllable ΒΙΘ. *Strabo*, and after him *The Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, distinguish this City with the Title of a Metropolis; but this Distinction was disputed by the People of *Nicomedia* under the Roman Emperors. And indeed, *Nicomedia* always passed for the Capital, not of *Bithynia* only, but of *Pontus* also, from the Time that *Augustus* united these two Provinces into one. But this did not hinder its being acknowledged to be the chief City of The second *Bithynia*, after the Province was divided into two Parts. It was, according to *Strabo*, of a square Form, containing 16 *Stadia*, or 2000 Geographical Miles.

metrical Paces in Circumference. *Appian* tells us, that from the Time of *Prusias the Hunter* it was strengthened with a Citadel. And in process of Time, the General Council held here against the Heresy of *Arius*, gave a new Lustre to this City.

<sup>20</sup> The ancient Authors agree, that *Nicomedia* was formerly the Capital of all *Bithynia*; and the Medals confirm it. On the reverse of a Medal of the Emperor *Trajan*, this City is called The Metropolis and the chief City of *PONTUS* and *BITHYNIA*. Η. ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ ΝΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΠΟΝΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΕΙΘΥΝΙΑΣ. Inasmuch that *Athenæus* joins it with *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. And *Libanius*, who lived in the Time of *Julian the Apostate*, pretends, that in bigness it was only inferior to the four first Cities in the World, *Rome*, *Constantinople*, *Alexandria*, and *Antioch*, and that it might be compared with them for Beauty. The Founder of this City was *Nicomedes the first*, Son of *Zipætus*, and the Great-Grandfather to *Prusias the Hunter*. *Pausanius*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and *Trebellius Pollio* say, that *Nicomedia* was originally called *Astacus*, and communicated that Name to the Neighbouring Gulph. But *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*, make *Nicomedia* and *Astacus* two different Cities; and *Strabo* adds, that *Nicomedes* razed *Astacus*, and transplanted its Inhabitants into his new City of *Nicomedia*. According to *Pliny the Younger*, B. 10. Let. 50, it had in its Neighbourhood a very great Lake, which was very convenient for conveying Merchandizes as far as to the great Road; and from thence they were conveyed by Land-Carriage to the Sea of *Pro-Pontis*, now the Sea of *Marmora*. *Niger* thinks this the same Lake with that which is now called The Lake of *Pusgus*. Nothing now remains but the Ruins of this so famous City. It underwent the same Fate as its Rival, *Nice*. Earthquakes, and the Fury of Barbarians, have scarce left us any traces of its ancient Splendor.

<sup>21</sup> Some ancient Authors don't agree, with *Diodorus Siculus* and *Appian*, that *Nicomedes* dipp'd his Hands in the Blood of his own Father. Some, as *Strabo*, throw this Crime on *Attalus King of Pergamus*, sworn Enemy to *Prusias*. *Dio Cassius* and *Zonaras* say he was assassinated by his own Subjects. *Livy*, *Epitom.* B. 50, divides the horrible Guilt of this enormous Act, between *Nicomedes* and *Attalus*.

<sup>22</sup> *Appian* tells us, that *Nicomedes* was not less cruel to his own Brothers. He was scarce mounted on the Throne, e'er he inhumanly sacrificed them all, not one excepted, to his Ambition and Jealousies. *Prusias*, surnamed ΜΟΝΟΔΟΡΞ had the same Fate as his Father.

<sup>23</sup> *Nicomedes* the Son and Successor of *Prusias*, was This



Year of  
ROME  
DCVII.

This short Account of the various Occurrences in *Asia*, whilst *Rome* was employed in her Wars with *Carthage*, *Achaia*, and *Macedon*, ought not to be deemed an useless digression, because necessary to represent the situation of the *Asiatick* Monarchs; especially since the Republick was now come so near to them. After the Reduction of all *Greece*, the *Roman Provinces* joined to *Asia*: And hereafter, we shall find the Interests of the *Asiatics* and *Romans* so blended together; that it will not be easy to pursue the History of the latter, without having, at least, a slight Knowledge of the State of the former. However, for the present, *Rome* did not turn her Ambition towards the East. The troublesome War she had to maintain in *Spain*, and which had been continued during all the Siege of *Carthage*, was of it self sufficient to find her Employment in the West of *Europe*; and thither the Thread of our History, which we have so far advanced, now leads us.

Year of  
ROME  
DCVIII.

Q. FABIVS  
ÆMILIANVS,  
& L. HOSTI-  
LIVS MAN-  
CINVS, Con-  
suls.  
See Pl. 3. No.  
12.

§. V. For the Year of *Rome* 608, the Republick chose two *Consuls* of very different Characters. One was, the Brother of *The second Africanus*, and the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, who had translated him into the Family of the *Fabii* by adoption. So that his new Name was Q. *Fabius*<sup>24</sup>; and his Surname *Æmilianus*, to shew his Descent. The other was that *L. Hostilius Mancinus*, who had Commanded the *Roman Fleet* before

honoured with the Title of *Epiphanes*, or *The Illustrious*. This appears by a Medal, which can suit no body but this Prince, if we consider the *Greek Arithmetical Characters*, Π Π Γ marked on the reverse. These Letters answer to the *Arabian Cyphers* 183. By this Date, the Director of the Coin, designed to shew the Epocha of the Kings of *Bithynia*, beginning with the Year which gave birth to the Monarchy. In order to fix this Epocha, we have no Authority but *Georgius Syncellus*. This Writer, who lived during the Empire of *Constantine* and *Irene*, reckons up in this Region of *Asia Minor*, a Succession of eight Kings, who succeeded one another without Interruption, in the Space of 213 Years, down to the last *Nicomedes*. Now the Death of this King happened in the Year of *Rome* 679. If then we deduct 213 out of 679, this will bring us to the 466th Year of *Rome*, and consequently, this was the first Year of the Reign of *Zipætus*, the first King of *Bithynia*. He was succeeded in the Throne, by his Son *Nicomedes the first* of that Name; who built the City of *Nicomedia*, about the 129th *Olympiad*, the 492d Year of *Rome*, the 26th after the Establishment of the *Bithynian Monarchy*, and 157 Years before the Year 183, which is the Date of the Medal. *Prusias the first* surnamed *The Lame*, succeeded his Father *Nicomedes*. *Prusias the second* the Son of *Zela* and Grandson of *Nicomedes*, *Prusias the Hunter* the Son of the former, *Nicomedes the second* surnamed *Epiphanes*, *Nicomedes Philopator*, and lastly, *Nicomedes the fourth* of the Name and the last of the Kings of *Bithynia*, reigned successively from Father to Son. It is pity, the Ancients have not exactly told us, how many Years each of these reigned. Nevertheless, it is certain, that *Nicomedes the second* reigned a long time, since he was in Possession of the Throne, in the Year of *Rome* 660. This we have reason to infer from *Strabo*, *Justin*, and *Memnon*. The last, who lived in the Time of *Augustus*, wrote 16 Books, containing the History of the City of *Heraclea* in the Kingdom of *Pontus*; the greatest part of which, *Photius* has abridged, and transmitted to us in his *Bibliotheca*. From the Accounts given us by these Historians it follows, that *Nicomedes the second*, mounted the Throne about the Year of *Rome* 607, and that he was still King in the Year 649; and consequently, that the Medal last mentioned must necessarily belong to him, exclusive of the other *Nicomedes's* who reigned before and after him. Indeed, the Chronologists and Authors, both Ancient and Modern agree, that *Nicomedes the third*, surnamed *Philopator*, died about the Year of *Rome*, 664, after a very short Reign. It is therefore evident, that the beginning of his Reign was posterior to the Year of *Rome* 649, which answers to the Date of Π Π Γ, or 183, on the reverse of the Me-

dal; where we see the Figure of a *Jupiter* holding a Crown in his Hand, with an Eagle and Thunderbolt before him, the usual Symbols of this God. The *Monogram* over the Arithmetical Characters, stands for the City of *Heraclea* in *Pontus*. *Memnon* assures us it was dependent on the Kings of *Bithynia*.

And here we shall observe, by the by, the Mistake of *Appian*, who settles a Succession of 49 Kings in *Bithynia*. Most ancient Authors confine their Number to 8, some to 9, and others raise it to 11 or 12. The last suppose with *Memnon*, that before *Zipætus*, *Didalsus*, and then *Botira*, gave Law there. They add, that *Bas*, or *Bias*, the Son of *Botira* first assumed the Title of King, after he had driven out *Calantus*, who governed this Province under the Direction of *Alexander the Great*. And lastly, they put in the List of the Kings of this Country, *Zela*, the Son of *Nicomedes the first*, and the Father of *Prusias the second*. And if it were true, that *Nicomedes the fourth* had been the 49th King, this Monarchy must have been erected long before the *Trojan War*. Whereas *Homer*, who is so exact in enumerating the Nations bordering near *Troas*, says not one Word of the *Bithynians*. This Country was then a Desert, and not inhabited till after the taking of *Troy*. The *Thracians*, says *Appian*, who had followed *Rhesus* to the Siege of this City, retired into that Province of *Asia*, which borders upon the *Hellepont*. Some settled themselves there, others passed the *Streights*, and landed near *Byzantium*, and the River *Bithyas*. This Canton was then seized by a Colony of *Thracians* called *Thynians* and *Bithynians*. The New-Comers, pressed by want, repassed the *Streights*, and settled in *Bebrycia*, which they called *Bithynia*, from the River *Bithyas*, and the Neighbouring Countries, which they had just abandoned. This Account seems to be not so Fabulous, as that of some Authors, who suppose, that one *Bithys*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Thrace*, reigned in *Bithynia*, and gave his Name to the Country. *Herodotus* and *Thucydides* had said, before *Appian*, the *Bithynians* were originally *Thracians*; and *Claudius* declares for the same Opinion, in the following Line.

*Thynni Thraces erant, quæ nunc Bithynia fertur.*

In Eutrop.

24. We have already observed, that *Quintus Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, was the Son of *Paulus Æmilius* and *Papiria*. When adopted by *Quintus Fabius Maximus Labeo*, he, according to custom, took the Name of the Father who adopted him. *Suetonius*, in his *Life of Terence*, says, that *Æmilianus* was a Scholar, and gloried in patronizing Men of Letters.

*Carthage,*



*Carthage*, two Years before, in quality of *Prætor*; and had rashly surprized *Megalia* Year of with so little Precaution, that he brought his Men and himself into very imminent Danger, *R O M E.* from which they were not without great Difficulty delivered. It seems proper, there- *DCVIII.* fore, that a Man of so little Judgment, should have been ever after excluded from great *Q. FABIVS* Employments. But in popular States, the Methods of attaining to the highest Stations *ÆMILIANUS,* are various. This *Mancinus*, whom the remembrance of *Carthage* ought to have filled & *L. HOSTI-* with endless Confusion, was not ashamed to shew the People assembled in the *Forum* *LIUS MAN-* *Romanum*, a Map of the City, and of the Siege of it. Whilst *Scipio* was making new *CINUS, CON-* Attacks upon it, this idle Man had entertained the *Romans*, with shewing them the *fuls.* Places of those Attacks in his Map, by pointing them out with a Rod he held in his *Plin. B. 39.* Hand. And this low Address was so agreeable to the People, that they raised him to *c. 4.* the *Consulate*, and made him Collegue to *Fabius Æmilianus*. Whether he drew Lots with him for the Province of *Spain*, is not known; but it is certain, that the Commis- sion for continuing the War with *Viriatius* fell to *Fabius*. The *Prætor* chosen for *Hither Spain* was *C. Lælius*, surnamed *The Wise*, who was so strictly united in Friend- ship with *The second Africanus*, and had acquired so much Glory at the Siege of *Carthage*. And it is not to be doubted, that other *Prætors* were elected, for all the different *Ro-* *man Provinces*, which were now grown more numerous, both in the East and South; tho' History has not transmitted their Names to us.

At *Rome*, the Citizens were exhausted with Fatigue. The *Carthaginian* and *Macedo-* *App. in Iberic.* *nian Wars* had swept away many *Legionaries*, and they who survived, wanted rest. The *Consul* appointed for *Spain*, had therefore more regard to the Wants of his Countrymen, than to his own Glory. He might have commanded the Veterans, who were inured to War, to have attended him, and his Orders would have been obey'd. But Com- passion sway'd more with him than his own Interests. *Fabius* contented himself with raising new Levies in the City among the Youth which had never yet borne Arms. Of these he formed two *Legions*, and this obliged him to defer his departure for some time. In the mean while, *Caius Lælius* embarked without delay; after he had first signalized his Zeal, for the Priesthood of his Country.

A *Tribune of the People*, named *Caius Licinius Crassus*, undertook to transfer the *Cic. de Amicitia.* Election of the Priests to the Commons. The Custom had always been, when a Va- cancy happened in the <sup>25</sup> *Sacerdotal Colleges*, for that Body of which the deceased had been

25. The eight principal *Sacerdotal Colleges* at this time, were those of the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, *Decemviri* appointed to guard the *Sybilline Books*, *Septemviri Epulones*, *Salii*, *Fæciales*, *Luperci*, and *Fratres Arvales*. As oft as any Vacancy happened in either of these, by the Death of any Priest, it ought, according to *Numa's* Institution, to have been given only to a Man of Merit and Piety. But afterwards, Intrigues and Birth were sufficient to procure them. The great Men of *Rome*, little regardful of the Obligations annexed to the Priesthood, considered only the Advantages and Privileges of it. However, we shall not repeat what we have already observed in the preceding Volumes, concerning the seven first of these Colleges. All that remains, is to give some account here of the *Fratres Arvales*.

They were a Society of twelve Men, of good Families, united in the form of a College. *Aulus Gellius* carries up their Origin as high as to the Foundation of *Rome*. He says, that *Acca Laurentia*, *Romulus's* Nurse, had twelve Sons, one of which died. *Romulus* supplied the place of the deceased, and out of Affection to her who had been a Mother to him, made himself, as it were, her twelfth Son: So that the King of *Rome* look'd on the eleven Sons of *Acca Laurentia* as his own Brothers. He bound himself to them by the sacred Ties of Religion, and formed them into a new Society, with the Name of *Fratres Arvales*, which they transmitted to their Successors. From that time, a Crown made of Ears of Corn, adorned with little white Willers, was the Mark of their Priesthood. *Pliny* observes, that this sort of Crown was the first that the *Romans* used in their Ceremonies. But *Fabius Fulgentius*, in his Work, entitled, *De Vocibus An-*

*tiquis*, relates this Fact a little differently from the account we have given of it from *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius*. And he says, he had his relation from one *Rutilius Geminus*, an ancient Author, who had collected into one History, every thing that related to the ancient Rights of the *Pontifices*. *Acca Laurentia* then, according to him, used to offer up a Sacrifice every Year, in order to intreat the Gods to make her Land fruitful. Her twelve Sons assisted at this Ceremony, and performed the Office of Priests. One of them died, and *Romulus*, to endear himself to *Acca Laurentia*, shared the Brotherhood, and the Offices of the Sacrifice, with the eleven Survivors. This sort of Fraternity, if I may so speak, was perpetuated among the *Romans*, and the Sacrifice the twelve Brothers offered up together, gave rise to the Festival of *The Ambarvalia*.

The *Romans* gave this Name to a sort of Procession that was made twice a Year round the Territory of *Rome*, under the Direction of the *Fratres Arvales*. These Priests presided at the Solemnity. They marched crowned with Oak-Leaves, at the head of a crowd of People. This Crown put them in mind of the Acorns, which, according to the Fictions of the Poets, were the Food of the first Men. The Air resounded with the Harmony of the Flutes, and of the Hymns which different Choirs sung, in honour to *Ceres*, *Bacchus*, and the great Deities. This Musick was accompanied with dancing, as we learn from *Virgil*, *Georg. 1.* where he describes in a natural and lively manner, the rejoicing of the Country-People, on the Festival of *The Ambarvalia*. At the head of the Procession were three Victims, a Sow, a Sheep, and a Bull, which were therefore called *Ambarvales Hostiæ*.



Year of been a Member, to fill it up by a Majority of Votes. But *Licinius*, to make his  
 R O M E. court to the People, had prepared a Law contrary to this ancient Usage. He would  
 DCVIII. have had it enacted, That the Priests should be chosen in the *Comitia*, like the other  
 Magistrates of the Republick. A Bill was ready, drawn for this purpose, and nothing re-  
 Q. FABIVS mained, but to get it passed by the People. And because this Project could not but be  
 ÆMILIANUS, disagreeable to the Nobility and Senate of Rome; since it was not only an Innovation,  
 & L. HOSTI- but in consequence of it, all the *Sacerdotal* Offices would have been fill'd with *Plebeians*  
 LIUS MAN- for the future: *Licinius*, therefore, found out an Expedient, to prevent the *Conscrip*  
 CINIUS, Con- *Fathers* hearing him propose his new Law. The *Comitium* <sup>25</sup>, or Place where the  
 suls. People assembled to hear their *Tribunes*, and The *Tribune of Harangues* or *Rostra*,  
 from

*Hestia*. After these Animals had been led round some sown Lands, they were sacrificed to *Ceres*, under the Name of *Suevotaurilia*, a Term which we have explained in the first Volume. On this occasion no Fumigations, or Perfumes, or Libations of Milk or Honey or Wine, were spared; but poured in full Bowls upon the sacrificed Victims. The Design of this Ceremony, was to engage the Gods, and especially the Goddess *Ceres*, to preserve the Fruits of the Earth. Every one promised himself a very plentiful Crop from their Blessing. Before the *Romans*, the People of *Africa* observed almost the same Rites, in a Festival which they celebrated every Year, to obtain of *Jupiter* a good Harvest. It was with this Intention that they invoked the King of the Gods. The Ancients have transmitted to us the following Form of Prayer which the *Athenians* used in times of Drought. Give, O *Jupiter*, Give our parched Lands a gracious Rain. After their Example, the *Romans* pray'd to *Ceres* to preserve their Flocks and their Fields from Diseases, intemperate Seasons, Pestilence, and other fatal Accidents. *Avertas morbum, mortem, labem, nebulam, impetiginem, pestilentiam*. This Prayer was picked up by *Festus*.

According to an ancient Inscription, the *Romans* did not sacrifice to the Goddess of Corn only, during the Festival of the *Ambarvalia*; the Custom was, to sacrifice likewise two Sheep to *Vesta*; and *Jupiter* also, and *Mars* and *Janus*, had their share in the Supplications of the Citizens. The People, led by the *Fratres Arvales*, who began the March, walked all round the Territory of Rome; which according to *Ovid* and *Strabo*, was about two Leagues in circumference. The College of *Arvales* usually met, either at the Capitol, or the Temple of *Concord*, or that of *Dia* which was 5 Miles from the City, in the Road called *Via Campana*, which led to *Campania*. The Name of *Dia* was given to the Mother of the Gods, to shew that she was, by way of Eminence, the Goddess.

Whilst the College of the twelve Brethren *Arvales* were celebrating the Festival of the *Ambarvalia*, in the Name of the *Roman* People; every Master of a Family, crowned with Oak-Leaves, and assisted by his Family, performed the same Ceremonies in his own Estate. The Country-people were also very exact in performing the same religious Duties in their Villages, by the ministry of certain Priests, who had the care of the Sacrifices. This Festival was repeated twice in a Year; once in *May*, according to the old *Roman* Calendar; and once in *July*, before the Harvest began. *Cato*, in 134, and 141 Ch. Of the Rural Life, has described a part of the Ceremonial which was enjoined the *Romans* on these solemn Days. It above all requires the sacrificing a Sow, which it calls *Porca Præcidanea*, because it was usual, according to *Aulus Gellius* and *Festus*, to sacrifice this Victim either before the gathering of the Harvest, or the Celebration in this Festival. Nevertheless, it is certain, that *Porca Præcidanea* does not always signify a living Beast. The richest People often made an Offering to *Ceres*, of the Figure of the Animal made in Gold and Silver. This *Festus* observes on the Autho-

rity of *Attius Capita*, an ancient *Civilian*, who was honoured with the *Consulship*, in the Reign of *Augustus*.

But the Office of the *Arvales* was not confined to the Lustrations for the Fields. An Inscription which *Grotius* has preserved in his Collection, gives us room to believe, that it was their Province to expiate Trees that were struck with Lightning, and to put others in their room, in the very place where they had been so struck. *Cujas*, B. II. Of his *Observations*, declares himself of Opinion, that the *Arvales* were appointed by the State, to inspect and settle the Boundaries of Lands. This *Civilian* founds his Opinion on the Authority of some ancient *Glosses*. We there find, that the *Arvales* were the proper Judges of the differences that arose between private Persons, concerning their Boundaries. *οἱ περὶ ὅρων διαγινώσκοντες, διασάει*. This will seem probable, if we consider, that the *Romans* thought nothing more sacred or more inviolable, than the Boundaries of Fields. It was a religious Affair. Whence it may be inferred, that the Cognizance of them was devolved on Priests. Nevertheless, *Turnebius*, B. 21. c. 1. of his *Remarks*, pretends, that the Judges appointed for these purposes were very different Persons from the Priests we are speaking of; and that they were called *Arvales*, only on account of their Commission. However, this at least is certain, that the Priesthood of The Brethren called *Arvales*, was inalienable, and ended only with their Lives. Even Imprisonment or Banishment did not degrade them. It is probable, this College was subject to a Head or Grand Master; whose Province probably it was to consecrate those who aspired at this Priesthood. Their Election had always belonged to the Members of the College, and was made by a Majority of Votes. *Varro*, *Tacitus*, and several ancient Authors, mention another *Sacerdotal* College, the Priests of which were called *Sodales Titii*. They took their Name from the Tribe *Titia*, or *Tatia*. Only *Sabines* were admitted into it, after they had been incorporated in Rome. Their King *Titus Tatius*, who then shared the supreme Power with *Romulus*, was himself, according to *Tacitus*, the Founder of this College of *Titian* Priests. He appointed them to be the Depositories and Conservators of the *Sabine* Religion. His Design in this Establishment was, to preserve among his Subjects who were newly transplanted into Rome, their ancient Worship, without any Alteration. After the Death of *Tatius*, *Romulus* authorized and confirmed this Priesthood of the *Titians*. Nevertheless, *Tacitus* seems to contradict himself, when he affirms in another place, that when *Romulus* was become sole King of Rome, he instituted this Order of Priests, in honour to the Memory of his Collegue *Tatius*. They dwelt without the Walls of the City, and there observed the flight of certain Birds, which *Varro* calls *Titii*, and which seem to have been the same as our Wood-Pigeons. In Cases of Need, the *Pontifices* made use of these Sorts of *Augurs*.

26. The Place where the *Comitia* were held, was formerly all that Ground which was bounded by the *Mons Palatinus*, and lay between the *Rostra*, and *Hof-*  
 tilius's



from which they harangu'd the People, was in that part of the *Forum Romanum* which was over-against, and nearest to the Gate of the Temple in which the Senate usually assembled: And as this Amphitheatre or *Rostra* <sup>27</sup> directly fronted the Door of the Temple, *The Fathers* could always see the Orator from their Seats, and sometimes hear him, if his Voice was strong. But *Licinius*, seeing that among so great a Number of Senators he should not fail to meet with some Opponents, changed the place of the Assembly. He placed his Auditory not in the Space between *The Rostra* and the Temple of the Senate; but in a Space of seven <sup>28</sup> Acres, which lay between *The Rostra*, and the other end of the <sup>29</sup> *Forum*: So that the Orator was forced to turn his Back on the Senators, in order to be heard by the People; and this Artifice, tho' the novelty of it was now surprising, was afterwards repeated by some seditious <sup>30</sup> *Tribunes*. But notwithstanding all this Precaution, to get his Bills passed, *Licinius* met with a formidable Adversary in *Laelius*. When an Edict was passing, every *Citizen* had a Right to speak for, or against it; and to represent to the People the Advantages or Inconveniencies of it: And *Laelius*, on this Occasion, mounted the *Rostra*, and pleaded so forcibly in favour of the *Sacerdotal* Colleges, that they were maintained in their ancient Rights. An Action which redounded much to his Honour; and his Speech was long extant. *Cicero* saw it in his Time, and never speaks of it but with Commendation.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVIII.  
Q. FABIVS  
MILIANVS  
L. HOSTILI-  
VS MANCI-  
NVS, Consuls.

*Cic. in Bruto;*  
*§ B. 2. de*  
*Nat. Degr.*

§. VI. About the same time, the *Ædiles* were chosen. One *Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, (the Grand-Son of that virtuous Roman who was thought most worthy to receive the Statue of *Cybele* in his Arms, and the Son of a Prince of the Senate) tho' very young, depended on obtaining the *Curule-Ædileship*, purely by the Weight and Influence of his Name. And as he was walking towards the *Comitium*, dressed in the white Robe which all Candidates wore, he drew near to a Citizen of one of *The Rural Tribes*, to salute him, as usual. The Citizen, tho' a Freeman, had made his Skin hard with labour at his Husbandry; and *Nasica*, to pay his Compliments, took him by the Right Hand. But so

*Val. Max. B.*  
*7. c. 5.*

*tilius's Palace*, where the Senate used to assemble. So that it contained all that part of the present *Campo Vaccino* which is between the Churches of *St. Mary Liberatrix*, and *St. Lawrence in Miranda*. We have observed in the 3d Volume, that, in the Year of Rome 546, this Place was covered with a Roof, supported only by Stone-Pillars. For, according to *Pliny*, Marble was not used in the publick Buildings, before the Year 661. Time has spared three of these Pillars, which are yet to be seen at Rome. They are fluted, and of the *Corinthian* Order. Their Capitals faced towards the *Forum*; all was rough and unpolished on the inside which answered to the *Comitium*. This Place was not solely appropriated to the assembling of the People. The Romans used to play at several Games there, as particularly Tennis, according to *Seneca the Philosopher*.

<sup>27</sup> We have mentioned *The Rostra* in the preceding Volumes. *Livy*, B. 8, gives the Name of Temple, to the Inclosure about this Tribunal. The Romans called all Places Temples which the *Augurs* had Consecrated, as we have elsewhere observed. We must not therefore imagine, with *Blondus*, in his *Rome Triumphant*, that the Ancients always mean great Buildings, by the Word Temples. As to the Position of *The Rostra*, or Tribune of Harangues, *Appian* says, in his first Book of *The Civil War*, That it stood in the middle of the *Forum Romanum*; and *Appian* herein agrees with *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*. The latter, *Antiq. Rom.* B. 1. says, That over the Tomb of the Shepherd *Faustulus*, was erected a Stone Lion, near *The Rostra*, in the most conspicuous part of the *Forum Romanum*. And *Dio*, B. 43, gives the *Rostra* the same Situation. Nevertheless, we must not from thence conclude, that they stood exactly in the center of the *Forum*. It was more towards one end of it, than the other, and so placed, that the Orator's Face was always towards the *Capitol* when he harangued the People. It was a sort of Amphitheatre, supported by Columns, and its Inclosure was adorned with Statues. See what we have said, and the Figure we have given of it, Vol. 2. Pag. 176. Note 85.

<sup>28</sup> The Ancients use the Word *Jugerum*, to signify as much Ground as two Oxen could plough in a Day.

VOL. V.

Each *Jugerum* contained in length two *Actus*; and each *Actus* contained 120 square Feet. So that according to *Pliny*, B. 18, and *Columella*, B. 5, the *Jugerum* was a square Piece of Ground, of 240 Feet long, and sixscore broad. *Columella* speaks also of another Piece of Ground called *Clima*, which contained 60 square Feet. So that the *Clima* was half the *Actus*. But *Varro* speaks of another Sort of *Actus*, which was only 4 Feet broad, and 120 long; *Isidorus* makes it 160 Feet long.

<sup>29</sup> The *Forum Romanum* was an oblong, according to *Vitruvius's* Account of it. He says, the open Spaces of the *Greek Cities* were exact Squares; but those of the Romans, long Squares. In breadth, the *Forum Romanum* contained the whole Space between the Mounts *Palatinus* and *Capitolinus*. In length, it reached from that part of Rome where the Church of *St. Theodorus* has since been built, to that where the Church of *St. Adrian* now stands. This space, according to *Varro*, *De Re Rustica* B. 1, was in length 1680 Feet; in breadth 840; at the rate of 240 Feet by 120 to each *Jugerum*.

We have observed, in the first Volume, That *Tarquin the Elder* built Portico's round the *Forum*. But these were at distances from one another, to leave the entrances of the Streets, which led thither, open. Afterwards it was embellished with Statues, and several other Ornaments. The Chief of which were twelve gilt Statues of the Gods and Goddesses of the first Class; according to *Varro*, B. 1. *De Re Rust.* Besides that the Assemblies of the People were usually held here; it was the Place for all sorts of Shows, before the Romans multiplied their Theatres, Amphitheatres, and Circus's for the Celebration of the publick Games, and the Combats of the Gladiators.

<sup>30</sup> *Cicero*, in his Book *De Amicitia*, and *Varro* in his *De Re Rustica* agree, That *Caius Licinius Crassus* was the first who changed the old Method of assembling the People in the *Comitium*. *Plutarch* is therefore mistaken, when he says, That Rome saw no Instance of any Innovation of this kind, before *Caius Gracchus*.

F

delicate



Year of delicate was the young *Roman*, that, being offended at the hardness of his Skin, he asked *ROME*. him, *Whether he walked upon his Hands?* And the Jest cost him dear. The *Rural* *DCVIII.* *Tribes* resented it. They despised a Man, whose Effeminacy made him so unlike the ancient *Romans*, who had the Instruments of Agriculture continually in their Hands; and by refusing him the Suffrages on which he depended, they made him more reserved for the future. Thus did the Lowest and Meanest of the People teach the Greatest to be cautious how they used them with too much Freedom.

Q. FABIVS  
ÆMILIANVS.  
L. HOSTILI-  
VS MARCI-  
NVS, Consuls.

§. VII. In the mean while, the Time drew nigh when it was necessary to march to the Relief of *Spain*. *Viriatius*, with his Army of *Lusitanians*, had made himself formidable there, both to the *Romans* and their Allies. He had gained great Victories over all the *Prætors* *Rome* had sent into the *Spanish* Provinces, during the last *Punic* War: So that these Conquerors of the East and South, had been humbled by him, in the West. After the Defeat and Death of *Vitellius*, the *Lusitanian* had increased his Forces, and had every Year gotten great Advantages over the several Generals which *Rome* had sent to oppose him. In the Year of *Rome* 605, *Caius Plautius Hypsæus* had led against *Viriatius* a Reinforcement of 10000 Foot, and 1300 Horse, but could not subdue the brave *Spaniard* with this great Army. It was twice defeated; and the *Roman* *Prætor* was obliged to leave the Field in the middle of the Summer, and keep out of the Enemy's fight. In 606, *Claudius Unimanus* carried into *Spain* more numerous Forces than his Predecessor *Plautius* had done. Notwithstanding the vast Number of Troops which *Rome* had then in pay, before *Carthage* and in *Macedon*, she proposed utterly to destroy *Viriatius*, and therefore furnished *Claudius* with an Army that was sufficient to have conquered all *Spain*. But even this did not terrify the brave *Lusitanian*. As soon as the Soldiers which the new *Prætor* had brought from *Italy* appeared, *Viriatius* fought them, routed them, and few of them surviv'd the Defeat. Nay, the *Spanish* General seemed to have communicated his Valour to his common Soldiers. 300 *Lusitanians* met a thousand Men of the *Prætorian* Army; and notwithstanding the inequality of Numbers, a Battle being necessary, they engaged the *Romans* with Advantage. The latter lost 320 *Legionaries*, the former, only 70 Men; and in the retreat, a *Lusitanian* Foot-Soldier gain'd himself great Honour by his Bravery. As he was marching alone, and slowly, at a little distance from his Corps, he was on a sudden surrounded by *Roman* Horse. But the bold *Spaniard* forced his way through the Brigade, stabbed the first Horse that came up to him, with his Lance; and with his Sabre, clave the Head of the Rider. Then he continued his march, with the same gravity as before, and rejoined his Country-men, no other Person daring to attack him. And in the Year 607, *Viriatius* follow'd by these brave Soldiers, defeated likewise the *Prætor*, *Caius Nigidius*. So that, being Victorious for six Years together, he drew off whole Nations from the *Romans*, and ravaged the Countries of their Allies. The Nation that suffered most from his Incursions, was the *Segobriges*<sup>31</sup>. He had just robbed them of their Cattle, drawn them into an Ambuscade as they were pursuing him, and after having beaten them, had taken Possession of their City.

Author. de vi-  
ris Illustrib. in  
Viriatho.

*Rome*, therefore, after all these Losses and Disgraces, thought it necessary to send a Consul of Reputation, with a Consular Army, into Further *Spain*, where the Revolt spread farthest; and *Fabius* was appointed to carry on the War there. But he still continued at *Rome* making his Levies; so that *Lælius*, to whose Lot *Hitber* *Spain* had fallen, anticipated him, and first begun to get the ascendant over *Viriatius*. Indeed, the Historians have not transmitted to us the Particulars of his Exploits; but this we know, that he found Means to humble the Pride of the *Lusitanian* General, and to make him sensible, that *Rome* was not unprovided with great Commanders. If he did not utterly reduce this haughty Enemy, he convinced him that he was not invincible, and made it the more easy for *Fabius* to subdue him. It was some Months after *Lælius's* arrival, that

Cic. in Bruto,  
l. 2. de  
Offic.

31 The *Segobriges* inhabited the Territory of a City of *Spain*, called *Segobriga*. The Geographers are divided about the Situation of this ancient City, which *Pliny* says, was the Capital of *Celtiberia*. *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* place it at a little distance from the Place where the famous *Numantia* stood. *Morales* thinks he finds it in a little Town, now called *Cabeça del Griego*, formerly an Episcopal City. *Mariana* places *Segobriga* near *Iniesta*, a small City in that Canton. Others, as *Pajenus*, confound it with *Segorbia*, which belongs to the Kingdom of *Valencia*. Some say there

was another *Segobriga* in the Kingdom of *Castille*, at the Foot of Mount *Orospeña*, on the Banks of the little River of *Duraton*. There now stands *Sepulveda*, a little City fortified by Nature; on an Eminence, in the midst of steep Rocks which make it difficult of access. And as these two Places were both called *Segobriga*, this has created a great deal of uncertainty in the Passage above. Some will have it, that the former is here spoken of, others contend for the latter; and we have not light enough from the Ancients to determine the Dispute.



the *Consul* landed in *Bætica*; now known by the Name of *Andalusia*; with Troops which were neither accustomed to the Climate, nor inured to military Exercises. He reviewed them at *Orfona* <sup>32</sup>, and found them to amount to 15000 Foot; and about 2000 Horse, exclusive of the Reinforcements he received from those *Spanish* Nations, which were not seduced to revolt; but nevertheless he did not think them in a Condition to engage the Enemy. He had learnt from his Father, *Paulus Æmilius*, not to hazard Battles, till he had first taken the wisest Precautions. *Viriatu*s was not a more contemptible Enemy, than *Perfès* had been. Besides, the Republic had very lately banished the *Prætor*, *Caius Plautius* <sup>33</sup>, for having too rashly engaged the *Lusitanian*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCVIII.  
Q. FABIVS  
ÆMILIANVS;  
L. HOSTILI-  
VS MANCI-  
NVS, Cōsuls.

*Fabius*, therefore, was not in haste to offer the Enemy battle. He first made it his chief Concern, to form his young *Legions*, keep them in strict Discipline, study the Character of his Adversary, inform himself of his Designs, and get a Knowledge of the Country. He would not suffer his Men to do more than skirmish with the Enemy, or engage in little Actions with them, in defence of his Convoys. In short, he spent the whole Summer in gradually inuring his Troops to Labour, Fatigue, and strict Discipline; without exposing them in the Field, before a proper Time: And he took the Opportunity of this interval of Inaction, to perform his private Devotions. He made a Pilgrimage to *Gades* <sup>34</sup>, to make his Vows and Offerings to *Hercules*, (from whom according to ancient Tradition the *Fabian* Family was descended <sup>35</sup>;) in the Place where this Hero had finished his Travels and his Conquests.

§. VIII. Whilst *Fabius* was spending the Winter in *Spain*, two new *Consuls* were chosen in *The Field of Mars*. One was *Servius Sulpicius Galba* <sup>36</sup>, who was excessively Rich, but insatiably covetous of more; and the other *L. Aurelius Cotta* <sup>37</sup>, a Man as Poor, as *Galba* was Rich. All Men therefore concluded, that Avarice would be their reigning Principle of Action; and that one of them would zealously pursue his Interest, through Covetousness; the other, out of Necessity. And accordingly, as *Spain* was the most gainful Province, they contended for it with so much Heat, that the Dispute was forced to be brought before the Senate; and *The Fathers* themselves, were divided in Opinion. It was therefore left to the Determination of *Scipio Æmilianus*, who, since the taking of *Carthage*, was become the Oracle of the Republic; and he was not forgetful, That his Brother *Fabius* had spent the Year of his *Consulship*, only in preparing the way for Victory, and That it would be to his dishonour, to leave *Spain* without fighting *Viriatu*s. He

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIX.  
SERV. SULPI-  
TIUS GALBA,  
& L. AURE-  
LIUS COTTA,  
Cōsuls.

Val. Max. B.  
6. c. 4.

<sup>32</sup> *Orfona*, now *Offona* stood in *Andalusia*, four or five Miles, South of *Seville*. It is the same Place which *Pliny* calls *Urso* and *Genua Urbanorum*. But *Antonius Augustinus* suspects that an Error has here crept into the Text of *Pliny*, and that instead of *Genua*, we ought to read *Gemina*. He conjectures, that the Senate settled a Colony of Roman Soldiers there, which had been raised in *Rome* itself, and had been of the Legion called *Gemina*; which Latin Term shews that two Roman Legions had been united to make one complete. Hence, says this Author, the Name of *Gemina Urbanorum*, which was given to the City of *Orfona*. But be that as it will, other Historians, or Geographers say, it was the present *Ursao*. At that time it had but one Fountain, to supply the Wants of all the Inhabitants. The same Fountain still remains; but the Territory is dry and barren.

<sup>33</sup> See Vol. 4. under the Year of *Rome*. 604.

<sup>34</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 531. Note 20. & Vol. 3. p. 286, Note 21, & p. 452, Note 29.

<sup>35</sup> Vol. 2. p. 63. N. 21.

<sup>36</sup> *Servius Sulpicius Galba*'s Character has been sufficiently made known in the preceding Volume, by his Fury against *Paulus Æmilius*, p. 504, his Cruelty and Avarice, p. 572. and the Accusation brought against him for his Robberies, by *Cato the Censor*, p. 601, N. 10. *Cicero* in his *Brutus* ranks this *Consul* among the Orators of his Time.

<sup>37</sup> The *Aurelian* Family was *Plebeian*, and came originally from *Sabinia*, according to *Pestus*. Their Name, according to him, was taken from *ἥλιος*, *Elios*, the Greek Name for the Sun. He says, the Roman People granted this Family a publick Place, wherein to offer up their Sacrifices in honour to the Sun;

and hence the Name of *Aurelius*, or *Auselius*, according to the Dialect of the *Sabines*, who turned the *r*, into *s*. Thus they said, *Ausum*, *Papisius*, *Valesius*, &c. instead of *Aurum*, *Papirius*, *Valerius*. There were said to be three Branches of the *Aurelian* Family, viz. The *Cotta*'s, the *Scaurus*'s, and the *Orestes*'s; and we still find the two first on the Medals. As to *Lucius Aurelius Cotta* here spoken of, he was the same, who, when *Tribune of the People*, in the Year 599, would have made use of his Authority, to screen himself from the Prosecutions of his Creditors. But his Collegues thought his Pretensions unjust and groundless. He was the Son of one *Lucius Cotta*, who, according to *Livy*, B. 40, was a *Legionary Tribune* in *Liguria*, under the Command of *Paulus Æmilius*, in the Year of *Rome* 572. *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, says, That this Magistrate gained himself some Reputation at *Rome* by his Eloquence; but at the same time represents him as a dangerous and mischievous Man. The enormous Crimes with which he was charged, says *Val. Max.* B. 8. ch. 1; raised him up a formidable Accuser in the Person of *Publius Scipio Æmilianus*. He was summoned to give an Account of his Conduct before the *Prætor*. Nevertheless his Judges acquitted him, after he had appeared no less than seven times. Not that they thought him Innocent, adds the same Author; but they were afraid his Condemnation would be thought by the People, to be the Effect of a cowardly Deference to the Credit and Authority of so great a Man as *Scipio*. So refined were they in their Policy, that they thought it better, to let a Criminal escape contrary to Justice, than to hazard their own Characters by giving room to injurious Suspicions.



Year of put an end to the Contest by a very just Observation, which gained the Command of the  
 ROME Spanish Army to Fabius. Neither an indigent, nor an avaritious General, said he, is fit  
 DCIX. for Spain. This was a wise Maxim, and universally applauded: And, the Consuls were  
 obliged to content themselves with Commanding, the one in Italy, and the other in Cis-

SERV. SULPI-  
 TIUS GALBA,  
 & L. AURE-  
 LIUS COTTA,  
 Consuls.

*alpine Gaul*, without either Profit or Glory.  
 About the same time, the Republick made considerable Innovations with respect to the  
*Prætorian Offices*. She had anciently had but one *Prætor*; afterwards two, then four,  
 and at length six, since *Spain* had been reduced to a *Province*. And even this Number  
 was not now thought sufficient. It was judged necessary to create three new Ones; One  
 for *Africa*, another for <sup>38</sup> *Macedon*, and the third for *Achaia*. Besides, in proportion,  
 as the Republick enlarged her Dominions, it became necessary to increase the Number of  
 her Judges, especially for Capital Cases, which were determined only at *Rome*. Crimes  
 were become more frequent, since the Inundation of the *Orientals* and *Africans*, whose  
 necessary Affairs brought them more frequently than ever, to the Capital of the World.  
 Hitherto one *Prætor*, stiled *Prætor Urbanus*, had been sufficient to hear the Civil Cau-  
 ses, and such Criminal ones, as arose within the Verge of the City. And, another,  
 called *Prætor Peregrinus*, had alone determined all Disputes which arose, either between  
 Citizens and Foreigners, or between Foreigners and Foreigners. But both were now so  
 overloaded with Business, that it was become necessary to ease them. It was therefore  
 resolved, That for the future, the *Prætors* <sup>39</sup>, instead of going into the *Provinces* which  
 fell to them by Lot, should continue at *Rome* the Year of their *Prætorship*, and each have  
 his particular Court for the Administration of Justice; and that afterwards, each should  
 go to his respective *Province*, and govern it in quality of *Pro-Prætor*. This new Regula-  
 tion continued long in Practice, and tho' it is not exactly known in what Year it was  
 made, there is Reason to believe it was either in the 608th, or the 609th Year <sup>40</sup> of the  
 City.

The

<sup>38</sup> *Sextus Rufus* and *Jornandes* say, that *Macedon*  
 was first subdued, and reduced to the State of a *Roman*  
*Province*, about the Year of *Rome* 607, after the De-  
 feat of *Andriscus* or the false *Philip*. But *Orosius* pre-  
 tends, That the *Macedonians* were subjected to the  
 Dominion of *Rome* from the Year 602; and That *Scipio*  
*Æmilianus* first governed *Macedon*, in quality of *Præ-*  
*tor*, in the Name of the Republick.

<sup>39</sup> By this new Regulation, which was ever after  
 continued, the six new-elected *Prætors* drew Lots,  
 for their respective Shares in the Administration of  
 Justice at *Rome*, during the Year of their *Prætorship*,  
 and for the Government of the *Prætorian Provinces*,  
 during the Year following. So that the Republick  
 hereby provided, both for the Wants of the Capital,  
 and the Government of the Nations subject to her  
 Laws. From this Time, there began to be six *Prætors*  
 in *Rome*, who had all their distinct Provinces. The  
 two first of the Old Creation, continued to have the  
 sole Cognizance of the Differences between Citizens  
 and Foreigners. The four others were appointed, to  
 examine into Capital Crimes, and punish such Crimi-  
 nals as were brought to their Tribunals, during the  
 whole course of their *Prætorship*. They were called  
*Quæstores rerum Capitalium*, that is, Commissioners  
 appointed to judge of Capital Affairs. Not that this  
 Appellation was then unknown in *Rome*. We have  
 seen in the first Volume, that from the Time of *Numa*  
*Pompilius* and *Tullus Hostilius*, the Trial of certain  
 Capital Crimes was reserved, in the first Instance,  
 to two Magistrates called *Duumviri*. But these were  
 only Delegates, appointed to be Judges in extraordinary  
 Cases; and the Commission they received, whether  
 from the Kings, or the Senate, or the People, expi-  
 red, as soon as Judgment was given either for or a-  
 gainst the Accused. Whereas the Jurisdiction of the  
 four *Prætors* we are speaking of, was fixed, and inse-  
 parable from their Offices. So that, we now see in *Rome*,  
 for the first time, four different Tribunals constantly  
 subsisting, at which Capital Cases were tried. Hence  
 the Expression of *Quæstiones Perpetuæ*, so frequent in  
*Cicero*. By which he means to point out, not a transient

Authority as before, but the fixed and settled Right gi-  
 ven to the four Judges, to examine into and judge of  
 Crimes, at all Times. The four Tribunals, in each of  
 which a *Prætor*, sate as Judge, were confined to En-  
 quiries into four sorts of Offences. The Depravity,  
 Ambition and Avarice of the *Romans*, had multiplied  
 in *Rome* Oppressions, Imbezzlements of the Publick  
 Money, illegal Intrigues and Canvassings for the Digi-  
 nities of the Republick, and the Crime of Treason a-  
 gainst the State: And the Offices of the four *Prætors*  
 were confined to their putting a stop to these Disor-  
 ders, and punishing the Authors of them. Each of  
 these Magistrates chose his particular Province by Lot.  
 Nevertheless, we are not to believe that their Judg-  
 ments were without Appeal; especially when they con-  
 demned a *Roman Citizen* to Banishment. The Peo-  
 ple assembled by *Centuries* had been in Possession of the  
 Right to determine these Matters in the last Instance,  
 ever since the Birth of the Republick.

<sup>40</sup> We have drawn our Conjectures for fixing the  
 Date of the Establishment of the four new Judges,  
 from *Cicero*. In his *Brutus*, he says, that *Caius Carbo*,  
 was not past his Youth, and yet shined already at  
 the Bar, when the Tryal of Criminal Affairs began to  
 be settled in a regular Channel. Now we know, that  
*Caius Carbo* was Consul for the first Time, in the Year  
 of *Rome* 633; and consequently he was then <sup>42</sup> com-  
 plete; this being the Age fixed by the Laws as a neces-  
 sary Qualification for the *Consulship*. Which being  
 supposed, *Carbo* must have been about two or three  
 and twenty, when he applied himself to Eloquence.  
 It was till much about this Time of Life, that the  
 young *Romans* waited, before they attempted to shew  
 their Skill in the Art of speaking in Publick; which  
 was the ready Road to the first Dignities in the State.  
 At least, it's certain, that *Julius Cæsar* was but 21,  
 when he accused *Dolabella*. See, on this Subject,  
 The *Dialogue on the Causes of the Corruption of Elo-*  
*quence*, which some ascribe to *Tacitus*, others to *Quinc-*  
*tillian*.

Besides, ever since the Year of *Rome*, 604, *Lucius*  
*Calpurnius Piso*, the Tribune of the People, had settled  
 a form



The Fear of so great a Number of Judges, put a stop to the Disorders both in the City and Provinces for some time; and the Roman State had enjoyed a general Tranquillity if *Viriatius* had not troubled Spain. So that the Attention of the People of Rome was fixed on the Success *Fabius* should have, against the only open Enemy of the Republick. Their long Experience of the Valour of the Spanish General, kept them in suspense; and it was therefore an agreeable Surprize to them to hear, that the *Pro-Consul* made a happy Campaign. By the strictness of his Discipline, he had qualified the young *Legionaries* for long Marches, and a general Action; and as soon as the Season would permit, he took the Field. Indeed, before he returned from *Gades*, *Viriatius* had gained some slight Advantages over the *Legions*. He had beaten and put to flight, some *Manipuli* upon a Forrage; and the Lieutenant Generals of the Roman Army had been routed by him on another Occasion. But the *Consul*, upon his arrival, was soon comforted for these slight Losses, by the solid Advantages he promised himself from them. *My Legions*, said he, *have seen the Enemy, and inured themselves to War, a little at their own Expence. They are now just in the Condition I would have them.* And his Hopes did not fail him. He marched against *Viriatius*, with a Confidence worthy of *Paulus Æmilius* his Father, and of *The second Africanus*, his Brother; had the Glory to see the *Lusitanian* General flee before him in his first Battle; and in a second, gained a more entire Victory. He drove *Viriatius* fighting, to a Place called <sup>41</sup> *Bæcor*, a Country full of Rebels; and to compleat the Victory, took two Cities from the Revolters, one of which he plundered, and the other burned. After these glorious Exploits, the *Pro-Consul* led his Army into Winter-Quarters at <sup>42</sup> *Corduba*, and there waited for his Successor. It will, no doubt, seem strange, that, upon his Return to Italy, he was not honoured with a *Triumph*. But his Victories had not been bloody enough, in the Opinion of the Romans. The Custom then was, to suffer only those Generals to enjoy that Honour, who had killed at least 5000 of the Enemy, in one single Battle. As if the Importance of a military Action were to be judged of only by the Number of the Slain <sup>43</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCIX.  
SERV. SULPI-  
TIUS GALBA,  
& L. AURE-  
LIUS COTTA,  
Consuls.

§. IX. Rome

a Form of Proceeding against Oppressors, by the famous Law *De Repetundis*, which he got passed, under the Consulship of *Lucius Marcius Censorinus*, and *Manius Manilius Nepos*, as we have observed in the preceding Volume, p. 601, N. 10. This is the same *Piso* who had composed some *Orationes*, and *Annals*, which *Cicero* mentions in his Book *Of famous Orators*, in these Words. *Ipse etiam Piso & causas egit, & multarum Legum author aut dissuasor fuit; isque & Orationes reliquit quæ jam evanuerunt, & Annales exiliter scriptos.*

41 We cannot guess exactly where the Situation of *Bæcor* is. All that we know of it is, that it belonged to *Andalusia*.

42 We have already spoken of the City of *Corduba*, now *Cordoua*, Vol. 4. p. 565. N. 63. To which we shall here add, that *Pliny B. 3.* gives this City the Title of *COLONIA PATRICIA*, or the *Patrician Colony*. *Corduba Colonia Patricia cognomine.* And it is so represented on Medals. The reverse of a Medal of *Augustus* § gives it this Title. The ancient Inscriptions likewise agree with History in this Particular. Moreover, they tell us, That the Inhabitants of *Cordoua* were called *PATRICIENSES*. We may judge of it, by this of *Gruter*, P. 460, N. 10; *PYRAMUS II. VIR PATRICIENSIS*. Whereby we learn, that this *Pyramus* was a Citizen of *Cordoua*, who exercised the Office of *Duumvir*; which was the Title of the two Magistrates of the Colonies, and *Municipia*, as we have observed, Vol. 2. p. 182. Note. All that remains then is, to enquire into the Origin of this glorious Denomination; and this we find in *Strabo*, B. 3. He tells us, That this City was originally inhabited, by the most considerable People of the Nation, and by a Colony of Roman Nobles: And it had its Poets, and its Men of Letters, from *Cicero's* Time. It is well known, that it gave Birth to *Seneca* and *Lucan*.

43 *Appian* has here much confounded the Order of the Historical Facts. First, he makes *Fabius* go into *Andalusia*, where he has the Command of the Roman

Armies, against *Viriatius*, till he is relieved by *Quintus Metellus Macedonicus*, Consul for the Year 610, and by the *Prætor*, *Quintus Pompeius*: But after he has followed the two Generals in their Expeditions, the Historian loses sight of *Fabius Æmilianus*, and immediately falls upon one *Quinctius*, who, he says, commanded a Body of Roman Troops in another Province of Spain. *Viriatius*, according to him, hitherto employed in defending himself against the Attacks of *Fabius*, is all of a sudden transported into that Part of Spain where *Quinctius* commanded. The latter had had the Advantage over the Spanish General, and had forced him to retire towards the Promontory of *Aphrodisium*, otherwise called *The Mountain of Venus*, now *The Cape de Cruz*. *Viriatius* immediately comes out of his Retreat to try the Fate of Arms a second Time; and Fortune is favourable to him. *Quinctius* loses 1000 Men, and some Standards, in one Battle; and to save the rest of his affrighted Troops, shuts himself up in his Camp. The Conqueror does not continue idle after his Victory, but makes himself Master of *Bætica*, and drives out the Roman Garrison, and then wastes the Country of the *Bastitani* with Fire and Sword. In the mean Time *Quinctius* continues inactive. The timorous and unexperienced General waits no longer than to the end of *Autumn*, before he puts his Troops into Winter Quarters, which he does at *Cordoua*. Whilst *Caius Marius*, a Native of Spain, but a Roman by Descent, is the only Person who dares oppose the Incursions of *Viriatius*.

Upon a little Reflection on this Account of *Appian*, it is easy to perceive the Confusion and Inconsistency of it. On one Hand, he makes *Fabius Æmilianus* disappear, and continue idle in *Andalusia*. On the other, he brings one *Quinctius* on the Stage, to whom he gives the Government of *Hither Spain*. This General, whose Name is unknown to the Roman Historians, is warmly pursued by *Viriatius*, according to this Author; retires for Refuge to *Cordoua*, and entrenches himself there. When at the same time he confessed that

§ See Pl. 3. No. 13.



Year of R O M E DCIX. §. IX. *Rome* had likewise for two Years past, done a much more notorious Injustice to *Q. Cæcilius* <sup>44</sup> *Metellus*. No Person had better deserved the *Consulship*, since his glorious Expedition in *Macedon* and *Achaia*. He had conquered the one, and so far reduced the other, that it sunk under the first Attacks of his Successor *Mummius*. Indeed, he had, after his Victory, assumed the Surname of *Macedonicus*, or *The Macedonian*; which had created some Jealousies of him. But was this enough to have justly excluded him from the highest Dignity in the Republick for two Years together, when he earnestly solicited for it? Hence it appears, how much *Rome* was now degenerated from her ancient Virtue. Gratitude, and the Probity of those who stood for Offices, were no longer sufficient Motives to gain them the Preference. *Metellus* was an austere Man, of great Innocence of Life, and a strict observer of military Discipline: And this was, perhaps, the true Reason, which for some time excluded him from the first Station in the Republick. But at length the Necessity of Affairs made the People have recourse to him. They wanted a great General to send against *Viriatius*, after *Fabius*; and *Metellus* <sup>45</sup> was therefore chosen

SERV. SULPITIUS GALBA, & L. AURELIUS COTTA, Consuls.

Year of R O M E DCX. *Consul*, with *Appius Claudius Pulcher* <sup>46</sup>, a capricious, headstrong Man, who was full of those Faults which were at all Times charged on the *Claudian* Family.

Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS, & APP. CLAUDIVS PVLCHER, Consuls.

Plut. in Romulo.

Val. Max. B. 8. c. 1.

Frontin de Aquæductibus B. 1.

*Rome* likewise chose *Prætors* in the same *Comitia* by *Tribes*, which had chosen the *Consuls*. These new *Prætors* continued at *Rome*, whilst those of the last Year, went to govern their respective Provinces; and we shall first turn our Thoughts to the latter, who had each his Tribunal in the City. *M. Popillius*'s Province was to punish Parricides. This Crime had been in a manner unknown in *Rome* for 600 Years; *Lucius Oſtius* was the only one who had been suspected of killing his Father, since the Time that *Hannibal* entered *Italy*. But now Men's Manners were much depraved. So many Fathers or Mothers had killed their Children, and so many Children had murdered their Parents, within the Jurisdiction of the Republick, that a Tribunal was erected on purpose to punish these particular Crimes: And *Popillius* is said to have had a very remarkable Case brought before him. A Woman was accused of having beaten her Mother to death with a Stick, and she did not deny it. But it was allowed at the same time, that the Deceased had poisoned the Children of the Accused; which had provoked her to attempt the Life of her parricidious Mother. The *Prætor* therefore pronounced, that the Deceased had deserved her Fate; and that the Murderers ought not to escape unpunished; and it is probable the People confirmed the Sentence.

Another *Prætor*, named *Marcus Titius* <sup>47</sup>, had, from the last Year, the Superintendency of the Waters, which were brought into the City by the Aqueducts. That which was brought from *The Anio* <sup>48</sup>, and from *Appius's Fountains*, was not sufficient to serve the great Number of the Inhabitants for drink. Besides, a great deal was consumed in the

that this City was in *Æmilianus*'s Province. He says himself, that this *Pro-Consul* had fixed his Winter-Quarters there. Is it possible then, that *Quintus* should leave his own Province to the Mercy of *Viriatius*, in order to go into that which belonged to the *Pro-Consul*? Is it to be imagined, that the fugitive General could find no Retreat for his Troops, within his own Jurisdiction?

And these Particulars are followed by another, which is as little consistent. He brings *Fabius Æmilianus* into *Spain*, to succeed *Quintus*; forgetting that he had said some Pages before, That *Fabius* commanded in *Spain* with *Quintus*. So notorious a Mistake in point of Time, has given room to believe, either that we have not the Text entire, or that it has been altered and maimed by ignorant Copyists. But be that as it will, we have, amidst this strange Confusion, settled the Facts in their true Order, by bringing them to their proper Dates, according to the Years of *Rome*. Upon the Authority of the Historians and ancient Annalists, we have put *Quintus Pompeius* in the Room of *Appian's Quintus*; and what he, by the most notorious Mistake ascribes to *Fabius Æmilianus*, that we, with the Torrent of ancient Writers, ascribe to *Fabius Servillianus*, who was *Consul*, in the Year of *Rome* 611.

<sup>44</sup> This *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, already famous for his Conquests, was no less so for his Eloquence. *Cicero* ranks him among the famous Orators of his Age. He undertook the Defence of *Lucius Aurelius Cotta* a-

gainst *Scipio Æmilianus*. Several of his Speeches were extolled, especially that against *Tiberius Gracchus*; which, according to *Cicero*, had been preserved in the Annals of *Fannius*, an ancient Annalist Cotemporary with *Metellus*. We shall hereafter have occasion to speak more largely of this great Man, whom we have already mentioned in Vol. 4. All we shall observe here, is only, that he was the Son of *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, who was promoted to the *Consulship* with *Lucius Veturius Philo*, in the Year of *Rome*, 547. *Cicero* says of this last-mentioned *Metellus*, That he was famous for his Eloquence, and spoke a Funeral Oration on his Father *Lucius*, who had acquired much Glory in the First *Carthaginian* War.

<sup>45</sup> *Julius Obsequens* is mistaken in giving *Metellus* the *Prænomen* of *Publius*. All Authors agree, he was distinguished by that of *Quintus*.

<sup>46</sup> *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, has observed of this *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, That he spoke with Volubility, but a little too much Fervency. His Words are, *Appii Claudii volubilis, sed paulo fervidior erat Oratio*.

<sup>47</sup> The *Titian* Family had furnished *Rome* with several *Tribunes of the People*; and it was therefore, doubtless, *Plebeian*. The Memory of one *Marcus Titius*, *Pro-Consul* in *Greece*, is preserved in an ancient Inscription.

<sup>48</sup> See what we have said of the Aqueducts of *Appius*, and that of *The Anio*, Vol. 2. p. 272. N. 67, & p. 295. N. 61.



publick and private Baths, and in washing, and other domestick Uses. And lastly, many Masters of Families had either justly obtained, or at least engrossed to themselves, much more than ought to have been assigned them. A Regulation in this Matter was therefore necessary, and the Care of it was committed to *Titius*; who was likewise charged with building some new Aqueducts for the Use of the Publick.

§. X. In the mean time, the Generals went to their respective Provinces. The Command of the Armies against *Viriatius*, was fallen to the *Consul Metellus*, and to the *Prætor, Q. Pompeius* <sup>49</sup>, who came into *Spain* before *Metellus*, whilst the *Consul, Claudius*, had the Command of the Troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*; and we will now attend them all in their Expeditions.

As for *Pompeius*, he had the Confidence to attack *Viriatius*, in the Absence of the *Consul*. The *Lusitanian* General had advanced as far as *Hither Spain*, and raised great Disturbances there. Not content with having procured Insurrections in *Lusitania*, and in most Parts of *Further* <sup>50</sup> *Spain*, this violent Enemy of the *Romans*, had spread the Sedition beyond *The Ebro*, and had caused Revolts in many Parts of *Tarragona*. Since the Peace with the *Arevacæ* <sup>51</sup>, he had diffused the Contagion among the *Belli* <sup>52</sup>, *Tithi*, and many other Nations, which were formerly in Alliance with the Republick; and in a Word, had likewise, in the Incurfions he made during this Winter, sown the Seeds of

Year of  
ROME  
DCX.

Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & APP.  
CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER,  
Consuls.  
App. in Iberic.

<sup>49</sup> Some corrected Copies of *Valerius Maximus* tell us, That this *Quintus Pompeius* was the Son of one *Aulus Pompeius*; and *Appian*, as corrected by *Henry Stephens*, gives him the same Descent. Κρίντος Πομπήιος Αύλου. According to *Cicero*, in his *Seventh Oration against Verres*, this *Prætor* was meanly descended, and as *Cato the Censor* had done, paved himself the Way to the first Dignity in *Rome*, by the Enmities he created to himself for adhering to the Interests of the Republick. *Humili loco Natus, post Marcum Catonem, amplissimas honores per inimicitias adeptus est.* And the same Author adds, in his Book *De Orat.* That he owed his Rise wholly to himself. *Quintus Pompeius enim non contemptus Orator temporibus illis fuit, qui summos honores, homo per se cognitus, sine ulla commendatione Majorum est adeptus.* Probably his Talent for the Bar contributed to his Advancement. At least, *Cicero* speaks of him, as an Orator of some Reputation in *Rome*; and he says of his Writings, That they favoured of the Taste and Language of the Ancients, without their Dryness, and were full of good Sense. *Sed Pompeii sunt scripta, nec nimis extenuata, (quanquam veterum est similis) & plena prudentiæ.* Moreover, it is certain, that the *Pompeian* Family was but *Plebeian*. Its Name gives room for a Suspicion, that it came originally from *Pompeium*, a City of old *Campania*. There were at least four Branches of this Family. The first, the *Nepos's*; the second, the *Rufus's*; the third that of *Pompey the Great*; and the fourth was, the *Fostlus's*. The Surname of the last was taken from the Shepherd *Fanstulus*, as we have observed in our first Volume. Several *Roman* Historians have transmitted to us the Names of one *Pompeius Lenæus*, a *Freed-Man* of *Pompey the Great*; and of one *Pompeius Flaccus*, a *Roman Knight*. *Pliny* speaks likewise of another *Roman Knight*, named *Pompeius Paulinus*, the Son of a Citizen of *Arles*. The Family of the latter may have been transplanted from *Rome*, into *Transalpine Gaul*.

<sup>50</sup> After the Conquest of *Spain*, the *Romans* divided it into two Parts; and called one *Further Spain*, the other *Hither Spain*. The former contained *Bætica* and *Lusitania*. *Bætica* took its Name from the River *Bætis*, now *The Guadalquivir*. This Province reached from *The Promontory of Charidemus*, otherwise called *The Cape of Gates*, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, to the Mouth of *The Guadiana*; and comprehended *Andalusia*, a considerable part of *Old Castile*, and the Territory of *Granada*. So that it was bounded by *The Guadiana*, the Ocean, and the *Mediterranean*. The Countries that lay between the River *Duero*, and the Mouth of *The Guadiana*, make the Province which was formerly called *Lusitania*;

which had likewise several Cities dependent upon it, which now belong to *Old Castile*.

*Hither Spain*, according to *Pliny*, *B. 3*, contained, in length, 607000 geometrical Paces, from the City of *Castulo*, now the Town of *Castona*, to the *Pyrenees*. But a little before, *Pliny* had reckoned the length of *Spain*, from *Urgi* which the *Spaniards* now call *Almacaren*, to that great Chain of Mountains which separate it from *Gaul*. Its greatest breadth, according to this Author, was 307000 Paces, or 100 common Leagues, reckoning from *Tarragona* to *Olarso*, which *Ptolomy* calls *Oeaso* as well as the Neighbouring Cape. The Natives give it the Name of *Oiarço*. It is a Village, two Leagues from *Fontarabia*, on the Coasts of the Ocean. But it must not be imagined, that these Limits were always the same. They sometimes varied according to the Circumstances of Things, and the Will of the *Roman Emperors*. They that pretended that *The Erbo* divided *Hither Spain* from *Further*, differ in Opinion from *Pliny*. Nevertheless, it must be granted, that, at certain Times, by *Further Spain* was meant that which was beyond this River; and by *Hither*, that which was on this side of it.

To which we shall add, That *Hither Spain* was afterwards known by the Name of *Tarraconia*, or *Tarraconian Spain*. *Tarraco*, or *Tarracona*, anciently a *Roman Colony*, was the Capital of all the Country. *Pliny* seems to acknowledge the two *Scipio's*, *Publius*, and *Carus*, to have been the Founders of this City. Whereas, if we believe *Livy*, it was in being when *Cneius* arrived in *Spain*. The latter tells us, That this General fixed his first Winter-Quarters there, as we have observed, *Vol. 3. p. 108*. Perhaps *Pliny* means, That there was nothing considerable in *Tarragona*, till the *Scipio's* had settled a Colony there, after having enlarged it and repaired the Walls, to make a Garrison. At least, it's certain, that *Eratosthenes* speaks of it, as a City known long before the Arrival of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*; whether it was founded by the *Phœnicians*, or by one *Tarraco* King of *Æthiopia*, who conquered *Egypt* and Part of *Europe*, is of little Consequence.

<sup>51</sup> The *Arevacæ* anciently inhabited that Part of *Old Castile*, which now comprehends the Bishopricks of *Merida*, *Osma*, *Burgos*, and *Valadolid*. See *Vol. 4. p. 557. N. 46*.

<sup>52</sup> We have observed, on the Authority of *Appian*, *Vol. 4. p. 563. N. 60, 61*; That the *Belli*, and the *Tithi* were as it were two Branches of the Nation of the *Arevacæ*. *Ortelius* thinks, That the Capital of the former was *Segeda* in *Celtiberia*; and adds, that these two Clans were the same People that *Pliny* calls *Bellitani*, *B. 3.*

the



Year of the Numantian War, which long harrassed the Romans, and lasted many Years after his Death.

DCX.  
Q. CÆCILIUS  
METELLUS;  
& APP.  
CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER,  
Consuls.

The Prætor, Q. Pompeius, thought himself therefore obliged to stop the Progress of the Lusitanian, whose Army had penetrated into his Province; and in his first Attempt, he gained some Advantage over the Enemy. He put Viriatus to flight, and forced him to retire to the Foot of the Pyrenees, towards the Promontory of Aphrodisium<sup>53</sup>. But this flight Misfortune did not discourage the Spanish General. After he had reinforced his Army, he returned upon the Prætor, and put him to flight in his turn. Many Legionaries fell in the Battle; Viriatus made himself Master of the Enemy's Camp; took some Standards, and a considerable Booty there; laid waste all the Country of the Bastitani<sup>54</sup>; and then attacked the City of Ituca<sup>55</sup>. The Roman Garrison was driven out of the Place; and Viriatus was Master of the Field. Pompey dared not face him any more, all the rest of the Year; but kept himself shut up in Corduba. If his Troops made any Incursions, or small Expeditions, he did not command in Person; but put them under the Conduct of one Marcius, a brave Officer, who was of Roman Parentage, but born in Spain. He was a Native of the City called Italia, or Italica<sup>56</sup>; where the great Scipio had settled a Colony of the Veterans of his Army.

Author. de Vir.  
Illustr.

However, Pompey's ill Success in Spain, served only as a Shade, the better to set off the Glory which the Consul Metellus afterwards acquired. The ancient Historians have not communicated to us the greatest part of his Exploits; but this single Instance is sufficient to raise our Ideas of them. He conquered the whole Nation of the Arevacæ, who had lately revolted, and in vain sought for Succours from the Lusitanians: And being superior both in Courage and Wisdom to Viriatus, he reduced him so low, that he durst not appear in his Sight. He eluded all the Stratagems of the Lusitanian; and was very strict and severe in keeping his Legions to their Duty. At the same time, he kept his own Designs impenetrable; and was the Author of the following famous Saying, which has been since put into the Mouth of many a great Commander. Being asked by one of his Friends, What Scheme he had formed for the Campaign? He replied; *If I knew that my Tunic was privy to it, I would burn it.* On the other hand, Viriatus, little inferior in Prudence, made it his whole Business to avoid a Battle; and would never be

Plut. Apoph-  
tbes.

53. The Promontory of Aphrodisium, so called by the Greek Authors, otherwise called the Cape of Venus, is as it were a Branch of The Pyrenees. It runs out with a little point of Land into the Mediterranean, upon The Gulph of Lyons. Pliny and Strabo tell us, That near it stood a Temple dedicated to Venus Pyrenæa. The Spaniards, when become Christians, destroyed this Pagan Asylum, and in the Place of it, erected a Cross of our Saviour, who was victorious over Idolatry. Hence the Name of The Cape de Cruz, which it retains to this Day. This Promontory borders on Gallia Narbonensis. Some have confounded The Cape of Venus with The Port of Venus Pyrenæa, or The Port of Vendres in Roussillon. Add to this, that the Name of Venus was likewise common to another Mountain in Lusitania, which we have mentioned Vol. 4. p. 604; and to a Fort built by the Tartessii near the Mouth of The Guadalquivir; which Fort or City is now San-Lucar. It was so called, in allusion to the Term Lucero, by which the Spaniards used to signify the Star of Venus.

§ See Pl. 3. No.  
14.

54. The Bastitani inhabited the Territory of Murcia, and the Country near the Springs of the Bætis. See Vol. 3. p. 238. N. 56. Vol. 4. p. 223. N. 59.

55. The City of Ituca is the same which Pliny calls Itucci, and Ptolemy Julia. It stood in Andalusia. There are now no Footsteps of it remaining. To which we shall add, that Pliny mentions a great Number of Cities in Spain, which changed their ancient Names to that of Julia; This was done in honour to Julius Cæsar, whom they gloried in having their Protector.

56. Almost all the modern Geographers agree, That the City of Italica stood on the Banks of The Guadalquivir, a League from Seville, in a Place now called Sevilla la Vieja. The Ruins of an ancient Theatre, and some Antiques that have been dug up there, confirm this Opinion; and we have a further Proof of it,

in the neighbouring Country, which still retains some Footsteps of the ancient Name of Italica, in that of Los Campos del Talca. According to Appian, Scipio built it for a Retreat for the Soldiers, whose Wounds disabled them from further Service. The reverse of a Medal § of Augustus proves, That it enjoy'd the Rights of a Municipium. Nevertheless, Aulus Gellius, and an Inscription in Gruter, put it upon the Foot of a Roman Colony. It must therefore have been successively honoured with both Titles, as we have before observed. It had the Honour of giving Birth to three Emperors, Trajan, Adrian, and Theodosius the Great; and was also the Place of the Nativity of the Poet Silius, from thence called Italicus. It is proper to observe here, that several Geographers have been of Opinion, That it was the same Place as Iliipa, and that the Misunderstanding of Pliny gave rise to this Mistake. In his 2d Book, where he enumerates the Cities of Bætica, we find these Words, Iliipa cognomine Iliia, Italica, &c. Thus the Passage stands in the most authentick Manuscripts; but some incorrect Editions, by joining the two Words Iliia and Italica, without any Comma between them, seem to make the two Cities one. Hence the Mistake of those who have followed the same Authorities. Nevertheless, Strabo, B. 3. plainly distinguishes them from one another, Ἰτάλικα, καὶ Ἰλιππία. The latter, which was surnamed Iliia, stood on the Banks of the Bætis, between Cordoua and Seville. It is conjectured, That it stood in the Neighbourhood of Pennafior. Morales gives it the same Situation as Zalamea de la Surena, a little Place in Andalusia, twelve Leagues to the South-East of Seville. Others confound it with Elepla or Ilipla, which, as Rodericus Carus pretends, B. 3. Of the Antiquities of Seville, stood in Andalusia, on the Banks of The Tinto, where the City of Niebla now stands.



brought to engage with so great a Man, during the whole Time of his *Consulship*. But we shall see him still continued General in *Spain*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*. Year of  
ROME  
DCX.

§. XI. Whilst *Metellus* was thus signalizing himself in *Spain*, his Colleague commanded an Army in *Italy*: And tho' the Province seemed to be naturally barren of Events, his Activity and love of Glory was such, that he raised up a War in *Cisalpine Gaul*. This Country, when he came to it, was in Tranquillity; but turbulent Spirits never want Pretences to raise Disturbances, or Means to exasperate. There was at the Foot of the *Alpes*, a Nation of *Gauls*, who inhabited a Province of *Transpadan Gaul*, near the Head of the *Po*. This Country, tho' sufficiently rough and hilly, to shew its Neighbourhood to the Mountains, was yet fruitful in some Places, at least in its Valleys, which were watered by the River *Duria*<sup>57</sup>. It was inhabited, by the *Salassi*<sup>58</sup>; a peaceable, but a brave People, who descended from the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes*. These *Salassi* had frequent Disputes with their Neighbours the *Insubres*, about the *Duria*, which ran through their Country before it reached the Borders of *Insubria*. This River then brought down<sup>59</sup> Gold mixed with its Sand; and the *Salassi*, in order to engross these Riches to themselves, either stopped the Course of the River, or cut several Canals into the Bed of it, to keep it the longer in their Country. Of this the *Insubres* complain to the *Consul Claudius*; and he was bent on signalizing himself, by every Expedition that should fall in his way, whether just or unjust. Immediately therefore, without endeavouring at any amicable Accommodation, the *Consul* led his *Legions* into the Country of the *Salassi*, and forced this unfortunate People into a Rebellion, contrary to their Inclinations. They were obliged to have recourse to Arms in their own Defence. They assembled an Army; marched it against *Claudius*; forced *The Romans* to give battle immediately, in a rough and mountainous Country to which they had not been accustomed; and the Event was melancholy for the *Consul*. He lost 5000<sup>60</sup> Men, and suffered the Disgrace of a Defeat, in the extream Parts of *Italy*, amidst untractable Nations, who were very impatient under the *Roman Yoke*. Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & APP.  
CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER,  
Consuls.  
Plin. B. 3. c.  
17.  
Dio Cass. B.  
53.  
Ptol. B. 3. c.  
1.  
Strabo. B. 4.  
Epit. Liv.  
L. 53. c. 6.  
& Orosius, B.  
5. c. 4.

The News of this Defeat alarmed<sup>61</sup> the Senate; and as Superstition and Licentiousness had increased together at *Rome*, the *Sibylline Books* were consulted; and the *Decemviri*, who had the Custody of them, declared, That all the Forms of Religion had not been duly observed in this precipitate War with the *Salassi*; and That the Water lately brought to the City had been ill managed. They discovered two great Faults. The first was, That the *Consul* had neglected to offer Sacrifice on the Borders of the Nation he attacked, which was necessary in case of a War with the *Gauls*: And the second, That in the late Distribution of the Waters brought to *Rome*, as well for the sacred Places as private Houses, the *Marcian*<sup>62</sup> Water had been laid in for the Use of the *Capitol*, instead of

<sup>57</sup> The River called *Duria* by the *Latins*, is that which the *French* call *La Doere*. There are two Rivers of this Name in *Piedmont*. The first and largest rises in the *Alpes Græcæ* near *Valais*; and after it has watered *The Valley of Aost*, and the Territory of *Ivrea*, it runs into the *Po*, a little above *Ravarotto*. The second, which is called *The little Doere*, rises in the *Alpes Coitiæ*, near Mount *Genevre*; crosses a Part of *Piedmont*, and falls into *The Po* half a Mile from *Turin*, and 15 Miles from the Place where *The Great Doere* falls into that River.

<sup>58</sup> The Ancients gave the Name of *Salassi* to the People of *The Valley of Aost*. The Capital City of this Canton, and the City of *Eperédia*, now *Yvrea*, were within their Territory.

<sup>59</sup> *Strabo* says, the Territory of the *Salassi* abounded with Gold-Mines. In order the better to gather the little Particles of this precious Metal, the People had the Art to make several Channels in the Places through which *The Doere* passed; so that the River, by passing through them, separated the Particles of Earth from those of the Gold. This is what *Strabo* means, when he says, That *The Duria* was of great Use to the *Salassi*, in cleansing the Gold of their Country. *Maximum illis adjumentum ad rem Metallicam attulit flumen Duria ad eluendum Aurum...*

<sup>60</sup> Some Editions of *Orosius* make this Loss amount to 10000 Men.

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<sup>61</sup> Their Fears were doubled, upon the News of certain Events which the *Romans* always took to be fore-runners of the Wrath of Heaven. At *Amiternum*, says *Julius Obsequens*, a Child had been born with three Feet, and only one Hand. Besides, it was reported, That some had seen Streams of Blood running. These Visions, told with an air of Importance, caused a general Consternation, especially at a Time when *Appianus Claudius* had been defeated.

<sup>62</sup> According to *Frontinus*, the Aqueduct called formerly *Aqua Marcia*, took its Name from this *Marcus Titius*, who had been appointed by the Senate, the last Year, to bring new Aqueducts to *Rome*, and repair the old Ones. He adds, with *Fenestella*, that 804000 *Sesterces*, which make about 105000 *Livres*, were allowed him out of the publick Treasury to defray the Expences of it. But it is more natural to believe *Pliny the Naturalist*, who says, B. 31 and 36, That *Rome* was chiefly indebted, for the Aqueduct we are speaking of, to the Care of *Quintus Marcius Rex*, who was *Prætor* in the Year of *Rome*, 630. From his time, according to this Author, this publick Work became famous, under the Name of *Aqua Marcia*. *Plutarch* confirms this, in his *Life of Coriolanus*, with this difference, That he gives the Honour of this famous Structure not only to *Quintus Marcius Rex*, the *Prætor*, but also to one *Publius*, who was descended from the *Marcian Family*. Nevertheless, we don't find



Year of of that of *The Anio*. So that one of these two Neglects was of a publick Nature, the other personal to *Claudius*; and both were easy to be repaired. Orders were given, That the Water of *The Anio* should be conveyed to the *Capitol*; and two *Decemviri* were deputed to the *Consul*, with an Injunction, that he should offer up a Sacrifice on the Borders of the *Salassi*, before he fought any more Battles with them. And then, as if the Prejudices of Religion had given the *Romans* new Courage, or rather, because the General had had time to recollect himself, and to inform himself better of his Ground, the Victory declared for them. *Claudius* had his Revenge in a second Battle, wherein the *Salassi* lost 5000 Men in their turn: So that, the Success of the Campaign was now perfectly equal between *Rome* and the Enemy.

A Man less greedy of Glory than *Claudius* was, might have been content with having wiped off a former Disgrace. But his ambitious Views were much more extensive than his Merit, and he founded them on the Reputation of his Family, He had a Daughter among the *Vestals*; and it is scarce to be imagined how great a Sway those sacred Virgins had over the People in their *Comitia*. *Claudius* therefore, as soon as the Campaign was ended, returned to *Rome*, and without entering the City, insisted that the Senate should assemble in the Temple of *Bellona*, to decree him a *Triumph*. It was indeed not to be doubted, that he had killed 5000 of the Enemy in a pitch'd Battle, which was the present Rule; and so far his Claim was just. But it was as certain, that he had lost 5000 *Legionaries* in a former Battle, and had put the Senate in pain for fear of the Loss of his whole Army. Upon the whole, therefore, his Petition was rejected by a Majority of *The Fathers*; and it was warmly opposed before the People by a Zealous *Tribune*, whose Name is not transmitted to us. Nevertheless, the fiery *Consul* still warmly persisted in his Right; and determined, he would have a *Triumph*, in spite of both Senate and People. He demanded of the *Quæstors* the Sums necessary, for the Preparations for it; and upon their Refusal, resolved to make them at his own Expence. We have indeed already seen some *Consuls* assume to themselves the Honours of a *Triumph*, on *The Hill of Alba*, without the Verge of *Rome*; but *Claudius* was the first who carried his Pride and Independence so far, as of his own Authority, to enter the City itself, through *The Triumphal Gate*, in a pompous Chariot. The *Vestal*<sup>63</sup> his Daughter accompanied her Father, tho' she could not obtain for him the Honour, which she shared with him; and, as the Procession was advancing towards the *Capitol*, the same *Tribune* who had opposed the *Consul's* *Triumph*, attempted to bring the Victor down from his Chariot. The *Vestal* opposed it; and this brought on a Dispute between two Persons who were both held sacred by the *Romans*. But after some Altercations, the *Tribune* gave way, and in the Person of *Claudia*, shewed his great Regard, both for her Sex, and her Profession. The Daughter, who had now gained a more glorious Victory than her Father, mounted the

*Oros. Loc. citat. & alii.*  
*Cic. pro Cælio, Val. Max. B. 5. c. 4. §. 6.*

find in Authors any *Marcus* which had the Name of *Publius*. Perhaps the Text of *Plutarch* has been altered by the Negligence of the Copyists; and that instead of *Publius*, we ought to read *Lucius*. We find by some Medals, that one *Lucius Marcus Philippus*, repaired this Aqueduct, in his *Censorship*, in the Year 667, as we shall observe in its Place. From what both *Frontinus* and *Pliny* say, it follows, That *Marcus Titius* began this great Work, which is here called *Aqua Marcia*, by way of anticipation, and that *Quintus Marcus* finished it. But however that be, *Frontinus* reckons, that from the Head of this Aqueduct to *Rome*, was 60710 Paces and a half, that is above 20 *French Leagues*. And this distance agrees with *Pliny's* Text. He says, That *The Marcian Water* rose in the Mountains of the *Peligni*, a People who inhabited a Part of *Hither Abruzzo* round *Sermona*, between the Rivers *Pescara* and *Sangro*. From thence, continues *Pliny*, it crosses in subterranean Channels, through Mountains, Plains, *The Lake Fucinus*, now *The Lake Celano*, and runs into the Country of the *Marsi*, which is now a Part of *Further Abruzzo*. Then, after it has fallen down the Precipices of a Rock, it resumes its Course near *Tibur*, from whence it passes to *Rome*, cross *The Anio* now *The Teverone*, in a long Aqueduct of Stone, supported by Arches for 9000 Paces, that is three *French Leagues*, together. This Aqueduct ended at *Porta Major*, between *St. Eusebius* and *St. Bibian*, and emptied itself into a Reservoir, which distributed

the Water into the several Parts of the City. *Pliny* gives us to understand, That the *Romans* preferred *The Marcian Water* to all others, and used it most commonly at Meals, both for its freshness and sweetness. But *Holstenius* and *Raphael Fabretti* in his *Second Dissertation on the Aqueducts of ancient Rome*, cannot persuade themselves, that the *Romans* cut through Mountains, and made Channels of above 20 *Leagues* long. They both think that no more Credit is to be given to *Pliny* and *Frontinus* in this Instance, than to the fabulous Traditions of the Poets, concerning the Course of the River *Alpheus* to the Fountain *Arethusa*. Nevertheless, *Pliny* speaks of this famous Aqueduct, as of a Work which continued entire, in the Reign of *Vespasian*: And *Statius Papinius*, who lived in the Time of *Domitian*, confirms *Pliny's* Account;

*Marsasque nives & frigora ducens, Marcia. L. 1. Sylv.*

According to the last Historian, the Spring which furnished *The Marcian Water*, in the Country of the *Marsi*, was called *Pitonia*; and more anciently it had the Name of *Pons Aufeia*.

<sup>63</sup> *Cicero*, *Valerius Maximus*, and after them, all the Historians agree, That the *Vestal Claudia* was the Daughter of the triumphant Victor; except *Suetonius*, who in his *Life of Tiberius*, says expressly, That she was his Sister. We adhere to the greatest Number of Authorities.



same Chariot with him, and conducted him triumphantly to the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; whilst the People highly applauded the Conduct of the *Vestal*, and loaded the *Consul* with Curſes<sup>64</sup>.

§. XII. The Magiſtrates were changed with the Year; and the new *Conſuls*, *Q. Fabius Servilianus*<sup>65</sup>, and *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, entered on their Office on *The Calends of January*. The *Prætors* of the laſt Year, ſet out each for his Province; and among the reſt, *A. Licinius Nerva* for *Macedon*; where the *Quæſtor* allotted him was *L. Tremellius Flaccus*, a brave Officer, who gained himſelf uncommon Glory, in his *Quæſtorſhip*. And with regard to the *Cenſors*, the *Centuries* never made a more judicious Choice. They committed the Care of the Reformation of Manners in the City, to two Men of ſingular Virtue, great Reputations, illuſtrious Families, and known Merit. One was *Scipio Æmilianus*, ſurnamed *The Second Africanus*; the other, the famous *Mummius*, who had deſtroyed *Corinth*, and had from thence been honoured with the Name of *Achaicus*, or *The Achaian*. The former was a Man of great Moderation, and at the ſame time great Steadineſs. The latter had ſo much Probity as to be above Corruption, but was neither ſo ſevere, ſo inflexible, or ſo bold, as his Colleague. Indeed, no Man in the Republick could have juſtly diſputed this high Dignity with them but *Metellus*, *The Macedonian*, who was then abſent, in *Spain*, where he was to continue General another Year. But nevertheleſs, there was a Man bold enough to enter the Liſts, and to put himſelf in Competition with *Scipio*. This was, the ſame *App. Claudius*, who, as has been obſerved, had taken occaſion from his ambiguous Conqueſt of the *Salaffi*, to aſſume to himſelf the Honours of a *Triumph*, in ſpight of Senate and People. And now, in order to ſucceed in the preſent Attempt, he got himſelf attended to *The Field of Mars*, by a great Number of *Patricians* whom he had found Means to bring into his Inter-eſt; in hopes that this grand Appearance would ſo dazzle the Eyes of the People, as to influence the Majority to vote for him. Whereas *The Second Africanus* appeared attended only with a ſmall Number of *Plebeians*, and among theſe, ſome of the mean-eſt Rank. As ſoon therefore as the ambitious *Claudius* ſaw his Competitor appear, he inſulted both him and his Friends about him. O ye Manes of *Paulus Æmilius*, cried he, don't you bluſh to ſee your Son ſo ſhamefully attended? A publick<sup>66</sup> Cryer, and a Mob of the moſt beggarly Fellows, are the Patrons he has choſen to preſent him to the Aſſembly of the Romans! The fooliſh *Claudius* was not aware, that this air of Popularity would influence the common People as much in favour of his Rival, as his own Pride and State would exaſperate them againſt himſelf. The *Comitia* had regard only to true Merit. They diſappointed *Claudius*, and nominated *Scipio Africanus Secundus*, and *L. Mummius Achaicus* to the *Cenſorſhip*. In popular Governments, haughty Airs are far from being agreeable to the Multitude; who look on every Attempt to gain any thing from them by Force, as an Encroachment on their Liberties.

Year of  
R O M E.  
DCXI.

Q. FABIVS  
SERVILIA-  
NUS, & L. CÆ-  
CILIVS ME-  
TELLVS, Con-  
ſuls.

Plut. in Paul.  
Æmil.

<sup>64</sup> It was in this Year, 610, That *Titus Didius*, *The Tribune of the People*, revived the Law made 18 Years before, by the *Conſul Gaius Fannius*, in the Year of *Rome*, 592. See Vol. 4. p. 534. This Law-giver had ſet ſome bounds to the Expensivenes and Profuſeneſs which was grown common at Entertainments. But that Law reached only to *Roman Citizens*; and *The Tribune* now extended it. At his Motion it was made general, and bound all the People of *Italy*. According to *Fannius's* Regulation, He only who was at the Expence, and did the Honours of the Feaſt, was guilty of a breach of the Law, when the Bounds preſcribed were exceeded. But *Didius* declared, That the *Guests* likewiſe, ſhould for the future be deemed *Transgreſſors* of this Law, and be ſubject to the Pains before inflicted on the Maſter of the Feaſt. The Magiſtrate's Deſign was to deſtroy thoſe Societies which the love of Luxury had formed, ſo contrary to the ancient Frugality, and to the Ruin of Families: And he extended his Law to all Strangers ſettled in *Italy*, to ſtop the Contagion of a bad Example. We have this Account from *Macrobivs*, *Saturnal B. 2.*

<sup>65</sup> This is the firſt *Conſulſhip* of *Metellus* and *Fabius Servilianus*. Nevertheleſs, contrary to the Teſtimony of all the Hiſtorians, the former is ſet down in *The Greek Tables*, as now *Conſul* a ſecond Time. Doubt-

leſs, the Author of theſe Annals, deceived by the Likeneſs of the Names, confounded *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus Calvus*, the *Conſul* of this Year 611, with his Brother *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year. The Surname of *Servilianus* ſhews us, That *Fabius* was deſcended from the *Servilian* Family, and adopted into the *Fabian*. *Val. Maximus* takes it for granted, That both theſe *Conſuls* were afterwards raiſed to the *Cenſorſhip*; but he does not ſay when. He only tells us, That *Servilianus* had a Son, who diſgraced himſelf by the moſt infamous Debaucheries; and that his Father, aſhamed of having begotten ſuch a Monſter who was a Scandal to his Family, ordered him to be killed in his own ſight, after which he voluntarily baniſhed himſelf from *Rome*, to confine himſelf to a Solitude, wherein he died of Grief.

<sup>66</sup> *Plutarch* gives this publick Crier the Name of *Æmilivs*; and among the Dregs of the People who eſcorted *Scipio*, he mentions one *Licinius*, an enterpriſing factious Fellow. He likewiſe tells us, That they were both Slaves, the former in the *Æmilian*, the latter in the *Livinian* Family; and being afterwards enfranchiſed by their Maſters, they, according to the ſettled Cuſtom in *Rome*, took the Names of thoſe to whom they were indebted for their Freedom.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXI.  
Q. FABIVS  
SERVILI-  
NUS, & L. CÆ-  
CILIVS ME-  
TELLVS, CON-  
suls.  
Val. Max. B.  
6. c. 4.

Aul. Gell. B.  
4. Last Chap-  
ter.

The Preference which the People had given to *Scipio*, did not at all lessen that Severity which was become natural to him; and was founded partly in the Love of Order and Regularity, and partly in a desire to revive the ancient Virtue of the first Romans. But his Collegue was more flexible; and tho' Virtuous to Admiration himself, had more Indulgence for the Weaknesses of others. During their joint Administration, *Scipio* was heard to say, even from the *Rostra*, That, if he either had had no Collegue, or any other but *Mummius*, he would immediately have reformed all Orders of Men in the Republick. The severe Censor began his Office with haranguing the People in the *Comitium*. His Speech was a pathetick Exhortation to revive that Frugality, Continnence, and Subordination, which had formerly been so common, and were now so much neglected. Our Victories over the Eastern Nations, said he, have not done us so much Honour as Prejudice. The Romans, by extending their Government too far, have unlearned the Art of governing themselves. They have given Chains to the Greeks and Macedonians, and have brought themselves under a new kind of Slavery. We are become enslaved to our Lusts; Ambition, Avarice, Lewdness; and Fraud have crossed the Seas with the Conquerors of the Eastern Regions; and the Banks of the *Tyber* are now as much infected with them, as those of the *Alpheus*<sup>67</sup>, or the *Axius*. What Remedy then is there to be found for the Evils with which the Republick is threatend? The Censorship exercised with all the Power, and all the Vigour it formerly was, is what alone can put a stop to the Inundations of Vice. Be not surprized therefore, Romans, if we call to mind the Examples of our Predecessors, and make them our Patterns. In those happy Times, when the Virtue of the Romans was untainted, the Censors punished the slightest Faults without Distinction or Reserve. A Roman Citizen, partly induced by a Friend, and partly for his own Amusement, came to the Place where the Censors held their Sessions. This poor Man had got an ill Habit of yawning often; and whether through Fatigue, or Distemper, yawned so loud in open Court, that he was heard by the Assembly. And this little Accident, being interpreted a want of Respect to the Magistrates, was severely punished. The unfortunate Man was immediately deprived of voting, or standing Candidate, in the Assemblies of the People; and not restored to his Rights, till his Infirmary had been well attested. Not to mention a jocosè Man among the lowest of the People, whom our Censors punished with great rigour, for a Jest which they thought indecent<sup>68</sup> and disrespectful. Such was the Strictness, and such the Regularity of our Fore-Fathers. What grievous Punishments then ought not we to inflict, who are to give Judgment on monstrous Villanies, brutal Debaucheries, and the most unjust Extortions? Lessen then our Labours, Romans, by an open Profession of Virtue; and second our Zeal against the Guilty, by a publick Approbation of our Censures.

<sup>67</sup> The *Alpheus* is one of the great Rivers of *Peloponnesus*. It rises in Mount *Stymphalas*. From thence it runs through *Arcadia*, and a part of *Elis*. After it is enlarged by the influx of *The Celado*, *The Erymanthus*, *The Acheron*, and several other little Rivers, it falls into *The Gulph Chelonites*, or *The Gulph of Arcadia*, near the ancient City of *Pisa*. This River is now known to Sea-men, by the Name of *Carbo*, or *Darbos*; *Sophian* calls it *Ropheia*; the Natives of the Country, according to *Le Noir*, *Orpheia*; and some *Alabo*. No one is ignorant, of the Story of the Love of *Alpheus* for *Arethusa*, a Nymph of *Diana's* Train; or of the Metamorphosis of the Nymph into a Fountain, and of the Shepherd into a River, which from the Gulph into which it discharges itself, runs cross a great extent of Sea, in order to join its Waters in *Sicily*, with those of *Arethusa*, his beloved Mistress. These are fabulous Traditions, which have furnished prophane Poetry with Episodes and Ornaments. *Strabo* inveighs, on this occasion, against the Poets who vend these Fictions for Realities, tho' they have not the least Face of Probability. *Pausanias*, speaking of *Alpheus*, relates as a Fact, for which he brings no Authority, That this River is first lost under Ground, then falls into *The Euratas*, from which it separates in order to bury itself a second time, and after this appears again, and falls into *The Gulph of Arcadia*.

<sup>68</sup> This Matter is related by *Aulus Gellius*. Agreeably to an ancient Law which condemned Celibacy a-

mong the Romans, it was customary for the Censor, who took the Census of the People, to ask every Citizen, whether he was married? A Man of the meanest of the People, coming in his Turn, to give an account of his Condition, and Effects, the Magistrate, who was desperately in love with this Man's Wife, asked him, in the usual Form of Words, *EX ANIMI TUI SENTENTIA UXOREM HABES?* That is, *Are you really married, or not?* To which the Man replies, *Yes; HABEO QUIDEM UXOREM; I am indeed married;* and adds with a sneer, *but not to your liking, NON EX ANIMI TUI SENTENTIA.* And the Repartee disconcerted the Gravity of the Censor. This was unluckily reproaching him with his Weakness, and implying, that he could not, without Concern, see the Object of his Passion, under the Power of a vigilant Husband. The Jest, which cannot be literally translated, turns upon the Ambiguity of the Latin Expression, *ex Animi tui Sententia*, which signifies both *really or truly*, and *according to your liking*. However, so disrespectful an Answer cost the Artificer dear. He was immediately struck out of the Roll of his Tribe, and the Censor declared him deprived of all the Privileges of a Roman Citizen; which reduced him to the Rank of the *Aerarii*, who, without enjoying the Rights of Citizenship, bore all the burden of it. See what we have elsewhere said, of the Roman Laws, which forbade Celibacy, Vol. i.



Nor did the Conduct of *The Second Africanus* fall short of the manly Spirit of his Harangue. He put, or continued, at the Head of the Senate, a Man whose Virtue was not to be corrupted; namely, that *Publius Scipio Nasica*, whom the Oracle had declared the most virtuous of the *Romans*: And in the List which the *Censors* made of *The Conscript Fathers*; they omitted all those, whose Manners or whose Probity were suspected. When they reviewed the *Roman Knights*, *Scipio* took pleasure in mortifying a famous Debauchee named *Claudius Asellus*. He took from him the Horse the Republick maintained for him, and alluding to his Surname, advised him to be content with <sup>69</sup> *an Ass*. But tho' the Jest and the Punishment were equally applauded; the indulgent *Mummius* remounted the degraded Knight, and restored him to his Rank. And by many other Instances of the like kind, did this too easy *Censor* frustrate the good Intentions of his Collegue. As for *Asellus*, we shall soon see him rise by degrees to *The Tribunate of the People*, and return *The Second Africanus* the Affronts he had received from him. Another *Knight* was branded with Infamy by the severe *Censor*, for having been absent from the Battle of *Pydna* in *Macedon*, tho' a *Centurion* in *Paulus Æmilius's* Troops. The Offender exclaimed against the Injustice of the Sentence; and said, *he had continued in the Camp to defend it*. True, replied *Scipio*, smiling, *I perceive you did; but it is my Misfortune not to love Men, who are so very officious*. In short, *Rome* was full of *Scipio's* Repartees, to those who complained of his Censures. Another *Roman Knight*, a great Epicure, who had been accused and punished by the severe *Censor*, for the Expensiveness of his Entertainments; clamoured much against his Judge, and came and demanded of him the Reason of his Judgment. To which *Scipio*; *If you would know why I condemned you; it was for usurping my Rights. You gave up Carthage to be plundered, without my Orders*. The Case was, that during the Siege of *Carthage*, the *Knight* had had served up to his Table a Cake or Pie, in the Form of a Plan of the besieged City, and had given it up, to be pillaged by his Guests: And to this uncommon piece of Luxury, the *Censor* pleasantly alluded. At another Review, a *Knight* passed before the *Censor*, who was a noted Knave <sup>70</sup>, but knew how to conceal both his Knaveries and his Falshood. As soon as *Scipio* saw him, he said, *You see here a Villain whom I know to have been more than once perjured; Will no body accuse him?* And when all were silent, and no Accuser appeared, *March on, Horseman*, cried *Scipio*, *I won't be both thy Accuser and thy Judge*. Thus, by the Vigilance of the severe *Censor*, some Remains of the ancient Probity of the *Romans* were still preserved at *Rome*.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXI.

Q. FABIVS  
SERVILI-  
NUS, & L. CÆ-  
CILIVS MÆ-  
TELLVS, CON-  
suls.

Cic. de Orat.  
B. 2.

Plut. in Apoph-  
theg.

Val. Max. B.  
4. c. 1.

Cic. de Orat.  
B. 2.

A. Gell. B. 4.

c. 1. 7.

Val. Max. B.  
4. c. 1.

At length, *Scipio* and *Mummius* ended their *Censorship* with a *Census*, at which were enumerated 428342 *Roman Citizens* fit to bear Arms. The *Lustrum* that followed the *Census*, was by computation the 57th. *Mummius* presided <sup>71</sup> at the Sacrifice of the Bull, Ram, and Boar, which according to ancient Custom, were offered up on that Occasion: And *Scipio's* Province was, to examine the old Form of Prayers which were addressed to the Gods, at these Ceremonies; and before he would suffer them to be used, he reformed them. There were in them formerly these Words; *May it please the Gods who protect Rome, to increase her Prosperity, and enlarge her Dominions*; upon which the *Censor* made this sensible Reflection. *Are not then the Dominions of the Republick extensive enough already? Why ask of Heaven new Conquests?* In the room therefore of the foregoing Clause, he substituted the following one, which continued in the Form ever after. *Great Gods! preserve the Republick in that glorious State into which your Protection has brought it!* As to publick Buildings, it does not appear that these *Censors* embellished the City with any considerable Number. We are only told that they turned the Arches of a Bridge over *The Tyber*, the Foundations of which were laid, and the Piers built, by *M. Fulvius* in his *Censorship*.

§. XIII. Such were the peaceful Works in which the *Romans* in the City were employed; whilst *Virriatus* pursued the War in *Spain* with great Vigour, and was still a

<sup>69</sup> Cicero relates this matter differently in his Book *De Oratore*. *Asellus* boasted of having borne Arms, for the Service of the Republick, in all the Provinces subject to the *Romans*; and *Scipio* only replied to this Rodomontade, by a severe Allusion to the Surname of *Asellus*, *March on your Ass then*; implying, That like that slow and slothful Animal, he would make but little Progress in the Road to Glory.

<sup>70</sup> The Name of the Man who has this infamous Character, was *Gaius Licinius Sacerdos*.

<sup>71</sup> The Testimony of Cicero is preferable to that of *Val. Maximus*, who pretends, That *Scipio* presided at the Ceremonies of the *Lustrum*. The *Roman* Orator reports on this Occasion, a smart Saying of *Scipio*. *Claudius Asellus* reproached him, That the *Lustrum*, which ended his *Censorship*, had been fatal to the Republick. *I am not at all surprized at it*, replies *Æmilius* to the Knight; *Mummius, who restored you to your Honour after I had degraded you, was the Man who performed the Ceremony of the Sacrifice*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXI.

Q. FABIVS  
SERVILIANVS,  
& L. CÆCILIVS  
METELLVS, Con-  
suls.

Front. in Strat.  
B. 4. c. 1.  
Val. Max. B.  
2. c. 7.

formidable Enemy. Of how great Importance the Republick thought the *Spanish* Affairs, appears by the following unusual Disposition. She thought it necessary to send one of the new *Consuls* against *Viriatus*, with a new *Consular* Army; and at the same time did not recall *Metellus Macedonicus*, who had made *The Lusitanian* sensible of his Valour, the last Campaign; but continued him in *Spain* at the Head of his Army, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. The Senate only ordered, That the Province of the latter should be *Hither Spain*, where *Viriatus* had just committed terrible Ravages. After this, the *Consuls* drew Lots at *Rome* for their Provinces. Further *Spain* fell to *Fabius Servilianus*; and *Italy* to *L. Cæcilius Metellus*, who was Brother to that *Metellus* who was the last Year *Consul*, and was now appointed *Pro-Consul* in *Hither Spain*; and who had been in continual pursuit of *Viriatus* ever since his Election. The perpetual Incurfions of the *Lusitanian* into both the *Spanish* Provinces, sometimes on one side of the *Ebro*, and sometimes on the other, had kept him in full Employment. It was difficult to come up with *Viriatus*, and more so, to force him to an Engagement; whilst at the same time, none of his Incurfions were without Effect on the *Roman* Party. He always left some traces of a Revolt in every Nation he ran through. Among others, *Numantia* <sup>72</sup>, a City of *Taræconian Spain*, had taken up Arms against *Rome*; and this new Rebellion seemed already to threaten a long and difficult War, which was begun by *Metellus*: of whom it is not easy to determine, whether he was more active or more moderate, more brave in Action, or more rigorous in preserving Discipline. Despairing of being able to bring *Viriatus* to a Battle, he now applied himself to the recovering of those Places, which the *Spaniard* had corrupted from the *Roman* Interest, and besieged *Contrebia* <sup>73</sup>. This City was probably then, one of the most important Posts in *Spain*; and the Defence of the besieged was as vigorous, as their new hatred to *Rome* was violent. Nevertheless, after some time, the *Ram* made a Breach in the Wall, and it was necessary to mount it in order to an Assault. To this Service, the *Consul* appointed five *Manipuli* of his *Legionaries*, and they marched up in order, to the Breach. But, as no Nation in the World ever shewed more Obstinacy or Bravery in defence of their Walls and their Liberty, than the *Contrebiates*, the *Romans* were driven back with Loss, and pursued to a considerable distance by the Besieged. Any other General therefore, would have sent fresh Men to renew the Attack, or at least have strengthened the five *Manipuli* with a Reinforcement. But *Metellus's* Conduct was very different. He thought that *Romans*, how few soever in Number, ought to shew themselves superiour to their Enemies, and take all Posts from them: And therefore, without adding a single Man to the first Body who were so vigorously repulsed, he commanded them to attack the Enemy a second time. These Orders not one of them refused to obey; but each Soldier before he went, made one of those *Wills* <sup>74</sup> which the *Romans* called in *Procinctu*; which seems to have been tacitly reproaching their General with sending them to certain Death. But what cannot De-

spair

<sup>72</sup> *Numantia* anciently stood northward, in the Country of the *Arvacæ*, or *Arvacei*, which is now a Part of *Old Castille*. Some Ruins of this famous City are yet to be seen, two Miles above *Soria*, near the Bridge of *Garay*, not far from the Place where the River *Duero* rises. *Pliny* and *Florus* give it this Situation. It was more strengthened by Nature and the Advantages of its Situation, than by its Fortifications. It stood on the Declivity of a Hill, which was not very steep. But the Mountains which surrounded it on three Sides, made the Access to it very difficult. The fourth side was bounded by an agreeable and fruitful Plain, which reaches above 12 Miles along the River *Ter*, to the Place where it runs into *The Duero*. The Country about it abounded with all sorts of Fruits. *Pliny* boasts particularly of the Pears that grew in the Territory of *Numantia*. According to *Strabo*, the *Numantini* had followed the Maxim of the *Lacedæmonians*. These *Spaniards*, like them, would not take the Precaution to build Walls and Towers round their City, to defend it from Insults: They would have no Ramparts to guard them against the Enemy, but their own Valour. Besides, it would have been difficult to have fortified *Numantia*, on account of the Meadows contained within the Verge of it, and which supplied Pasturage for the Cattle kept there for the Support of the Inhabitants. They only

took care to erect a very strong Citadel in the middle of the Place. Thither the Citizens used to carry all their most valuable Things, upon the first appearance of War, in order to secure them. The Inhabitants were not reckoned to be many. Some Historians pretend, That they could not raise above 4000 Soldiers; others say 8000. But these were all robust and valiant Men, and inured to the most painful Labours. *Paulus Orosius* says, B. 5. That *Numantia* was but 3000 Paces in Circumference. Others, on the Credit of *Orosius* himself and *Mariana*, say a much less Number; exclusive of the Meadows beforementioned. It is probable, this City was rebuilt after it was destroyed by the *Romans*, since *Ptolomy* and *Antoninus's Itinerary* mention it. The latter places it between *Uxama* and *Turiasso*, two Cities which stood where *Osma* and *Tarazone* now stand.

<sup>73</sup> *Contrebia* stood in *New Castille*, on the Banks of the little River of *Henares*. It is now *Tortosa*, a different Place from the *Tortosa* in *Catalonia*, which stands at the Mouth of the *Ebro*.

<sup>74</sup> The ancient *Romans* were so jealous of using the absolute Power the Laws of *The XII Tables* gave them, in the Disposal of their Estates, that they piqued themselves upon not being surprized by Death before they had made their *Wills*. This was an Act of Sovereignty,



spair and the Shame of former Cowardice effect in brave Minds? These Men who had fled before, now fought like Lyons, for fear of being executed if they retreated; and their former Conquerors could not withstand their Efforts. The Garrison of *Contrebia* gave way and were dispirited; the *Romans* became Masters of a Place, which was till that

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXI.

Time  
Q. FABIVS  
SERVILIA-  
NUS, & L. CÆ-  
CILIVS ME-  
TELLVS, Con-  
suls.

ty, or rather, a domestick Tyranny, which only the Fathers of Families had a Right to exercise with an absolute Authority. A Law as ancient as *Rome* it self, established so much as the Extravagancies of a Testator, and forced the Son who was unjustly disinherited, to regard even the Whimfies of a seduced and mistaken Father, as a kind of irrevocable Decrees. But this despotick Authority was given by the Law of *The XII Tables* only to *Roman Citizens*. So that Foreigners had no Share of this Power; nor were *Romans* themselves, if banished their Country, or condemned to any Capital Punishment thought capable of making their *Wills*. They were then considered as Men dead to civil Society, and consequently deprived of all the Privileges of *Citizenship*. And the same Thing which disabled them from making their *Wills*, disabled them likewise from appropriating to themselves any Legacies which had been given them. *Cicero*, to shew that the Poet *Archias* was a *Roman Citizen*, brings this, among other Proofs, That he had made his *Will*, according to the Form prescribed by the ancient Laws of *Rome*. And with regard to himself, he says in his Oration *Pro Domo sua*, That if the Fury of *Clodius* forced him to leave *Rome*, to give way to the Storm which threatned the Republick, this Retreat was not deemed a Banishment, for this Reason; *Because, such of his Friends as had made their Wills during my Absence, did not think themselves obliged to leave him out of them.* Whence he concludes, That, during this interval in which his Enemies forced him to disappear, the Publick still acknowledged him to be a *Roman Citizen*. Moreover, the Law which gave Fathers of Families a Right to make their *Wills*, excluded those from it, who were yet under the Power of a Guardian. It is easy to conceive, that the Pupils could not absolutely dispose of an Estate, of which they neither had the Management, nor the perfect Right. The Law of *The XII Tables*, put Prodigals and Madmen under the same Incapacity; that is, as we have observed, Vol. I. p. 449. N. 55, it subjected the Person and Estate of a known Spend-thrift, to the Government of his Relations. It is therefore clear, that in this State of Dependence, he could not choose his own Heir. An Act of this kind, supposed the Testator to have an absolute Power, of which the Prodigal was deprived; Madmen were also put under the same Class. It was not right to leave a Power at the Discretion of one, who would infallibly abuse it, either through Want of Knowledge, or of Judgment. And lastly, those who had not attained to the Age of *Puberty*, could not make their *Wills*, even with the Consent of their Guardians; whether, because a *Will* implies an absolute Freedom in him who makes it, or because it would have been dangerous to have entrusted a covetous Man with the Disposol of a Patrimony which did not belong to him. It was to be feared, that a Selfish Guardian would take Advantage of the Weakness of his Pupil, and induce him to promote his Guardian's Interest, by excluding those from the Succession, who by Law and Blood ought most regularly to inherit.

The Design of the Law in thus establishing the Power of Fathers of Families, was indeed, to keep their Children, or those who by natural Right might lay Claim to the Inheritance, to Duty and Respect for their Parents. But whilst it gave the Testator an absolute Power to dispose of his Estate; it required some Ceremonies and burdensome Conditions, as so absolutely necessary in the making the *Will*, that the omission of one of them disannulled it: This gave rise to all

the Solemnities prescribed, in order to make a *Will* valid.

In the most distant Ages of *Rome*, it was customary and requisite for every Father of a Family to appear before the assembled *Curia*, and there declare his *Will, viva voce*. This so publick an Act put, if I may so speak, the last Seal to it, proved it to be genuine, and secured the future Execution of it. *Wills* were deemed the more authentick and irrefragable, for being confirmed in the same *Comitia*, to which the Laws owed all their force. And therefore the People of *Rome* assembled twice a Year for this very purpose; and a *Lictor* being charged with calling them together, these Assemblies were stiled *Comitia Calata*, from the Verb *Calare*, which signifies to call together.

But by this means, the power of making *Wills* was restrained to certain Days in such a manner, that it was in vain to attempt the making them at any other time; and Death often took Men off, before the Term fixed by the Laws came, and frustrated their Designs with regard to their Heirs. Nevertheless, according to the Prejudices of those Times, for a Man to die without the Comfort of having declared his *Will* in form, was a Reproach which even followed him to the Grave. In order therefore to leave the *Roman Citizens* at full Liberty in this particular, they were afterwards freed from the Obligation of appearing in the *Comitia*, conformably to ancient Custom: And it was also settled, that Men should not be limited to any time, in any Acts that related to their *Wills*. But it was thought proper to put them into a new Form, the origin of which the *Civilians* fix to the Year 302, which was the Year of the Publication of *The XII Tables*.

From this Time, the Essence of a *Will* consisted in a fictitious Sale which the Testator made of all his Estates to him whom he made his Heir, or general Legatee. The Forms then observed were much the same with those prescribed by the first Law of the sixth Table, which we have interpreted, Vol. I. p. 450. According to this Institution, the Testator entered into a Contract with him whom he proposed to be his Heir, in the Presence of five *Roman Citizens*, who were of the Age of *Puberty*, as Witnesses. By virtue of this Contract, the Testator made a feigned Sale, or rather an actual Cession of his Estate to the latter, and constituted him Heir to all he had, in case he survived him: And the Heir gave the other an *As* of Brass, which he first put in the Bottom of a Scale, and then into the Hands of the Testator. This the Testator accepted as the Purchase-Money for his Estate; and in this solemn Acceptance, consisted, if I may so speak, the very Essence and Form of a *Roman Will*. And at the same time, the future Heir pronounced aloud this Form of Words. *HUJUS EGO FAMILIAM, QUÆ MIHI EMPTA EST HOC ÆRE ÆNEAQUE LIBRA, JURE QUIRITIVM MEAM ESSE AIO.* This was a kind of Proclamation, or publick Declaration of the lawful Right he had just acquired to the Succession to the Testator's Estate; and by it the designated Successor took Possession of the Inheritance beforehand, in order fully to enjoy it after the Decease of the Father of the Family. But he, on the other hand, engaged to pay all the Legacies, discharge all the Offices, and perform all the Conditions expressed in the *Will*.

Such was the *Will*, which the ancient *Civilians* called *PER ÆS ET LIBRAM*. These ancient Law-Terms were taken from the *As*, and the *Scales*, which the



Year of Time thought impregnable; and this rigid Discipline of *Metellus* greatly increased the Number of his Conquests. The Fame of the Action of *Contrebia* spread throughout *ROME* *DCXI.* *Celtiberia*; and the whole Nation was so much alarmed at it, that several revolted Cities were thereby induced to return to their Duty. The Romans of the *Pro-Consular* Army

Q. FABIVS  
SERVILIANVS, & L.  
CÆCILIVS  
METELLVS,  
Consuls.

the ancient Romans used in the Ceremony of these Contracts. The Ceremony arose in the first Ages of *Rome*, when Money was valued by its Weight only, as we have elsewhere observed.

These two Sorts of *Wills* then consisted in a solemn and verbal Declaration of the absolute *Will* of the Testator, in relation to his Heir. The Romans knew no other way of making *Wills* till the 4th Century of *Rome*, which was that of the Promulgation of *The XII Tables*. Perhaps this method was thought most agreeable to the Simplicity of the first Ages. Besides, the Republick yet in her Infancy, if I may so speak, was not brought into a certain regular Form, in all civil and political Matters. The settling Forms of Law, and the Art of carrying on Processes, did but ill suit the Genius of a People, brought up in the Hürry and Confusion of Arms. Add to this, that it is probable enough, that in these Ages of Ignorance, the greatest Part of the Citizens did not know how to express their Thoughts in writing. War and the Cares of a Country-Life then took up all the Attention of Fathers of Families. But afterwards, the abuses of *Wills* which were purely *Nuncupative*, were fully seen. It appeared, by fatal Experience, that it was dangerous to leave the *Wills* of the deceased to depend on the Memory and Hónesty of five Witnesses.

It was therefore enacted, that for the future *Wills* should be reduced to writing. Every Father of a Family wrote his own in private, or got it done by a Person in whom he could confide. Then he read it in the presence of five Witnesses, to whom he gave it in writing signed with his own Hand, and pronounced at the same time the following form of Words, which is preserved by *Ulpian* the Civilian. *HÆC, UT HIS TABULIS, CERISVE SCRIPTA SUNT, ITA DO, ITA LEGO, ITA TESTOR. ITAQUE VOS, QUIRITES, TESTIMONIUM PRÆBITOTE.* Romans, bear witness, that I declare this Writing, which I have read and put into your Hands, is my *Will*. Then the five Witnesses took the Writing, and together with the Testator, put their Hands and Seals to it; and the whole Ceremony ended with a feigned Contract between the Father of the Family and the future Heir. The original *Will* sealed, and passed through all the forms which made it authentick, was deposited, either in the Hands of a trusty Friend, or of one of the publick Registers. Sometimes, for the greater Security, it was put into the Hands of the *Vestals*, or the Persons appointed to keep and beautify the Temples. These kept it safely till the Decease of the Testator. Then it was brought to the *Prætor*, who opened it, falsified it, and ordered the Execution of it, after he had verified the Seals, either by the Witnesses, if yet alive, or in case of their Death, in any other manner, that the *Roman* Law in such cases prescribed.

It often happened, that the Testator chose a Stranger to be his Heir, exclusive of his own Children and his Relations. Hence the Troubles that these odious Choices caused in Families. The Heir himself, although allowed to be such, had great reason to fear the worst from the Rage of a jealous Competitor, or of a Son unjustly disinherited, who urged his Rights of Nature and Blood against the Injustice of his Father. To prevent therefore these Disorders, which might be occasioned by the Publication of such a *Will*, the Testator was permitted to keep it secret. It was only required, that the Father of the Family should produce his *Will* sealed, and signed with his own Hand, and the Witnesses should put their Names and Seals to

the Cover. Nevertheless, in order to be able effectually to observe the Solemnity of the fictitious Sale, recourse was had to an Expedient, which, without derogating from the ancient Usage, did not expose the Heirs to the danger of being discovered by the Parties concerned. It was ordered, that it should be sufficient for the Testator, to make use of a faithful Friend, who should supply the place of the universal Legatee in the Ceremony of the *As* and the *Ballance*. So that it was only a Sale in Trust, which did not hurt the rights of the future Possessor. *Augustus*, according to *Suetonius*, took this method when he made his *Will*. *Domitius*, who had no share in the Inheritance, represented a Purchaser, or the Person whom the Emperor appointed for his Heir. In *testamento Augusti, Domitius, familiæ se præstitit emptorem, nihilque de hereditate cepit.* *Plutarch*, speaking of this Custom in his Treatise *Of the apparent slowness of the Gods in punishing Crimes*, says, The Romans made their *Wills* in such a manner, that the Person who appeared as the future Possessor of the Inheritance in the Ceremony of the *As* and *Ballance*, *PER ÆS ET LIBRAM*, was not the lawful Heir.

These Customs indeed were what made the *Will* of a Roman authentick, and gave it all its force. But if they had not been observed with the greatest Exactness, and without Interruption in point of time; that is, if any the least Circumstance had been wanting either on the Part of the Witnesses, or the Testator, or the Heir, or his Representative, the *Will* was void, and of no effect. So that the Rigour, and at the same time the Oddness of this Law, gave Rise to a great deal of Chicanery. They whose Interest it was to dispute a *Will*, did not fail to appear before the *Prætor* to get it disannulled: And it was enough to do this, if any of the Parties concerned in the Performance of these Ceremonies had gone away from the Company, before the whole Ceremony was ended, whether out of Necessity, or to answer some pressing Call, or to attend a little to some indispensable Business. This absence, or removal out of the Place, tho' involuntary, gave the Opponents a specious Plea for the nullity of it. Nevertheless this troublesome Law continued in force till the time of the Emperor *Justinian*, who reformed the Abuses of it by one of his Constitutions. Only before his time, *Constantine the Great* had abolished the Custom of the fictitious Sale, as superfluous, and of no Use.

But as these Forms must have been very burdensome to military Men, who were employed in Camps and Armies for the Defence of their Country; they were therefore exempted from the general Rule. The ancient Romans, says *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Coriolanus*, just before a Battle, the Fate of which they knew not, used to declare their last *Wills viva voce*, in the Presence of three or four Witnesses. This verbal, or *nuncupative*, *Will*, was made, as the Roman Historians express it, *IN PROCINCTU*. By which they meant to signify, the manner in which the Soldiers girded up their Garments when they prepared for a Battle. It is well known, and we have observed, Vol. I. p. 394. Note 26. that in the first Ages of *Rome*, the Soldiers wore no other Habit but the *Toga*. This dress was common to all the Citizens, without distinction; but with this Difference, that the Soldiers, that they might act with the more Liberty, folded and fastened together the Skirts of this Garment by tying it in a Knot under their Breasts. Hence the Expression *IN PROCINCTU*, which was originally spoken of a Man ready to



Army thereby acquired the Reputation of being invincible; and whenever they now Year of  
attacked the Enemy, whether behind Walls, or in the Field, it was always with great ROME  
Advantage. DCXI.

And as the *Pro-Consul* was thus severe in maintaining Discipline among his Troops, so was he no less humane and gentle in his Treatment of the conquered. This appeared at the Siege of <sup>75</sup> *Nertobriga*. Whilst he was before this City, a Lord of the Country, named *Rhetogenes*, came out of it, and surrendered himself to the *Romans*. But he had left his Wife and Children in the City at the Mercy of a People enraged at his Desertion; and when, in the Prosecution of the Siege, the *Romans* had beat down a Part of the Wall, the besieged found out a very cruel Method of revenging themselves on the Deserter. They exposed his Sons, who were yet too young to bear Arms, to the first Attack, by placing them on the Breach which the *Legionaries* were to mount. The Father's Heart bled at this Sight: But nevertheless the brave *Spaniard* soon recovered his Courage. He determined to go himself the first Man on the Assault, and to enter the Place, at the expence both of his own Blood and that of his Children. This Resolution was brought to the *Pro-Consul*, and the *Roman* was very greatly affected with the Danger of the two young Children, and no less charmed with the Father's Determination to sacrifice them in Fidelity to *Rome*. He had so much more Regard to the Affliction of the faithful *Spaniard* than to his own Glory, that he abandoned a certain Conquest, and raised the Siege. But it was not long before he was made ample Amends for this voluntary Loss. The just Renown of an Act of such Humanity was soon spread thro' all *Tarragonian Spain*; and the Inhabitants of the revolted Cities contended who should first have Recourse to his Clemency. *Metellus* received them, and among the rest the *Nertobrigians*, into Alliance again with the *Romans*; and at length re-conquered the whole Country, except *Termantia*<sup>76</sup> and *Numantia*, whose Situation swelled their Inhabitants with Pride and Obstinacy, of which much will be said hereafter. Nay, such

Q. FABIVS  
SERVILIA-  
NUS, & L.  
CÆCILIVS  
METELLVS.  
Consuls.  
Val. Max.  
B. 5. c. 1.  
Velleius Pater-  
culus, B. 2.  
Florus, B. 2.

to fight. IN PROCINCTU vero significat, says *Festus*, cum ex castris in prælium exitum est, procinctos, quasi præcinctos, atque expeditos. Nam apud antiquos togis incincti pugnasse dicuntur. The Lawgivers of *Rome* made this sort of *Wills*, how defective soever in point of form, absolutely decisive. They thought it unjust to subject a Soldier to the Rigour of the Laws, and the trouble of understanding them, when the Duties of his Profession obliged him to apply himself wholly to the safety and welfare of his Country. Nevertheless, we shall soon see these *Wills* IN PROCINCTU absolutely forbidden. At least, *Cicero* says, B. 2. *De Natura Deorum*, that no Footsteps of them remained in his Time. It was then judged that the Profession of Arms, left a Man Leisure enough, during the Course of his Life, to take effectual care of the execution of his last *Will*. So that the Law concerning written *Wills* became general for all the Citizens.

But one exception was made in favour of the dying. When the extremity of the Distemper would not suffer a Man to comply with the common Rule, it was sufficient for him to declare his last *Will*, viva voce. According to an ancient MS quoted by *Lambinus*, *Horace*, on his Death-Bed, did so. In the weak Condition to which the Violence of his Fever had reduced him, he had not Strength enough to seal his *Will*; and he therefore chose to declare aloud, that he left all his Estate to *Augustus*.

Add to this, that the *Romans* had it so much at heart to perpetuate their Names and Memories by their *Wills*, that some ordered the Substance of them to be inscribed on their Tombs. Witness, what *Horace* says, B. 2. *Sat. 3.* of one *Staberius*. Was ever, says he, a greater Fool than *Staberius*? By an Article in his *Will*, he requires his Heirs, to specify in his Epitaph all that he had left them; with this Clause, That if they did not perform this, they should give the People, the Diversion of 200 Gladiators, such a Feast as *Arrius* should order, (a Man scandalous at *Rome* for his foolish Profligateness) and as much Corn as grows in the Province of *Africa*.

VOL. V.

*Hæredes Staberi summam incidere Sepulchro;  
Ni sic fecissent, Gladiatorum dare centum  
Damnati Populo paria, atque epulum arbitrio Arri,  
Frumenti quantum metit Africa.*

As to the Alterations which the *Prætorian Code* and *The Imperial Constitutions* introduced, in the Forms of making *Wills*, we shall have occasion to explain them hereafter; and to relate, according to the Order of Time, the several Conditions, Springs, Events, and Circumstances, on which the Validity of *Wills* was made to depend. To which we shall only add, at present, That with respect to the six first Centuries of the Republick, what we have said, on this Subject, has been taken from such of the ancient prophane Authors as are in most Credit and Esteem; such as *Plutarch*, *Cicero*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Festus*, *Ulpian*, *Theophilus*, *Justinian*, &c.

<sup>75</sup> There were two Cities in *Spain* called *Nertobriga*. One stood in *Beturia*, or *Esramadura*, which was a Part of ancient *Bætica*; and its situation pretty well agrees with that of *Valera la Veia*, which is at a little distance from *Prexenal*. The other, which is here spoken of, stood between *Tarazona* and *Catalayud* in *Celtiberia*. According to *Mariana*, the little City of *Ricla* in the Kingdom of *Aragon*, rose out of the Ruins of *Nertobriga*. To prevent Mistakes concerning the Name of this last City, it ought to be observed, that in most Editions of *Appian*, it is called *Nergobriga*; and that some ancient Authors call it *Verfabriga* and *Vertobriga*; which differences ought to be all ascribed to the Incorrectness of the Copyists. We follow *Ptolomy* and *Antoninus's Itinerary*.

<sup>76</sup> Some think the City of *Termantia*, was the Capital of the People called *Termistini*; and upon this Supposition, it must have been the same Place that *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* call *Termes*, and which *Appian* says had been a considerable City. *Τερμιστος* was the Name. Nevertheless, this last Historian mentions both *Termas* and



Year of such was his Success, that it is to be presumed he would even have reduced *Numantia*,  
 ROME if the Winter Season had not hindered him from approaching it; and in that case,  
 DCXI. what Rivers of Blood would he have saved his Republick!

Q. FABIVS  
 SERVILIANUS, & L.  
 CÆCILIUS  
 METELLUS,  
 Consuls.

Jul. Obsequens.  
 Orosius, B. 5.  
 c. 4.

Macrob. Satur.  
 B. 3. c. 17.

App. in Iberic.  
 Ept. Liv.  
 B. 43. c. 25.  
 Strabo, B. 3.

§. XIV. Whilst *Metellus* was thus acquiring great Fame, and performing great Exploits in *Hither Spain*; *Q. Fabius Servilianus*, the present *Consul*, went to engage *Viriatus* in *The Further Province*. The *Lusitanian* had cantoned out his Troops there, partly for fear of a Battle with *Metellus*, and partly to secure his Country against the new General, who was expected from *Rome*. *Servilianus* had raised two *Legions* in the City, and made the usual Levies among the Allies in *Italy*, immediately after his Promotion to the *Consulship*. His Army therefore consisted of 18000 Foot, and 1600 Horse. And before he embarked, the *Romans* thought it necessary to render Heaven propitious to them by Supplications, and to reform their excessive Luxury, especially with respect to the Expensiveness of their Tables. They superstitiously considered a Child which was born with the Marks of both Sexes, as a Monster which forboded much ill to them; and after many Expiations, threw the Child into the Sea, in order to purge the Earth of it. But their Intemperance and Excess was an Evil which was much more to be feared; and *Rome* had therefore in some Measure provided against it the last Year. *Didius*, one of *The Tribunes of the People*, had extended the Punishments the Law inflicted against the Citizens who made too sumptuous Feasts, to those who partook of them. And now that Law had its effect. It was executed with Rigour against all those free Livers who in a Time of Famine, which was the present Case, raised the Price of Provisions by their Profuseness. Such was the State of Things when the *Consul* set sail for *Spain*; after he had desired *Micipsa*, the King of *Numidia*, to send him, at his leisure, some Elephants to stand the first Shock of the *Lusitanians*. Preparations, which might have terrified another General; but *Viriatus* waited for the landing of the *Consular Army*, without concern. The *Consul* therefore took his March towards *Ituca*, a City of *Bætica*, in order to refresh his Troops there before they took the Field: But *Viriatus* was too active to give his new Enemies Time to breathe. He laid his *Lusitanians* in ambush for them, in the Road from the Sea to *Ituca*, and attacking the *Legions* unexpectedly, they were much alarmed at the first sight of their new Enemy. They thought they looked like Furies come from Hell. Their long streight Hair hung in great Disorder; and being blown about with the Winds, the *Romans* could see no part of their Faces distinctly but their black sparkling Eyes, which struck them with Dread. Besides, the Cries of this Multitude were horrible; nevertheless the *Legionaries* did not quit their Ranks. They sustained the Attack with more Constancy than Ardour; and by their Appearance only made the Enemy desist. *Viriatus* founded a Retreat; and the *Romans* reached *Ituca*, without a Battle.

When the *Consul* arrived at the Camp he had pitched in the Center of his Province, he first waited for the Elephants he expected from *Numidia*. These being arrived, in number ten, with 300 Horse, and his Army having been reinforced with all the Militia of the *Spanish Confederates*, he then began his March, and went in quest of the Enemy. No *Consul* had ever commanded a greater Body of Men; and when he came to a Battle, it was their Numbers only that determined it in favour of the *Romans*. The Conduct of *Servilianus* had a very little Share in the Victory; but *Viriatus* made one of those Retreats, in sight of an Enemy superior to him in Number, which do a great Commander more Honour than the gaining of a Battle. Nay, the Order he kept in it, and his Presence of Mind, made him victorious in his turn. As soon as he saw the *Romans* pursue him in Disorder, he faced about, and returned to the Charge; and then the *Consul* was no longer Master of his *Legions*. They fled for Refuge to their Entrenchments. The *Lusitanians* followed close after them; and with their Sabres, which were exceedingly well tempered, mowed down the Fugitives, and left 3000 of them dead on the Field of Battle. When arrived at the Gate of the Camp, the brave *Viriatus* made incredible Efforts to enter it, and all things gave way before him. The *Consul* with great Difficulty escaped losing his Camp, as well as all the Advantages of an Action which had been so happily begun. But then a young *Roman*, *Caius Fannius*<sup>77</sup>, Son-in-Law

and *Termantia*, in his *History of the Wars in Spain*; and it is not likely that he should call the same City by two different Names. Some place *Termantia* on *The Duero*, in *Old Castille*, in the Neighbourhood of *Ogma*, near the Place where now stands the Chapel

of *Nuestra Senora de Tiermes*, nine Leagues West of *Segovia*, and 36 Miles from *Numantia*: Others take it for the City of *Lerma*, on the Banks of the River of *Arlanza*, anciently called *The Areva*.

<sup>77</sup> The *Fannian* Family was originally *Plbeian*; as appears



in-Law to *Caius Lælius*, whose Valour we have so often celebrated, took upon him the Office of a General; encouraged the *Legionaries*; led them on to the Charge; and defended the Camp with so much Courage, that at length, towards the close of the Day, he drove back the *Lusitanians* from it. Neither the Place of Battle, nor the Number of Men lost by *Viriatus*, is recorded by the Historians; but this we know, that the formidable *Spaniard* still continued to harass the *Consul* during the rest of the Campaign. Sometimes he came and attacked his Camp in the dead of the Night; and sometimes he fell on the *Legionaries* at Noon-day, in the hottest part of the Summer. The *Spanish* Men and Horses were proof against all these Fatigues: but the *Romans*, who were used to a different Climate, sunk under them. *Servilianus* was obliged to march his *Legions* back to *Ituca*, and put them into Quarters of Refreshment. *Viriatus*, on the other hand, whose Troops were diminished, burnt his Camp in the Night, marched into *Lusitania*, and put an end to this glorious Campaign. Then the *Consul*, after he had in vain endeavoured to overtake him, reduced five Cities which had joined *Viriatus*; and went to spend the Winter in the Country of the *Cunei*<sup>78</sup>, in the most Western Part of *Lusitania*. But the *Consular* Army was so far from having humbled the Pride of the *Lusitanians*, that it had rather increased it. The Revolt was as much strengthened in *The Further Province*, as weakned in *The Hitber*.

§. XV. During this *Consulship*, *Rome* had flattered herself with having no War to support, except that in *Spain*; and she had therefore sent all her Forces that way. No other *Roman Province*, either in the East or South, was guarded with more than a *Prætorian* Army, that is, with one single *Legion* under the Command of a *Prætor*. But when it was least expected, a sudden Tempest arose in *Macedon* which put it in a flame. A third Impostor appeared there, who gave himself out for the Son of *Perfes*, took the Name of *Philip*, and built his pretended Birth and Rights on a Fable. But nevertheless, since *Macedon* had been very restless ever since its Government was changed, and *Greece*, lately reduced to the State of a *Province*, had borne her new Yoke with great Reluctance, the new King found no difficulty, in making a Party, and raising Troops. He soon formed an Army of malecontent *Greeks* and *Macedonians*; and as the Success of the Revolt, in a great measure depended on the first bold Attempt, a favourable Opportunity for one was not wanting. *Licinius Nerva*, the *Prætor* of the *Province*, was not in it. His little *Roman* Army was left without its General, under the Command of a *Quæstor* named *Cn. Tremellius*; and from thence it may be inferred, that the *Quæstorship* was the second Post of Honour in the *Roman* Camp, and its Authority not confined to the Management of the Finances, but extended to the Command of the Troops in the General's absence. However, *Tremellius* was a brave Officer, well able to supply the *Prætor's* Place; and was far from being terrified at the sight of an Army of 17000 Men, which the false King was leading to attack his Camp. His first Care was to assemble his Soldiers together round the *Prætorium*, and there he harangued them, not as an Orator, but a Soldier. *Citizens*, said he, *the Opportunity you desired, Heaven now offers to you. An imaginary King comes to rouse you from that Inactivity which has been so great a Burden to you; and you have no longer any Cause to envy the Legions in Spain, their Happiness, in having a ready way to the acquisition of Glory. We may now acquire much, at very little Expence. The Rebel-Army consists of Generals without Experience, at the head of Troops hastily assembled together, and whose very Appearance it self discovers their Weakness. Macedon abounds with pretended Kings; we see fresh ones start up daily. Is there then any difference between this new Impostor, and those who have gone before him?*

appears by the 13th Epistle of *Cicero* to *Atticus*, B. 16. He there speaks of one *Caius Fannius Strabo*, who, he thinks, had been *Tribune of the People*, near the same Year, that *Scipio Æmilianus* and *Mummius* were raised to the Dignity of *Censor*. He, of whom *Cicero* speaks, was the Son of *Marcus*, and probably the Brother, or Cousin German of this *Caius Fannius*, who married the Daughter of *Lælius*. We must not therefore confound the latter with one *Caius Fannius*, who was *Consul* in the Year of *Rome*, 631. The Name of the Father of *Lælius's* Son-in-Law, was *Marcus*; that of the *Consul*, *Caius*, according to the *Consular Annals*. *Cicero* gives them both the same Age, and ranks them among the Orators of their Time.

<sup>78</sup> The *Cunei* inhabited that little Canton of *Lusitania* to which the ancient Geographers, particularly

*Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Pomponius Mela*, give the Name of *Cuneus*: And indeed, the most Western Part of the Land, between *The Anas* or *Guadiana*, and the *Ocean*, does grow narrower and narrower towards the Seashore, and does well enough resemble the shape of a *Wedge*. It is thought that *Cunistorgis* was the Capital of this Territory. *Strabo* places it in the Country of the *Celtici*, as he and *Ptolomy* call the People of the Southern Provinces of *Spain*, because they came originally from *Gallia Celtica*. *Mariana* confesses, the *Gauls* had spread themselves into *Celtiberia*, and carried on their Conquests near as far as *Bartica*. In the Neighbourhood of the *Cuneans*, stood the Promontory *Cuneus*, now *The Cape of St. Mary*, between *The Guadiana* and *The Sacred Promontory*, now known by the Name of *Cape St. Vincent*.

He

Year of  
R O M E.  
DCXI.

Q. FABIVS;  
SERVILIANVS, & L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS, Consuls.

Epit. Liv.  
B. 53. c. 27.

Epit. Liv.  
B. 53. c. 29.  
Eutrop. B. 4.



Year of ROME DCXI. *He has not even been able to cover his Pretensions with a tolerable Disguise: and his Army is a Company of Vagabonds and Slaves, newly escaped from the Chain. March on then, and meet them. I can as easily disperse them, as a Sow drives away her Pigs, when they too greedily press upon her for Milk.* The Comparison made the *Legionaries* laugh; and after they had jocosely given their General the Surname of *Scropha*<sup>79</sup>, which signifies a Sow, they marched to the Battle with great Chearfulness and Confidence; and put the ill-disciplined *Macedonians* to the rout at the first Onset. *Philip* indeed fought with a Valour worthy of the Name he had usurped. He fought Death in Arms, and found it. *Tremellius* victoriously entered his Camp, and thought it for his Honour to adopt the Surname which his *Legion* had given him. He desired to be called *Scropha*; and transmitted the Appellation to his Branch of the Family, as a Title of Honour. In this manner most of the Surnames of the *Romans* took their rise from some fortuitous Event.

Q. FABIVS  
SERVILIANUS, & L.  
CÆCILIVS  
METELLVS,  
Consuls.  
*M. Varro de  
Re Rustica,  
B. 3.  
Cic. ad Attic.  
B. 12.  
Velleius Pa-  
terculus B. 2.*

§. XVI. Thus was *Rome* victorious in *Macedon*, and in *Hither Spain*. The Advantages gained by *Metellus* in his Province during his *Pro-Consulship*, were as indisputable, as the Victories of *Servilianus* in his, were doubtful. This News came from the East and West, when the *Consular Year* was just expiring, and it was necessary to proceed to the Election of the great Officers in *The Field of Mars*. One of the Candidates for the *Consulship*, was that *Caius Lælius* surnamed *The Wise*, who was the inseparable Friend of *The Second Africanus*. His Name, his Services, his Manners, and his Reputation, rendered him very worthy of this supreme Dignity, to which he had not yet been raised: All things seemed to conspire to his Advancement; and his chief Dependence was on the Reputation of his faithful Friend *Scipio Æmilianus*, who was then revered as the Oracle. But he unfortunately met with a Competitor, who, tho' in much less Credit, was more artful, and a greater Master of Diffimulation. This was *Q. Pompeius*, a new Man, none of whose Ancestors had yet aspired at high Employments, and whose Mother was even reproached with his Birth. She had had her Gallantries; and it was suspected that the Father of this Son was a Flute-Player, whom this Woman, not over nice, had made instrumental to her Pleasures. But be that as it will, *Pompey* was now, by fawning and cringing Arts, arrived at such a height, as to be able to canvass for the *Consulship*; and as *Scipio* was conducting *Lælius* to the *Comitia*, to present him to the People, he met *Pompey* in his way, and asked him if he had any Pretensions to the Offices which were going to be disposed of? *I am so far*, replied the Cheat, *from having any Thoughts of them for the present Year, that I will readily serve the illustrious Candidate you are conducting, to the utmost of my Power. I will go among the Files of the People as they stand under Arms, and be your Agent. You shall soon see the Effect of my Sollicitations, and I will bring you hither the News of my Success.* *Lælius* believed him, and took no further care to pursue his Interest; and soon heard that his Agent was begging Votes for himself, and would immediately be declared *Consul*. Nevertheless, he still waited some time for *Pompey's* Answer; and when he saw no more of him, and was tired and uneasy at being the dupe of an insincere Man, who had broken his Promise, and employed all his Time to serve himself, he said to *Scipio*, *Let us be gone: We are not here in a Temple, where People wait for the Flute-Players to begin the Ceremonies.* But this severe Piece of Raillery did not hinder *Pompey's* Success. He was nominated *Consul*, and one *Cn. Servilius Cæpio*, a *Patrician*, was chosen with him. In the same Assembly, the *Tribes* appointed *Servilianus* to continue the War with *Viriatus* in *Further Spain*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*. Whereas *Metellus* was only suffered to keep the Command of his Troops, till his Successor should arrive. The *Prætor* appointed for *Macedon*, was *D. Juventius*, an avaritious Man, who pillaged and ruined his Province by his Exactions.

<sup>79</sup> *Macrobins* derives the Surname of *Scropha*, from an Accident which happened when *Tremellius* was in the Field. His Slaves found a stray Sow, seized it, and killed it. A Man in the Neighbourhood claimed it, and searched for it, even in *Tremellius's* House. The *Roman* being informed of the Robbery of his Domesticks, hid the Sow under the Bed on which his Wife used to lie; and then suffered the Neighbour and his Companions to search all private Places. They were brought into the Room, and at length into the Chamber where the stolen Goods were, and where the Mistress of the House, who probably was in the Secret, lay asleep. And there *Tremellius* said to the Per-

son concerned, *I swear you'll find no other Sow in my House but what lays in that Bed.* And he said true. But it is not natural to suppose, that so much pains should be taken to conceal such an Animal. However, *Tremellius's* Answer was thought a merry Jest, which bore hard on his Wife. But if we may judge of the *Roman* by it, we must conclude, that he was one of those Soldiers who did not value themselves for their Politeness. Nevertheless, the Witticism was matter of Mirth to all present; and gave rise, says *Macrobins*, to the nick-name of *Scropha*, which from that time became a Surname in *Tremellius's* Family.



Rome had now made it a Rule for some time, to send one of the new *Consuls* every Year into *Spain*; and at the same time to continue the old *Consul* there, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. Two *Consular* Armies not being too much, to subdue *Viriatus*, and suppress the Insolence of the *Celtiberians*. But would it not have been more for the publick good, to have continued *Metellus* in his Province, that he might finish the War he had begun with Success? To this end, the brave *Pro-Consul* solicited by his Friends the same Favour which the *Tribes* had granted to the two *Scipio's*, in order to reduce *Carthage*; and to *Flamininus*, in order to settle *Greece* in Peace. They had been continued in their Offices as Generals, till they had entirely finished the Wars they had undertaken. Besides, the Surname of *Macedonicus* was a sufficient Testimony of the Capacity of *Metellus*, and his first Successes in *Spain* were just Grounds to hope for more. But he was not agreeable to the Commons: They removed him from his Post. The new *Consuls* drew Lots, who should succeed him; and unfortunately both for himself and for the Republick, the Lot fell on *Pompey*. Who then can express the Resentment of *Macedonicus*, to find he must be succeeded by a Man of neither Birth nor Merit, and who was his personal Enemy? His Indignation how great soever, was not equal to the Injustice that had been done him; and he first vented his Rage on the Enemies of *Rome*. To shew what he could do, and would have done, had he been continued in his Province, he resolved to make the best use of his Time before *Pompey's* arrival. Notwithstanding the Coldness of the Season, he determined to signalize himself by some great Action. To this end, he marched out of Winter Quarters, before the Spring began, entered *The Further Province*, and took his Route towards *Lusitania*. *Viriatus* had cantoned his Troops there, and appeared no more in the Field; and *Metellus* went to attack him in his strongest Holds. The Roman was very desirous of fighting one Battle at least, before he left *Spain*, with this famous General, who had hitherto avoided coming to any Engagement with him.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXII.  
C N. SERVILI-  
ANUS CÆPIO,  
& Q. POMPEI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

App. in Iberi

The *Legions* were on their March, when they were surrounded by two Armies of *Spanish* Banditti. One was commanded by a Captain, named *Curius*, the other by a Chief, called *Apuleius*; whose Names seem to shew that they were *Romans*. But *Rome* had now maintained her Superiority in *Spain* above a Century; so that the Inhabitants of the Country had had time enough to change their own barbarous Names into *Latin* ones. The *Spanish* Robbers sallied suddenly out of their Ambuscade, and falling on the advanced Guard of the *Roman* Army, where the Baggage was in a long Train of Waggons, they took some Booty which was afterwards recovered by *Servilianus*. Then the *Legionaries* came up, and gave battle, in which *Curius* lost his Life; and the Aggressors were so effectually dispersed, that they no more interrupted *Metellus* in his march. Not that these were the only Obstacles he met with in his way. *Viriatus* had possessed himself of the best Places in the Country, and put strong Garrisons into them. But it was only matter of Diversion to the *Roman* to retake them. He brought back *Escadia*<sup>80</sup>, *Gemella*<sup>81</sup>, *Obolcula*<sup>82</sup>, and many other considerable Cities to their Duty to the Republick. Those which capitulated he treated with Clemency; the rest were plundered. Some of the Chiefs of the Revolters, to the Number of 500 were beheaded; and the rest, amounting to 9500, were sold to the best Bidder. And *Metellus* hoped that such great Successes and terrible Executions, would have brought *Viriatus* to the Assistance of his Allies, which was the chief Point he had in view. But the wise *Lusitanian* knew how to make a difference between the Generals *Rome* sent against him. Tho' proud and enterprizing against others, he kept himself wholly upon his guard against the present, and would not

80 We know nothing more of *Escadia*, than that it stood in the Neighbourhood of *Bætica* and *Lusitania*.

81 The City of *Gemella* is the same to which *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* give the Name of *Tucci*. *Pliny* expresses himself so clearly in this Matter, as to leave no room for doubt. *Tucci*, says he, B. 3, was surnamed *Gemella Augusta*: And so it is called in an ancient Inscription in *Gruter*, where we find these Words, COLONIÆ AUGUSTÆ GEMELLÆ TUCCITANÆ. *Gemella Augusta* was probably the Name of one of the *Roman* Legions which *Augustus* settled at *Tucci*, in form of a *Military Colony*. According to *Ambrose Morales*, it stood in the Place where we now find *Martos*, a City of *Andalusia*, near the little River of *Salado*, at the Foot of a Mountain. In the Neighbourhood is

a Place now entirely ruined, which is called *Offaria*; and some *Spanish* Geographers conjecture, that this is the Place where *Tucci* stood. *Pliny* and *Antoninus* speak of another *Tucci* in *Bætica*, between *Ilipa* and *Italica*; which, according to *Rodericus Carus*, is the same Place as *Tocina*, a little City not far from *Seville*.

82 *Obolcula* which *Antoninus* and *Ptolomy* call *Obulcula*, was formerly a City of *Turdetania*, a Province of *Bætica*. Some Geographers think it *Lora*, a little City of *Andalusia* near *The Guadalquivir*; others will have it to be *Marchena*, a City of the same Country. It is commonly thought, with *Rodericus Carus*, that it stood where we now see *Castillo de la Monclova*, 42 Miles East of *Seville*. This Situation agrees with *Antoninus's Itinerary*.



Year of ROME DCXII. once appear in his fight. However, *Metellus* made both *Spain* and *Rome* very sensible, what Fear he had struck into *Viriatus*; and it was from this Expedition concluded, That no other *Roman* General was capable of reducing this great and formidable Enemy, with Honour.

CN. SERVILI-  
ANUS CÆPIO,  
& Q. POMPEI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

Val. Max. B.  
9. c. 3.

But in the height of this Success, he received Advice that his Successor had left *Rome*; and then his Resentment revived. Indeed, the Lawrels he had already gathered in *Spain*, promised him the Honours of a *Triumph* at his Return, few Generals having better deserved them. But he had not yet acquired a Right to add the Title of *Celtibericus* to that of *Macedonicus*, which was the Point he most ardently desired. In order to this, he ought to have finished the War in *Spain*; which was not done, tho' it was far advanced, and he had just Reason to hope for it from the general Terror he had spread throughout this great Country. What Mortification must it then have been to him, to be obliged to surrender up his victorious Troops, to a Man not capable of making a proper Use of them? His Passion first vented itself in rash Expressions, and then in Actions, which were much more blameable. It often happens, that the greatest Men are better able to govern others, than themselves. *Metellus* resolved to weaken the Army he was to deliver up, and to reduce it, if he could, to a contemptible State. To this end he disbanded some of his best Troops; every Veteran who desired his dismissal, obtained it. He exhausted the Magazines prepared for his Army, gave the Provisions in them for Booty to his Troops, let his Elephants die, and broke in pieces the Arrows which were provided for the *Cretan* Archers, and threw them into the River. It may well be imagined that *Pompey* complained of these Proceedings to the Senate; and it therefore is not to be thought strange, that we don't find the Name of *Metellus* in the List of triumphant Victors. To refuse him a *Triumph*, was the slightest Punishment *Rome* could inflict on him, though an able General, since he had been so little Master of himself as to sacrifice the Good of his Country, to his own private Ambition.

App. in Iber.

§. XVII. The Spring was not far advanced, when *Pompey* landed at *Tarragona*. And after all, the Army *Metellus* surrendered up to him, tho' diminished, amounted to 30000 Foot, and 2000 Horse; had been well inured to Discipline, by that General; and even seemed to have imbibed some of his Ardour: So that, all Things considered, his Ill-Will did not prove so prejudicial to his Successor, as he intended. If *Pompey* had had the Conduct and Experience of his Predecessor, he might have subdued all <sup>83</sup> *Celtiberia*, and made himself Master of *The Hitber Provinces*, with these Troops. He made his first Expeditions there, and as soon as he took the Field, Fear seized the Rebels. The proud *Termantini* and *Numantini* began to consider the Weakness of the Party in which they had engaged; and condescended to propose advantageous Conditions of Peace, which the Consul received with Disdain. They offered to deliver up the two Cities immediately to the *Romans*; to furnish the Consular Army with Cloaths for 9000 Men, with 3000 Ox-Hides for Shoes; and with 8000 able Horses to remount the Cavalry; and to deliver 300 Hostages, as Pledges of their Performance of these Promises. Offers, advantageous enough to have satisfied *Metellus*, or any General less presumptuous than *Pompey*! But he would be content with nothing but the Glory of subduing a Nation by Force of Arms, which he might have brought into Subjection without Blood. And therefore, this endless Succession of Wars here, ought not to be so much ascribed to the Ambition either of the Senate, or of the Body of the People, as to the Vanity of the *Roman* Generals. But be that as it will, the Consul added a Clause to those Offers, which the *Termantini* and *Numantini* could by no means submit to. He insisted, That those brave Men should for ever lay aside the use of their Arms, and bring him all their Swords and Darts, and Javelins, and Arrows. This was a Thunderstroke to the proud *Spaniards*. To disarm them,

Diod. apud  
Fulv. Urf.

<sup>83</sup> *Metellus*, according to *Appian*, had the Glory of having subdued all *Celtiberia* before he left *Spain*. So that *Quintus Pompeius* had nothing to do, but to keep the People in their Duty. But this was too little a Task for a very ambitious General. He was envious of the Exploits of his Predecessor, and proposed to himself the Conquest of *Numantia* and *Termantia*. These two Cities had kept themselves in an Independent State, and quietly enjoyed the Advantages of the Peace which *Metellus* had granted to the Province. *Pompey* therefore, in order to have a specious Pretence for renewing the War, revived the old Quarrels. He reproached the *Numantini*, says *Florus*, with having

declared for *Viriatus*, and with having formerly given Refuge in their City to the *Segedani*, who were Enemies to the *Roman* People. The People of *Numantia* in vain endeavoured to justify their Conduct; the Deputies sent with this Design, were shamefully driven away by the proud Consul; and then they thought to appease him, by renouncing their Alliance with the *Segedani*. But neither was *Quintus Pompeius* satisfied with this new Mark of Submission. He told the *Numantian* Deputies, with an imperious Tone, That the *Numantini* had no Pardon to hope for, unless they brought into the *Roman* Camp, all the Arms they had, offensive and defensive.

was



was to rob them both of Honour and Life; and it was easy to read the Indignation of the Deputies in their Faces. *Are brave Men*, said they, *whose only Profession is War, to be thus treated? Such Men never lay down their Arms but with their Lives.* This said, they immediately left the Roman Camp, returned to their Cities, and communicated their Rage to their Countrymen. *To War, To War*, was the universal cry in *Numantia* and *Termantia*; and the very Women and Children openly expressed their Indignation. They declared, *They would disown those to be their Fathers or Husbands, who should be cowardly enough to suffer themselves to be disarmed*; and said, *That Death was far preferable to such a Disgrace.* On the other hand, *Pompey* persisted in his Demand; and his Obstinacy and Imprudence are therefore justly to be deemed the Causes of that bloody War, in which *Rome* suffered more Disgraces, and had greater Disasters to encounter, than in the Conquest of all the rest of the then known World.

§. XVIII. The Consul full of that Confidence, which a numerous and well-disciplined Army inspires, drew nigh to *Numantia*, and invested it; and himself first experienced the insuperable Valour of a small People, whose Bravery and Obstinacy abundantly supplied the want of greater Armies. The *Numantini* and *Termantini* together, never had more than eight or ten Thousand Men in arms, all raised in their own Territories; and with this handful of Men, they had the Courage to make head against a Consular Army. Nevertheless, the Roman General was so sure of Victory, that he left his Camp to attend to his Pleasures and private Affairs. During his absence, the ancient Discipline among the Soldiers was relaxed; and they made Incursions round the Place, in order to enrich themselves with the Spoils of the Country. The *Numantini* watched all the Motions of the Enemy, and continually sent Squadrons of Horse against the Robbers; and it happened, that a Party of Romans was surrounded by the *Numantian* Cavalry, and massacred without Mercy. This first Blood was, as it were, the Signal of a most desperate War; and the same acts of Hostility being continued, the *Numantini* always got the ascendant. When the Consul returned, he was both surprized and exasperated at the continual Disadvantages his Troops had had, in many Encounters with so despicable an Enemy; and he resolved to finish the War with one general Battle, which he said he did not do so much to acquire Glory himself, as to chastise these rash Men. But he unfortunately gained nothing by it, but Confusion. All the Country round *Numantia* was full of Rocks, or Coppices, or deep Gutters, and these every where broke it into narrow Ways, which were scarce passable. Nevertheless, *Pompey* drew up his Legions in Battalia, in a Valley which was spacious enough for a Battle; and there waited for the Enemy, resolving to finish the Affair in one Action. But *Magaras*, the brave General of the *Numantini*, who appears by the Event to have been a great Soldier, and whose Name is recorded by only one Historian, was very careful of preserving his little Army, and would not expose it to the Hazards of a Battle. He divided it into Platoons, which he posted on the Eminencies above the Valley; ordered them to fall on the Romans from thence, in several Places at once; and they attacking the Legions on all sides, did some Execution among them. This he continued for several Days, till at length the Romans grew tired with this way of fighting. Their Enemies fought only on the Wing, if I may so speak; they flew down the Rocks only to throw their Darts; and this done, turned their backs, and climbed up the Hills again, almost with the swiftness of Stags. The Consul himself was therefore sensible, that this Post was no longer tenable; and he decamped, and marched towards *Termantia*.

But he was no more successful before this City, than before the other. *Termantia*, tho' a little more accessible, yet had its Rocks and Precipices; and the Consul suffered so much in three different Actions in one Day, as made him very sensible both of the Valour of the *Termantini*, and the inconvenient Situation of this new Post. In the first place, he no sooner appeared before the City, but the *Termantini* fell upon his Legions, and killed him 700 Men. Then they attacked a Convoy which was coming to the Roman Camp, and beat the Tribune who escorted it. And lastly, the Cavalries engaged towards the Evening, and the Romans were so vigorously pushed, that they were forced to retire from Post to Post, till they came to the edge of a Precipice; and there Men and Horses were tumbled down over one another upon the Points of the Rocks, and beaten to pieces in their fall. The Night, which soon approached, seemed rather to interrupt the Battle, than separate the Armies. The *Termantini* continued at the foot of the Rock all Night, in order to renew the Attack at break of Day; and this Obstinacy was their Ruin. The Romans recovered the terrour with which the boldness of the Enemy had struck them over

Year of  
ROME  
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CN. SERVILI-  
ANUS CÆPIO,  
& Q. POMPEI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

App. in Iberic.  
Vell. Patert.  
B. 2. c. 1.

Florus B. 2. c.  
18.

Appian ibid.



Year of over night; and being more superior in Numbers than in Courage, advanced in good order, and renewed the Attack with such Fury, as no Enemy but *Celtiberians* could have withstood. Nevertheless, the *Termantini* kept their ground, and continued fighting till after Sun-set; and then they became sensible of their Folly. The Number of the slain was indeed equal on both sides; but the Loss was scarce felt by the *Romans*, tho' a very considerable one to a very small Nation, whose Valour had in some measure unpeopled them. The *Termantini*, therefore, resolved to continue quiet for the future; and confining themselves to the Defence of their Walls, appeared no more in the Field.

*Diod. Sic. in Eclog.*

§. XIX. On the other hand, *Pompey* did not think it proper to besiege a City which was defended by the Remains of so brave a Body of Men. He turned his Arms towards *Malia*; a poor Country Town advantageously situated, in which the *Numantini* had put a Garrison. Upon the approach of the *Roman* Army, the *Malian*s cut the Throats of all the *Numantian* Soldiers, and surrendered to the *Consul*. From thence he marched to the Country of the <sup>84</sup> *Sedetani*; and was interrupted in his March by one of the Captains of the *Banditti*, who ravaged *Spain*, in these Times of Confusion and Rebellion. But the Robbers were vigorously attacked by the *Romans*, surrounded, and made Prisoners of War; and they then gave the strongest Proofs of the Fierceness of the *Spaniards*, and of their Constancy in maintaining their Liberty. When they were put to sale for Slaves, the greater part killed themselves. Some fell on the Merchants that bought them, and strangled them. Many suffered themselves to be chained, and carried on board Ships, in order to be transported to foreign Countries: But when they were out at Sea, they plotted together to make Holes in the Ships that carried them, sunk them, and perished with their Masters, and every thing aboard. So that the *Spaniards* valued their Lives as nothing. The greatest of all Misfortunes to them, was to survive a Disgrace.

*Id. ap. Valestium.*

Nevertheless, the *Consul* drew near once more to *Numantia*. The City of *Lagni* as some, or as others, *Lanci* <sup>85</sup>, covered the Country of the *Numantini*; and was a Barrier which must be broke through. *Pompey* therefore resolved to besiege it; and advanced with great Marches towards it. As soon as the *Numantini* suspected his Design, they sent thither a Reinforcement of 400 Men, who entered the Town by Night. These new-comers were at first looked on by the *Lancians* as their Deliverers, and liberal Presents were made them. But a few days after, when they saw the great Army which the *Roman* General was bringing with him, their Courage sunk, and their Affection for the *Numantini* decreased. In short, they had recourse to the *Consul's* Clemency, and offered to surrender to him, but upon this Condition, which they thought themselves indispensibly obliged to make; That they should have leave to send home the *Numantini* safe. The *Consul* declared, he would not accept of their Offer, on any other Terms than that of delivering up the *Numantian* Reinforcement to him; and upon their refusal, he invested the City. A Breach was soon made by the *Romans*, so that the Danger became extream: And then, these cowardly People sent *Pompey* word, that they would sacrifice their Allies to him the next day. But the infamous Plot was not kept secret enough; the *Numantini* discovered it. Then, full of Rage and Revenge, they resolved to prevent these perfidious People, who had destined them to die; and they entered the Houses in the Town in the Night; and made a terrible Slaughter. Amidst the Cries and Confusions of this

<sup>84</sup> The *Sedetani* inhabited the fourth Part of the Kingdom of *Arragon*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>85</sup> The Name of *Lanci* was common to two or three Cities of *Old Spain*. The first is that, whose Inhabitants *Pliny* calls *Lancienses Ocelenses*, in his 3d Book, where he reckons up the Cities of *Lusitania*. *Ptolomy* calls it *Ocellum*. It belonged to the *Vettones*, a People who inhabited a Part of the Province of *Tralos Montes*, and of the Kingdom of *Leon* on this side *The Duero*. The second was called *Lancia Oppidana*. It is mentioned by *Ptolomy*; and it belonged also to *Lusitania*. At least, we have reason to guess so, both from the Text of *Pliny*, who mentions two Cities of *Lanci*, in this Part of *Spain*; and from an ancient Inscription, some Parts of which are still remaining. We there clearly read the Names of the neighbouring Cities which contributed towards the Expence of the magnificent Bridge built over *The Tagus*, over-against *Alcantara*, in the Time of *Trajan*: And the Citizens of both the Cities

of *Lanci* are expressly named in the Inscription in these Words. LANCIENSES OPPIDANI, LANCIENSES TRANSCUDANI. After many Enquiries, most Geographers have thought they had sufficient Authority to say, That the latter were the same People whom *Pliny* calls *Lancienses Ocelenses*. All that remains then is to enquire, which is the City here spoken of; in which we cannot arrive at any Certainty. The Ancients have not said enough of it, to solve our Doubts about the Situation of these two Cities. They only tell us, That the *Lanci*, which was besieged by the *Romans*, was, as it were, a Bulwark to *Numantia*; and consequently could not be far from it. *Dio Cassius* and *Florus* speak of a third City of *Lancia*, in *The Asturias*; probably the same City that *Ptolomy* places in that Province, and calls *Lanciatum*. Nor is the Uncertainty less concerning the Situation of a second City of *Ocellum*; some Footsteps of which, *Father Briet* thinks, are found at *Mondonedo* in *Galicia*.



ntestine War, the *Roman* General gave orders for the Assault; and his *Legionaries* found no difficulty in taking a defenceless City. When *Pompey* was Master of it, he thought it necessary to signalize both his Clemency and his Severity; but he unluckily misapplied both. He put all the *Lancians*, who escaped the Sword of their Allies to death; and he gave quarter to the 200 *Numantini* who had survived the Assault. If his Design was to gain the *Numantini*, he lost his Aim, and only made them ungrateful. If to punish the *Lancians*, it was infamous for him to put them to Death, after he had solicited them to massacre the *Numantini*. Such were the Exploits performed by *Pompey*, who had, by his imprudent Refusal, kindled the *Numantian* War, and exasperated a brave People, whom he might have reduced upon very reasonable Terms.

§. XX. As for *Further Spain*, it suffered more than the Province on this side *The Ebro*. *Viriatus* supported the Revolt with more Valour, and much greater Ability than appeared in his Opponent, the *Pro-Consul Servilianus*; tho' the *Roman* had, at first, gained some Advantages over the *Lusitanian*. He forced *Viriatus* to raise the Siege of <sup>86</sup> *Baccia*, and took some Castles in that Neighbourhood. From thence he marched against one *Connobas*, a Captain of *Banditti*, who received all the Deserters from the *Roman* Armies; and soon subdued him. The Robbers surrendered without fighting, upon a Promise <sup>87</sup> that *Servilianus* would treat them with Clemency; and he kept his Word with *Connobas* and his *Spaniards*, and gave them their Lives. But he resolved to make Examples of the *Roman* Deserters, in order thereby to establish Discipline in his Camp. To this end, he cut off both the Hands of every <sup>88</sup> Deserter, in the sight of all his *Legionaries*. This Punishment caused some murmurs among the Soldiers, who are always ready to favour their Comrades, and blame their Commanders; but the succeeding *Romans* have done Justice to *Servilianus*, and proposed his Rigour as a fit Example for the Generals of the Republick to follow.

Hitherto then, the *Pro-Consul* had begun his Expeditions with Success. *Viriatus* loved to give his Enemies Confidence at first, in order to bring them to his Point. In the present Instance, he took it for granted that the *Roman* Army would besiege *Erisana* <sup>89</sup>; and regulated his Conduct by that Presumption. He encamped within reach of the City unknown to the *Romans*; and by this masterly Step, with which he opened the Campaign, plainly shew'd himself to be a great General. *Servilianus* encouraged by his late Successes, first summoned *Erisana* to surrender, and upon its refusal, invested it. *Viriatus* on the other hand, when the Circumvallation was scarce begun, entered the Town himself by Night, with a great Detachment of his Troops, but not with a Design to lay idle there, and expose himself to the Danger of a Famine, the usual Consequence of long Sieges. His Intent was to make a vigorous Sally upon the *Romans*, whilst busy in their Works: And this Design was no less courageously executed, than wisely concerted. When it was least expected, and even before it was known that *Viriatus* was so near; the Gates were on a sudden opened, and an Army marched out in such order, and with so good an Appearance, as might justly give Terrour. The first attack was made on the *Roman* Pioneers, who were soon dispersed, and left their Spades, Mattocks, and other Tools for removing Ground, on the Field of Battle. Then the *Legions* scornfully marched out of their Camp to drive back these audacious Burghers to their Walls; not knowing either their Number, or their Valour, or Leader. But they were soon made sensible that they had to do with *Viriatus* himself, and the choicest of his Troops; and their Contempt turning into distrust, as they fought, they retreated. This was the grand Point which the *Lusitanian* had all along in view; and by pressing them close in Flank, he drove them on in-

Year of  
ROME  
DCXII.  
Cn. SERVI-  
LIUS COPPIO,  
& Q. POMPEI-  
US NEPOS,  
Consuls.

App. in Iberic.  
Val. Max. B.  
c. 7.  
Orosius, B. 5.  
c. 4.  
Front. Strat.  
B. 4.

App. in Iberic.

<sup>86</sup> The City of *Baccia* in *Lusitania*, called by different Authors, sometimes *Vaccua*, and sometimes *Vacca*, stood on the River of the same Name, which is now *The Vouga*; from which this City is now called *Ponte-Vouga*.

<sup>87</sup> *Appian* has here mistaken *Fabius Æmilianus* for *Fabius Servilianus*; and this Mistake, and some others which we have already observed, cause great Disorder and Obscurity in part of his *History of the Wars in Spain*. It is certain, that *Fabius Æmilianus* had left *The Spanish Provinces*, two Years ago, to *Quintus Pompeius*, who succeeded him in quality of *Prætor*.

<sup>88</sup> *Orosius* and *Appian* relate this matter somewhat differently. The latter pretends, That *Servilianus* cut off both the Hands, not only of the Deserters, but

likewise of all *Connobas's* Soldiers, without exception. The former tells us, That 500 of the chief Inhabitants of *Baccia*, who had declared for *Viriatus*, were punished with this Severity. Indeed, it may seem hard to believe, that *Fabius* should suffer himself to be carried to this excess of Inhumanity towards Men who had honestly surrendered themselves up to him. But then, on the other hand, it may have been observed, through the whole course of this History, That the *Roman* Generals were not very scrupulous of making such Examples of Severity, in order to keep the Soldiers to their Duty.

<sup>89</sup> We don't know the Situation of *Erisana*: But it appears to have belonged to *Lusitania*, and to have followed *Viriatus's* Party.



Year of sensibly to the Place, where the rest of his Army lay in ambush, and there they were sur-  
 ROME rounded. And now, the *Legions* began to be sensible of their Danger, and that it was  
 DCXII. in the Power of the Enemy to make a general Slaughter of them all. The *Pro-Consul*  
 CN. SERVILI- despaired of leading back his Troops to his Camp, or indeed, of seeing *Rome* more. The  
 US CÆPIO, & only Choice he had left, was Death or Slavery. Nevertheless, the *Spanish* General gave  
 Q. POMPEIUS the *Romans* a short respite, and left off fighting for some Minutes. He thought the Cri-  
 NEPOS, Con- sis was now come for putting in execution the glorious Design which he had long had  
 suls. in his view. He aimed at erecting himself a Throne, in the vast Country which he had  
 conquered from the Republick. A Peace with *Rome* was absolutely necessary, in order  
 to his assuming the Title of a King. This Peace could no other way be so honourably  
 secured as by Victory. And this Victory he now had in his Power; insomuch, that  
 neither the *Pro-Consul*, nor any of his Army could escape Death, but by signing such  
 Terms as he should offer.

Diod. in Eclog. Upon these Considerations therefore, *Viriatus* sent a Deputation to *Servilianus*, who  
 B. 32. was trembling, and in despair; and both he and his *Legionaries*, received the News of  
 Epit. Lician. the Dispositions of the *Lusitanian* with great Joy. The latter offered Peace on this single  
 App. in Iber. Condition, *That he should continue Master of the Country now in his Power, and the Ro-*  
*mans remain possessed of the rest of Spain:* And this was indeed, granting the *Roman*  
*Army much more than their Situation gave them reason to hope for.* They expected  
 Death, or Captivity; or at best, to have given up the whole Province, after suffering the  
 Disgrace of *passing under the Yoke.* The *Pro-Consul* therefore thinking these very fa-  
 vourable and moderate Term from the Barbarian Chief; immediately concluded a  
 Peace; signed it, and got it ratified by the *Roman* Senate and People. And now *Viria-*  
*tus* would have been very happy in his Reconciliation with *Rome*, if the Republick had  
 been less Powerful, or less Ambitious. But the *Romans* only complied with the Necessi-  
 ty of the Times, for a few Months; resolving never to suffer their most formidable Ene-  
 my to become a Sovereign, and raise himself to a Crown. And indeed, had it not been  
 for the new Wars, which those Politicians soon raised in *The Further Province*, *Viriatus*  
 would have become, as one ancient Author calls him, *The Romulus of Spain.* He would  
 have founded a Monarchy, capable of being a Ballance to the Authority of *Rome*, or at  
 least, of setting Bounds to her Conquests in those Parts.

Florus B. 2.  
c. 17.

§. XXI. During these Expeditions, which were so little for the Honour of the *Roman*  
 Generals in *Spain*, the *Consul* Cn. *Servilius Cæpio* continued in *Italy*, to govern the Re-  
 publick, rather than to take the Field. There was no Insurrection in *Cisalpine Gaul*, to  
 call for his Presence; and his chief Employment in *Rome* was, the getting certain Crimi-  
 nals accused, and brought to Justice. The most flagitious of all, was a corrupt Judge,  
 named *Hostilius Tubulus.* This Man, who was one of the *Prætors* of the last Year, had  
 been, according to the new Institution, appointed Judge of a Court, which was to try  
 and punish Assassins. As Murders were daily multiplied in *Rome*, the Republick had it  
 at heart to put a stop to them, by very severe Punishments of the Guilty. But never  
 Commission fell into worse Hands. *Tubulus* was an avaritious Wretch, who took Mo-  
 ney of the Criminals without Shame or Reserve, and screened both their Persons and Estates  
 from Justice. The Collusion was notorious; and roused the Zeal of *P. Scævola*, a *Tri-*  
*bune of the People*; upon whose Complaints to the *Comitia*, the People referred the Affair  
 to the Senate; and the Senate gave the *Consul* a Commission to hear the Cause, and de-  
 termine it. The Proof of the Fact was neither difficult, nor required much Time. The  
 whole Body of the People exclaimed against the infamous *Prætor*; and the Publick, if  
 I may so speak, pronounced Sentence upon him by their Clamours. So that the Accused  
 having nothing to do but to hide himself from the Severity of his Judge, he condemned  
 himself to Banishment, or rather, fled. But the *Roman* People, who thought this too  
 slight a Punishment, ordered search to be made for him, that he might be compelled  
 either to clear himself of the Crime laid to his Charge, or suffer the Pains he deserved.  
 And then, through fear of his being shut up in a Dungeon, and there put to death, he be-  
 came his own Executioner. He took Poison, and thereby prevented the Sentence which  
 would have condemned him to die. Thus the *Romans* often fell by their own Hands, but  
 not with equal Glory. These Violences offered to themselves were thought to deserve  
 Praise or Reproach, only as the Motives they had for these Executions, were deemed  
 Honourable or Base, according to the prevailing Prejudices of the Time.

Cic. de finib.  
B. 2.

Africanus P edi-  
 anus ad Orat.  
 Cic. pro Scav-  
 ro.



§. XXII. This Year which brought so little Fame to *Rome*, was succeeded by another, Year of which not only dishonoured her, but even made her odious to the World, by shewing *R O M E* how much she was fallen from her ancient Virtue. That *Cælius* surnamed *The Wise* <sup>90</sup>, DCXIII. who had been kept from the *Consulate* by Artifice the last Year, was at last elected in *The Field of Mars*; and his Collegue was *Q. Servilius Cæpio*, who received the *Fasces* *C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS, & Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO, Consuls.* from the *Pro-Consul*, *Cn. Servilius Cæpio* his Brother. For the Honour of the Republick, the War in *Spain* ought to have been allotted to *Lælius*, a General of experienced Wisdom, Probity, and Valour. But it unfortunately fell to *Quintus Cæpio*, a Man little scrupulous in Points of Honour, and always ready to prefer his own Glory to the Welfare of his Republick. So that this second *Cæpio* went to succeed his Brother, in *The Further Province*, in *Spain*; whilst *Lælius* continued unactive in *Rome*.

As for *Pompey*, he was again chosen General for *The Hither Province*, to continue the War with *Numantia* and the adjacent Country; but had the Mortification to have his Veterans taken from him. The *Citizens* at *Rome*, ordered new Levies to be raised to supply the Place of his old Soldiers; and the Republick sent a certain Number of Senators to him, to be of his Council, and temper his Fire. Whatever Credit he might have at *Rome* with some, the most sensible Men blamed him for his Proceedings at *Lanci*; and he undertook another rash Enterprize, before either his Council or new Troops arrived. *The 9<sup>th</sup> Durius*, a considerable River, watered the City of *Numantia*, enriched the neighbouring Plains, and Provisions were continually conveyed by it to the City. In order therefore to starve the Place, by over-flowing the Fields, the *Roman* General resolved to turn the Waters of the River, by Drains and Trenches, into the adjoining Valleys, which produced all the Riches of the Country. A Work of immense Labour, and more prejudicial to the Besiegers, than their Enemies. The *Numantine* Army continually made Sallies on the Workmen; and tho' the *Legions* came to their Defence, they almost always retired with Loss. Besides, the same Means that *Pompey* used to cut off Provisions from the City, increased the Want of them in his own Camp. The multitude of Channels he cut to divert the Stream obstructed the great Roads, and the Mud brought by the Inundations made them impassable for Carriages. So that the *Roman* Army languished away in their Camp for want of fresh Convoys, and the Soldiers frequently deserted. One Day, a considerable Body under the Command of a *Military Tribune* named *Oppius*, marched out in search of Provisions; and the Enemy, taking pleasure to shed the Blood of those who took such pains to deprive them of Water, cut them in pieces. The *Tribune* himself was left dead on the Field of Battle. Besides, nothing was more common than to find 4 or 500 Men at a time wanting in the *Pro-Consul's* Camp. So that his Army was gradually weakened by these small Losses; and his Enterprize proved more prejudicial to him than the Loss of a Battle. In this Situation the Senators found *Pompey's* Affairs when they landed with the new Levies; and in pursuance of their Orders, they disbanded all the Soldiers in the *Pro-Consular* Army who had served six Years in *Spain*; and who willingly resigned their Places to unexperienced Troops, and set out for their native Country with joy. This then, by any General who was less madly bent on his own Designs, would have been thought a favourable Opportunity, to lay aside an Attempt which was more dangerous than useful. But *Pompey* piqued himself on persisting in his Undertaking. He resolved to make these fresh Recruits finish

<sup>90</sup> *Plutarch* is the only Author who has advanced (in his *Politicks*) That *Caius Lælius* resigned the *Consulship* to *Quintus Pompeius*, of his own free Consent. To which he adds, That the latter out of Gratitude, gave *Lælius* his Vote and Interest to raise him to this first Dignity in the Republick. But is it probable, that he, who was then employed in *Spain*, should leave his Province, in order to come to *Rome* before the Time? Besides, *Plutarch* contradicts himself in this Matter. He confesses, in his *Apothegms*, That *Quintus Pompeius* had opposed *Lælius*. And it is more probable, that *Cneius Servilius Cæpio*, who was then idle at *Rome*, presided in the Elections for this Year 613.

<sup>91</sup> *The Durius* is now known by the Name of *Douro* in *Spanish*, and *Douro* in *Portuguese*. It rises in *Old Castille*, towards the Frontiers of *Navarre* and *Aragon*, in the Mountain *Idubeda*, near the Town of *Aguilar del Campo*. It runs through the three Kingdoms of *Old Castille*, *Leon*, and *Portugal*, as far as to

*Porto*; and discharges itself into the *Atlantick Ocean*, a League from that City. Its Mouth is dangerous, because of the Banks of Sand and Rocks, which stop up the Entrance into it. It is said to run 100 Leagues. But it is not every where navigable, on account of its Falls from the Rocks, and its running among them. The Accounts of some Authors, who pretend that *The Douero* took its Name from the *Dorians*, is deemed a mere Fable. These suppose, That a swarm of these People followed *Hercules* into *Spain*, and settled in the Countries watered by this River. And a learned Man of our Time, has thought that the *Dorians* were a Colony of *Phœnicians*, who came originally from the City of *Dor* in *Palestine*. Here is then Conjecture for Conjecture. It is more natural to say, that the Name of *Douero* is taken from the Celtic Word *Dour*, which signifies *Water*. This Etymology is agreeable to the ancient Traditions, which tell us, That the *Celtici* made themselves Masters of Part of *Spain*.



ROME the Work which he could not accomplish with his old Soldiers. As the Season advanced, and the first cold Weather began, he pretended that it was necessary to inure these new Men to Fatigue: And notwithstanding his want of Provisions, he kept them in his Camp, in the midst of Mire. This brought many Diseases among Troops not accustomed either to the Air or Water of the Country; and the Bloody-Flux made terrible Havock among them.

C. LÆLIUS  
SAPIENS, &  
Q. SERVILIUS  
CÆPIO.  
Consuls.

Orof. B. 5.  
c. 4.

In the mean time, the *Numantini* were perpetually harassing, with as much ardour as ever, sometimes their Workmen, sometimes their Forragers, and sometimes the Detachments which guarded their Convoys. One day, they observed the Enemy's Camp to look less provided of Men than ordinary; and took this Opportunity to ensnare them. After they had hid a great Body of Troops under Covert, some *Numantini* skirmished round the *Pro-Consul's* Trenches, threw their Darts at the *Romans*, and braved them. Young Soldiers are often more impatient than Veterans; and these sallied out of their Camp in great confusion to repulse this Handful of insolent Aggressors. The latter retired slowly, till they came to the Ambuscade; and there a Part of these new-landed Troops, together with a great Number of the young *Roman* Nobility, who were come to *Spain* to learn the Art of War, perished. So that these repeated Losses forced *Pompey* at last to leave the Field, and put his Army into Winter-Quarters. He cantoned them in several Cities of the Allies; and put at the Head of each Party one of his useless Senators, as he called them, whose Counsels he had despised.

§. XXIII. However, during this interval of Inaction, he seriously reflected on his own Conduct. The great Army he had received from *Metellus* was almost brought to nothing. Most of his Expeditions had had no other effect than to exasperate the Nations in his Province. The Senators sent from *Rome*, whom he had despised, were Witnesses of his Obstinacy, and he had Reason to fear their Accusations. And lastly, his *Pro-Consulship* was near expiring, and he should leave his Successor much more Reason to complain, than he had had from his Predecessor; so that his Enemies at *Rome*, especially *Metellus*, would glory in his Misfortunes. But nevertheless he had one Resource still left; which was to conclude a Peace with the *Numantini*, to whom he had, with so much Insolence, refused to grant one. *Pompey's* chief, if not only, Talent was Intrigue; and he conducted the Negotiation with more Art, than he could command the Troops of the Republick. He suborned some of the Natives of the Country, who without appearing to be in his Interest, represented to the *Numantini* how advantageous it would be to them, to renew their Treaty of Peace with *Rome*. The Proconsul, said they, is no longer what he formerly was, when he was less acquainted with you; and when the Forces of his Republick, and his new Office swelled him with Vanity. You have humbled his Pride. But nevertheless these Romans are terrible Enemies! If they are vanquished under one Consul, they recover themselves under another; and their Misfortunes always end at last in signal Successes. *Viriatus* was so sensible of this, that as soon as he found it his Interest to be reconciled with *Rome*, he thought it no Diminution of his Victory, to seek the Friendship of his vanquished Enemies. He looked forward to the Time to come; and though for the present Invincible, thought it no dishonour to make the first Advances towards an Accommodation with those whom he had intimidated. This is exactly your Case. The Proconsul is afraid of you; and you have now a better right than ever to be heard with respect. Reassume therefore your Negotiations; and try, whether the Humiliation of the Roman General will not make him more tractable than he was, when in the Height of his Expectations.

l. s. d.  
5812 10 0  
Arbut.

This Discourse from Men that were thought disinterested, appeared so very reasonable to the *Numantini*, that they followed their Advice. Though with Dread, they ventured to send another Deputation to the *Pro-Consul*; and though their Ambassadors offered much worse Terms than formerly, they obtained all they asked. They only proposed to surrender up to the *Romans* their Deserters, and to pay them thirty Talents at different Times. And now the artful *Pompey* made use of another Stratagem in order to conclude the Treaty with Credit. He more earnestly desired it, than they who intreated him to enter into it; but he was concerned to secure his Honour, or at least to save Appearances. He was afraid the Senators of his Council would reproach him with having too easily condescended to satisfy the Desires of the Enemy; and therefore acted a double Part. In his private Conferences with the *Numantini*, he promised them with an Oath, not to demand more of them than they had offered; but in Council he started Difficulties, and protested he would enter into no Agreement with them



them, till they had first surrendered up their City and themselves to him. So that the Treaty was always at a Stand after the publick Debates, and renewed again after the private Conferences of the *Pro-Consul*. Till at length, by *Pompey's* Management, the Senators became resolute, and a Majority of them agreed, that the Peace should be made, notwithstanding the Oppositions of the *Pro-Consul*. A Peace, equally advantageous to *Rome* and to *Numantia*, if it had been lasting! But we shall soon see it broken by this very *Pompey*, who was the Author of it, and the chief Agent in it. However, the *Hither Province* enjoyed at least an interval of Tranquillity, whilst War was again kindled in *The Further*.

§. XXIV. *Viriatu*s did not give himself up to Repose, notwithstanding his Agreement with the *Romans*. The Peace he had forced them to accept, was neither so solidly established, nor had been confirmed by so long a Continuance, as to appear unalterable. And therefore the *Lusitanian* would not lay aside his Arms, or disband his Troops, though there was at present an Appearance of Tranquillity. Besides, as the Design he had formed of founding a Monarchy could scarce be put in execution but Sword in Hand, he still kept his Soldiers, who loved him to Adoration, encamped; and in nothing abated his military Discipline. All the Liberty he thought fit to give himself, during this time of Inaction, was to seek for a Wife in the Country, where he desired to reign. If he should become a King, he would want a Queen to furnish him with Successors. But he did not suffer the Charms of Beauty to captivate him. He consulted his Understanding more than his Eyes, and made his first Application to a Man who was very rich, and consequently had great Interest in his Country. This Man, whose Name is not transmitted to us, had a Daughter much celebrated for her Wealth and Wisdom, and not disagreeable in her Person: And tho' a great Estate was the General's least Concern, no Man despising Money more; yet he esteemed the Daughter for her Reputation for Virtue, and desired an Alliance with the Father on Account of his Credit among the People. His great Point in view was to make the latter his Agent, to pave the way for his mounting the Throne. However, as may well be imagined, the *Lusitanian* General was readily accepted for a Son-in-Law; and the Father in Person joyfully conducted his Daughter and his Treasures to *Viriatu*s in his Camp; where the Marriage was to be solemnized, according to the Ceremony of the Country. And then the General displayed the Character of a great Warrior in the strongest Points of Light, and gained the Admiration of all his Soldiers. As soon as the future Father-in-Law arrived, his first Care was to set out his Riches in the best manner in his Tent. There you saw heaps of Gold and Silver Vases of the most exquisite Workmanship ranged in great Order, rich Carpets, costly Habits, and in short, the finest and most expensive Moveables of all Sorts. When all things were ready, notice was sent to *Viriatu*s: But the wise General discovered no Impatience, even for his first Interview with the Lady whom he had sought, and was going by sacred Ties to unite to himself. He walked gravely towards the Tent in his military Dress, and with a Javelin in his Hand, and saluted both the Lady and her Father: But he scarce vouchsafed to cast a Look on the magnificent Appearance, which dazzled every other Eye. He only held up some of the choicest Stuffs on the Point of his Javelin, and, to shew his Contempt of Riches, said; *What a Madness is it for Men to value themselves on these useless things, and to place their Confidence in them! They are all subject to the Fate of Battles; and the Possessor has reason to be in continual Fears, lest they should every Moment be taken from him by a victorious Enemy. Let our Dependence then be solely on our Arms, and let our Bucklers and our Cuirasses be our only-Finery.* This Deportment, and these Words of a General in the Presence of an Army, were a very salutary Admonition to them; and he did not rest there. In order to shew them that he was as much above Pleasure, as Interest; as soon as the Sacrifice which ratified the Marriage was over, and the nuptial Feast finished, he sent away his Bride, before he had once seen her in private. She was, by his Orders, conveyed out of the Camp to a strong Castle, which he had in the Mountains, and there guarded by a Detachment from his Army: And he gave Proofs of that Sobriety which he had always practised, at the Entertainment it self. Tho' the Table was magnificently spread, he eat little, and ordered the Dishes to be distributed among his Soldiers. May we not then affirm, that all the *Roman* Virtues had left *Italy*, and made their Retreat into *Spain*? The new *Romulus* seemed to surpass the Founder of *Rome*, in Continnence, Disinterestedness, and Frugality, as much as he did in Valour. And certainly, *Viriatu*s, who was very worthy of a Throne, would have ascended one,

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXIII.  
C. LÆLIUS  
SAPIENS, &  
Q. SERVILIUS  
CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

Diod. Sic.  
apud Vales.



Year of one, if the Ambition of the *Romans* had not prevented his Advancement, by the basest  
 R O M E Perfidy.

DCXIII.

C. LÆLIUS  
 SAPIENS, &  
 Q. SERVILIUS  
 CÆPIO,  
 Consuls.

App. in Iberic.  
 Eutropius.

§. XXV. We have already observed, that the Command of the Troops in *Further Spain* was fallen to Q. *Servilius Cæpio*. This *Consul* was ardently desirous of revenging the Disgrace *Fabius Servilianus* had suffered the last Year before the Walls of *Erisana*. But the Peace the latter had then been obliged to make with *Viriatus*, much obstructed that Glory which his Successor hoped to acquire in his Province. He therefore endeavoured to persuade the Senate to permit him to break a shameful Peace, though ratified by the *Roman* People. The *Romans* were not now so scrupulous as formerly of the faithful Execution of Treaties: And he set out for his Province, full of hopes of prevailing at last on *The Conscript Fathers* to give him leave to declare War again with *Viriatus*. To this end, he wrote Letter after Letter to the Senate, and as soon as he landed in *Spain*, tired them incessantly with his Representations. He informed them, That The Further Province was far from being settled in Peace; That *Viriatus*, still in Arms, waited only for a Pretence, and a favourable Opportunity, to extend his Conquests to The *Ebro*; That the Troops of the Republic were losing their Vigour in Idleness; and That though their General was very uneasy upon every Motion of the *Lusitanians*, yet his Hands were tied up, and himself, as it were enslaved, by the religious Observance of the late Treaty. He intreated them to deliver him from this endless Perplexity, of having an Enemy to deal with, who concealed his Enmity under pretended Regards to an extorted Alliance. And he represented *Viriatus* as a Man whose Fidelity was always to be suspected, and whose Stratagems and Artifices were always to be feared by the *Romans*, even in time of Peace. These Remonstrances made some Impression on the greatest Part of the Senators; and they returned for Answer, That he should make it his Business to exasperate the *Lusitanian* by indirect means, and by repeated Affronts to force him to commit the first Acts of Hostility, and thereby bring on himself the Odium of having broken the Treaty. So much did the *Romans* degenerate in their Policy from those Maxims of Probity in which their Forefathers gloried. And even this Order, which was so unworthy of the Senate of *Rome*, was not sufficient to satisfy the Impatience of the *Consul*. Indeed, he did all he could to make a Quarrel, and offered repeated Affronts to *Viriatus*: But that General wisely overlooked them. He had his Reasons for strictly preserving the Peace. Then *Cæpio* made fresh Applications to the Senate. He again represented, That the Engagements entered into with *Viriatus* were injurious to the Majesty of the *Roman* People; That the usual Methods of stirring up the *Lusitanians* to an open Breach were ineffectual; That their General obstinately preserved the Peace, only out of private views, which could not but be prejudicial to the Interests of *Rome*; and That the Republic would draw more Odium on her self by having Recourse to Artifice, than by an open Violation of the Treaty, and a publick Declaration for War. In a word, by his Reasonings and Importunity, he prevailed at last, and obtained the consent of the *Conscript Fathers*. Their Decree was confirmed by the People in *Comitia*; and *Viriatus* was a second Time declared an Enemy to the Republic. What was now become of that strict Equity, which we so often admired in the first *Romans*! They were always ambitious; but had always hitherto had more regard to Publick Faith.

§. XXVI. As soon as the *Consul Cæpio* had his Authority to begin the War, he put his Troops in motion. *Viriatus* was then residing at <sup>92</sup>*Arfa*, a City of *Bætica*, and employing himself in Works of Peace. Not that he had entirely laid aside his Arms; his Distrusts kept him always upon his Guard: But his Precautions were not so great as formerly, when he would never leave his Camp on any Account, or ever sleep in it, any otherwise than in his Armour, and on the Ground. He now gave himself a little Relaxation. So that he was surpris'd at the News of the Steps taken at *Rome*, and of the *Consul's* Approach. *Arfa* was not considerable enough, for him to think fit to shut himself up in it, and sustain a Siege in Person; and he therefore gave it up to the Mercy of the Enemy, and retired to his Camp, where his Army expected

<sup>92</sup> We know nothing certain of the City of *Arfa*, unless it be that it belonged to *Andalusia*, and stood near *The Guadidna*. The *Spanish Martyrology* places it in the Neighbourhood of *Argallen*, two Leagues from *Zalamea della Serena*, in *Estramadura*, a Province of ancient *Bætica*. *Stephen of Byzantium*, *Ap- pian*, *Pliny* and *Ptolemy* mention it. The latter ranks it among the Cities of *Turdetania*. *Molet* affirms without Proof, that it stood in the Territory of *Ar- cos*: *Ambrose Morales* thinks it stood in the same place where now stands *Arvunga*. But all these different Ac- counts of its Situation are only built on very uncer- tain Conjectures.



him. In order to make it the more difficult for the *Romans* to follow him, he committed terrible Devastations in all the Places where he came; and at length entered the Country of the <sup>93</sup> *Carpetani*, and encamped there. The *Consul* stopped some Days before *Arja*, and took it. This first Success gave him Wings to follow *Viriatus* to his Retreat, and he came up with him on the Confines of *Carpetania*. *Viriatus's* Troops were indeed much less numerous than those of the *Consul*; and not in a Condition to hazard a Battle. But nevertheless it was out of Character for their brave General to flee; and he therefore had recourse to Stratagem. His only resource was to make an honourable Retreat, without running the hazard of fighting; and this he did like a great Commander. He posted his Army on a Hill which was very steep on all sides; and as his Cavalry much excelled the *Roman* in swiftness, he drew them up very wide in the first Line, and posted his Infantry behind them. Before the Action, he ordered his Foot to draw off insensibly, and slip down the Hill into the adjoining Valley; and as soon as the Signal should be given for the first Onset, to take different Routs, in Platoons, to the Place which he had appointed for their general *Rendezvous*. In the mean time, the *Romans* endeavoured to climb the Hill, and when they were near enough the Enemy to throw their Darts, the *Lusitanian* Cavalry, and their General, instantly disappeared, and the Hill which just before was covered with Soldiers, was left without one Man upon it. The *Consul* was more surprized at this, than a Sportsman when he loses sight of a flight of Birds, before he has time to get ready his Bow and let fly his Arrows; and ordered his Cavalry to follow the Enemy full speed. But *Viriatus* and his Troops were already so far off, that it was impossible for the *Roman* Horse to come up with them. And as for the Infantry of the Enemy, which had stolen off in small Parties, they seemed to be vanished under ground. It was in vain to ask the Peasants dispersed about the Country, which way they went; no body could give any account of them. So that, all *Viriatus's* Army arrived at the Place appointed, without the Loss of one Man.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXIII.  
C. LÆLIUS  
SAPIENS, &  
Q. SERVILIUS  
CÆPIO, Con-  
suls.

Front. Strat.  
B. 2. c. 13.

The *Roman* Horse, when they returned to the Camp, after this fruitless Excursion, turned the Affair into ridicule. They did not love their General. His sudden sallies of Temper, his wild Air, and his great Rigour in Discipline, made him generally hated; and the Soldiers were well pleased to laugh at his Expence. *Indeed this is very strange, said they; A Roman Consul has been fighting with a Company of Sprights; which as soon as they perceived him, vanished into air, and left not the least Footsteps of the Apparition. We have a General who is only fit to make War with Ghosts.*

§. XXVII. These were severe Jest, and *Cæpio* sought for an Opportunity of Revenge, which he found in a few Days. But he first vented his Rage at being become the Contempt of his Troops, on the *Spanish* Nations, which had never deserved his Resentment. He entered into the Country of the *Vettones* <sup>94</sup>, and marched beyond it, committing every where terrible Devastations. Indeed these People had had Thoughts of assisting *Viriatus*, but their Design had not been put in Execution; and upon their being now plundered by the Incursions of the *Roman* Army, they were less in a Condition than ever to join their Forces with those of the *Lusitanian*. So that *Viriatus* thus distressed, was, in a manner, forced to renew the Conferences for a Peace; and he sent Deputies to the *Consul*, who expressed themselves with great Caution, and offered a Submission without Meanness. *We made a Peace with Rome, said they; and this Peace was ratified by the Roman People. How then could you break it? It must be surely, because you have repented of having granted us too advantageous Terms. And why then have you not laid before us your new Claims, otherwise than by a recourse to Arms? If your Proposals are reasonable, you would have found us ready enough to comply with them. Let us then put ourselves once more upon that Issue. Propose your Demands. If they are such as reflect no dishonour on an Army, which has maintained the War these fourteen Years, without being weakened by it, we will accept them.* But the *Consul* heard the Deputies with a disdainful Air, and loftily answered them in these Terms. *Servilianus was indeed too indulgent, to grant you a Peace. But the Senate have ordered me to make War upon you; which I will do with the utmost Rigour. You have deserved the strongest Resentment of*

Diod. Sic.

<sup>93</sup> The *Carpetani* inhabited the Kingdom of *Toledo*, and almost all that Part of *New Castille* which is commonly called *La Mancha*.

<sup>94</sup> The *Vettones*, a People of Old *Lusitania*, placed themselves between *The Douero* and *The Tagus*. Their

Country contained the South Part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, and that Part of the Province of *Tralos Montes*, which is on this Side the former of those two Rivers. See Vol. 4. p. 552. Note 33.



Year of Rome, and if you would not have us to proceed to Extremities, you must first give us Satisfaction in this important Point. Let Viriatus deliver up to me the Persons who caused the Revolt of the Cities that have deserted us; and then he shall know more of my Mind.

C. LÆLIUS  
SAPIENS, &  
Q. SERVILIUS  
CÆPIO, Con-  
suls.

The Lusitanians returned to their General with this melancholy Answer; and then, whatever were his Motives, whether Necessity, or Condescension, or Ambition, or an Impatience to reign, Viriatus condescended so far, as to sacrifice to the Consul, the Chiefs of all the Cities he had taken from the Romans, and among the rest, the Father of his new Spouse. He put some to death in his own Camp; and the rest he delivered up alive to the Severity of the Roman, who cut off all their Right-Hands, not one excepted. He hoped that this blind Obedience would soften the Consul, and induce him to give his Nation time to breathe. But to his great surprize, the next Orders he received from Cæpio, were, That he must strip his Soldiers of their Arms which they had borne with so much Success, and send them in Bundles to the Consul's Camp. This was demanding of these Conquerors, what the Numantini had already refused Pompey. The Heart of Viriatus swelled with Rage; his Army shuddered at the Proposal; and the Indignation was universal. Hostilities therefore must be renewed.

§. XXVIII. In the mean time, the Consul advanced, and posted himself in a Plain, on the Banks of a River, which separated his Army from the Lusitanian. Viriatus was encamped on inaccessible Mountains, and the River was a Barrier between him and his Enemies. No Man ever better understood the Art of encamping. He had Plenty of every thing in his new Camp; whilst the Romans in theirs, wanted Wood for common Uses; and there was no Forest in the Neighbourhood, but on the other side of the River, which it was dangerous to pass, without Bridge or Boat, in sight of a General who was always watchful to take all Advantages. But Cæpio thought this a proper time to signalize his Resentment against the Legionary Cavalry, which almost wholly consisted of Roman Knights; that is, of the bravest part of the Nobility. He pitched on them to swim cross the River, and cut Wood on the Mountains on which Viriatus was posted. These were thought mad Orders, and were indeed the Effect of Passion; but the Lieutenant Generals, and Tribunes, who composed the Council of War, could not divert the Consul from his Design, tho' it would raise the Resentment of many illustrious Families. Cæpio was inexorable. The Remembrance of a stinging Jest made him overlook all other Considerations. He was resolute, and with pleasure exposed the best Part of his Army, to be cut to pieces. On the other hand, the brave Knights did not hesitate about obeying their General's Orders; and in compassion to them, all the Cavalry of the Allies joined that of the Legions without Orders; and many of the Manipuli entered into a Combination to go and support these Victims, who seemed to be condemned to slaughter. In short, the Detachment became so considerable, that Viriatus himself did not think proper to attack them; and they cut their Wood without molestation, and brought it to the Roman Camp.

But their escaping the Danger did not appease the Resentment of the Knights against their General. As they were passing the River, and marching to the Forest, the Air rung with their Curses on the barbarous Consul; and when they were unloading the Carriages in the Camp, after their return, one of them cried out aloud, Let us burn the Man with this Wood, who has made us cut it in the midst of so much Danger. Which Words were the Signal for one of the most sudden and most cruel Mutinies that ever happened. In their Rage, every Soldier seized his Faggot, and then they surrounded the Prætorium, and prepared to burn their General alive. Which they would have accomplished; if Cæpio had not, by the Assistance of some wise Men, saved himself by a precipitate Flight, and hid himself from the Searches of the Mutineers for some Days. But here it must be observed, that we dare not warrant this Story; it not being built on sufficient Authority, to appear to us past doubt. For how could it have escaped the Knowledge of the many Greek and Latin Writers which we have, if there had been sufficient ground for the Truth of it? And whether it be true or not, the following Fact casts Infamy enough on the base Cæpio, without loading him with Reproaches which perhaps he did not deserve.

§. XXIX. Viriatus was still in his Camp; and, notwithstanding the Weakness of his Army, insulted the Romans, who were languishing in theirs. But his Heart was most intent on renewing the Peace with Rome; and he continued his Negotiations with the Consul, even during his Hostilities. His aim in the latter was to appear invincible, that



he might obtain the better Terms; and his Reason for desiring a Peace, was, that he might establish himself on a Throne: The Persons he employed to treat with *Cæpio*, were *Audax*, *Ditalco*, and *Minur*, whom he thought his firm and faithful Friends. But they were Traitors, easily corrupted, wholly devoted to their own Interest; and capable of any Crime by which they could promote it. *Cæpio* soon discovered this, and treated with them in a very different manner from what the General, who sent them, expected. By his Presents, Promises, and larger Expectations, he got them to promise him, that they would murder their Chief. And indeed, that mercenary Barbarians should dare to be guilty of such Cruelty, is not very surprizing. But that a *Roman Consul* should be the Author of a Compact, so contrary to the Law of Nations, to publick Faith, and even to Humanity it self, is a Fact which would appear incredible, if it were not attested by all the ancient Writers. However, it was easy enough for Men in whom he confided, to assassinate their Master and their Friend. They had free access to him at all Hours, Day and Night. *Viriatus* was indeed indefatigable, and seldom lay down but by stealth, when an Excess of Fatigue forced him to take a little rest. But nevertheless the Assassins soon found means to do their Work. They entered his Tent one day as he was laying upon the Ground, in his Cuirass, and his Helmet on his Head, in a deep sleep; and the only part of his Body which was uncovered, being his Throat, they there gave him his death's Wound. The treacherous Villains left him swimming in his Blood, before he had time to call for assistance; and then had recourse to their only Refuge, which was flight. After they had passed the Guards of the Army, as usual, they repaired to the *Consul's* Camp, informed him of the Death of his Enemy, and demanded of him the promised Reward. And then the Wretches found by Experience, that Traitors are hated even by those who profit by their Treason. *Be content with what you have received*, said *Cæpio*. *Or if you have any further Demands, apply to the Roman Senate. They only are the Distributors of Favours. But this I must tell you, that our Magistrates are not very ready to reward those who murder their own Generals. All I can do for you is, to give you Protection.* The *Consul* would fain have imposed on the World by this pretended dislike of what they had done; and thrown off from himself the Odium of so infamous an Action. But it was well known that he was the Author of it; and Posterity have done him Justice. His Name is execrable in Story, to this very Day.

§. XXX. The Enemy thought *Viriatus* slept longer than usual; but at length entered his Tent; and there, to their great Astonishment, they saw the lifeless Corps of the greatest Man *Spain* had ever bred, and all the Hopes of their Country fallen with him. Their Grief at this Loss, first burst out into transports of Rage; and when they were a little appeased, they sought for the Authors of this Villainy; but the Assassins themselves were the only Witnesses of it. The Suspicion therefore could only fall on *Audax*, *Ditalco*, and *Minur*, or at least on one of the three; and when it was known that they were fled for Refuge to the Enemy's Camp, and that the *Consul* kept them there under his Protection, it was not doubted but the Traitors had been employed by him to perpetrate this horrid Crime. And now, since the *Lusitanians* had it not in their Power to allay their Grief by Revenge, they resolved at least, to testify it, by a magnificent Funeral; which they did, after this manner. They built a funeral Pile, placed the Body of the Deceased upon it, and sprinkled it with the Blood of a great Number of Victims. The Cavalry made their Evolutions about it; and the Foot danced round the Pyramid till the Fire went out. Then they gathered up the Bones of the Deceased, and as they were going to enclose them in the Tomb built for him, there was a new funeral Shew exhibited. 200 Pair of Gladiators entered the Lists, and fought. They who were killed in the Contest, persuaded themselves that their Shades would go and guard that of their General. And they said, they despised Life, in order to follow him to a Place of Rest. And indeed no Officer was ever better beloved by his Soldiers. The Ancients look on this voluntary Subjection of a whole Nation, to the Commands of a Man, who had neither Estate nor Birth to recommend him, but was at first only a Banditti, as a kind of Prodigy. They seem to think it next to impossible, that so many Virtues, Civil and Military, should have united in a Man of so scandalous a Profession! But the Truth is, he was a Master of the Art of War; and gained the ascendant over all the *Prætors*, and *Consuls* which *Rome* sent against him, for fourteen Years together. Tho' sometimes followed by a great Army, sometimes by a small one, as it happened; yet, whether weak, or strong, he still made War with Advantage. When he was superiour in Forces, he won Battles, took Cities, reduced Provinces, subdued Nations. When his Army was small, he avoided fighting,

Year of  
R O M E.  
DCXIII.  
C. LÆLIUS  
SAPIENS, &  
Q. SERVIILIUS  
CÆPIO,  
Consuls.  
*App. in Iberic.*  
*Val. Max.*  
*B. 9. c. 6.*  
*Florus B. 2. c.*  
*17.*  
*Orosius, B. 5.*  
*c. 4.*  
*Epit. Liv.*

*Epit. Liv.*  
*Diocl. apud Val.*  
*les.*  
*App. in Iberic.*

*Diocl. apud*  
*Valuf.*



Year of *ROME* *DCXIII.* encamped in inaccessible Places, engaged with great Caution, and at the long run fatigued the Enemy, and always returned victorious from the Campaign. He was, with regard to his Enemies, a strict Observer of his Word, and scrupulously exact in performing Treaties. And, with regard to his Soldiers, he better understood how to keep them to Duty, and sooth and encourage them to labour by his Example, than by his Speeches. As he was absolute, he might without Contradiction have applied the greatest Part of the Booty to his own Use; but he always divided it equally among his Troops. He was Chaste, Temperate, Disinterested; and if he had Ambition, he only applied it to the Good of the Publick, and desired to reign, only in order to establish a regular Form of Government, over the Nations that he had Saved, or Conquered. And therefore it is not at all surprizing, that so great a General should have no Seditions in an Army of Volunteers, who were not, by any superior Authority, forced into his Service. In short, to finish his Character with one Circumstance, which alone ought to make his Memory Immortal: *Rome judged him to be invincible; and thought she could no otherwise put an end to the War with him, than by the most infamous Act of Treachery.*

C. LÆLIUS  
SAPIENS, & Q.  
SERVILIUS  
CÆPIO, Con-  
suls.

*App. in Iber.*

§. XXXI. The Events that followed the Death of *Viriatus* were yet more evident Proofs of his Abilities. The *Lusitanians* did not immediately give themselves up to despair; but chose themselves another Leader, whom some call *Tantalus*, others *Tantanus*; and soon found a great difference between the old General and his Successor. It must be owned indeed, that the latter had Bravery and Resolution; but from his first Step, he grasped at too great Designs, and attempted an Enterprize which was beyond his Strength. *Saguntum* was then one of the greatest and most stately Cities of *Tarragonian Spain*. It had formerly been destroyed by *Hannibal*, and rebuilt by its Destroyer himself, who had given it the Name of *Carthage*. Afterwards it had been reconquered by the Great *Scipio*, adorned, fortified, and repeopled by his Care, and had reassumed its first Name of *Saguntum*; and it was still under the Protection of the Republick. It was to revenge her Quarrel, that the *Romans* first entered *Spain*; so that it was her Cause which gave them occasion to undertake the Conquest of this great Continent: And this led *Tantalus* to conclude, that if he could make himself Master of this famous Post, he should at once obliterate the Glory of his Predecessor, and fill the *Consular* Army with Terrour at his Name. But tho' the Design was great, it was impracticable. How could he possibly penetrate through so many Countries with an Army he had not yet commanded, and cross all the Rivers in his way? In short, *Cæpio* followed close after him, and made him often repent of this mad March. After some time, the *Consular* Army got before him, and gave him battle after he had passed the River *Bætis*. The *Lusitanians* were repulsed and put in Disorder, and in a manner surrounded by the River on one side, and the *Roman* Forces on the other; and then, there remaining neither any Hopes of Safety in resistance, nor any other resource, but to the Clemency of the Conqueror, *Tantalus* threw down his Arms, and surrendered at discretion. The *Consul* now thought himself at the highest pitch of Glory, and was much elated with the Hopes of a *Triumph*, and effacing all the Stains of his past Conduct. This led him into an Excess of Clemency; he accepted the Offers of the *Lusitanians*, and gave them more favourable Terms than they had reason to expect. He considered this Army which had been so formidable, and had given the Republick so much Employment for 14 Years last past, as a Body of Men who had neither House nor Home; proposed a Peace to them upon this Condition, among others, that they should go and cultivate a Country which he would give them; and the Offer was accepted. These terrible Warriours became industrious Husbandmen, and by that means, *The Further Province* was settled in perfect Peace.

*Auth. de viris  
Illus.*

And now, tho' the happy Issue of so troublesome a War could not but be exceeding agreeable to the *Roman* Senate and People; and tho' most of the Generals of the Republick had obtained the Honours of a *Triumph* upon less Success; yet, the *Senate* had more regard to their own Honour than to the Importance of the Service, when they came to consider what Rewards to bestow on *Cæpio*. They well knew by what Means he had got rid of *Viriatus*; and tho' they enjoyed the Fruits of his Crime, they did not approve of it. So much Equity, or Decency at least, was still left in this degenerate Age; That they would not exhibit to the World the Pomp of a *Triumph*, which had been purchased by Acts of Infamy. The *Fathers* loudly exclaimed against the *Consul's* Conduct, and thereby, in some measure, repaired the Honour of the Republick. But nevertheless, they consented that the same *Cæpio* should be left to command another Year in *Further Spain*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. Thus, in States which are degenerated from their former Virtue,



Virtue, Men that make themselves useful, though by the most scandalous means, are but half punished, and half rewarded; and such was the present Policy of Rome.

§. XXXII. Whilst the War in Spain was on one Side more violent than ever against the *Númantini*; and on the other entirely extinguished by the Death of *Viriatus*, and the Surrender of *Tantalus*: Rome enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity, under the Administration of the wise Consul *Lælius*. In his Consulship, *P. Licinius Crassus*<sup>95</sup>, the *Ædile*, set the two best Tragick Poets in Rome at work in preparing Plays, for the Publick Games. The first was *Pacuvius*<sup>95</sup>, whose Poetick Vein was not frozen at the Age of fourscore Years. The second, the famous *Attius*, then in the Flower of his Age, and not past thirty<sup>97</sup>. But though the *Latin* Tongue was then in its Purity, we find the Diction of both, harsh and unpolished; and from thence we conclude, that their Genius made amends for the Faults of their Language. However, *Licinius Crassus* was at a very extraordinary Expence in pompously decorating the Theatre, where the Pieces were presented; and in preparing for the other shews, with which he resolved to entertain the Publick; which will not appear at all strange, if it be remembred, that he is said to have been, without Exception, the greatest Citizen in Rome. He was a great Orator, a most able Civilian, and the supreme Governor in Matters of Religion. So that no Man in the Republick had more Authority than himself, or was better able to bestow large Sums, in Bounties to the People.

We

<sup>95</sup> *Publius Licinius Crassus*, who succeeded *Scipio Nasica* in the Dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, was the Son of *Publius Mucius Scævola*. This is the *Mucius* who governed the Republick in Quality of Consul, in the Year 578, and triumphed on account of the *Ligures*. His Son *Mucianus* was adopted into the *Licinian* Family, and, according to Custom, took the Name of the Father who adopted him. According to *Aulus Gellius*, all the Advantages of Nature and Fortune were united in him. *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ranks him among the eloquent Persons of his Age. Indeed, though the Historians give us the Character and chief Actions of *Licinius Mucianus*, they have not fixed the exact time of his *Ædileship*. But for want of Authorities, we build on Conjectures instead of Proofs, as other Annalists do, in placing his Election in the Year of Rome 613. *Mucianus* was then one of the most eminent Candidates for the *Curule Magistracies*. His Merit, and the Votes of the most considerable Persons in the Republick, gave him Assurance of being preferred to his Competitors. He appeared before the *Comitia*, says *Cicero*, B. 1. *De Oratore*, attended by a numerous Train of noble Citizens, all related to his Family; and especially by his Relation and Friend *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, a Man of *Consular* Dignity, and famous for his Eloquence. He had married his Son *Caius Sulpicius*, to the Daughter of *Mucianus*; and this Marriage had cemented their former Friendship.

<sup>96</sup> *Marcus Pacuvius*, according to *St. Jerome's Chronicon*, made himself known by his Tragedies in the third Year of the 156th Olympiad, which answers to the Year of Rome 599. His Mother was the Sister of *Ennius*, not his Daughter, as *Eusebius of Cesaræa*, and *Criminus*, after him, pretend. He was born at *Brindes*, and from thence repaired to the Capital. *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius* say he had a Taste for Painting. The former extols one of his Pictures, which was hung up on the Walls of the Temple which the Romans had dedicated to *Hercules*, in the Ox-Market. But his Genius immediately recalled him to the Study of Poetry. He published some Dramatick Performances, which were deservedly well received by the Publick. After he had supported the Reputation he had gotten in this way to an extreme old Age, he left Rome, and retired to *Tarentum*, to enjoy the Pleasures of Retirement. There he spent the rest of his Days, and died at the Age of ninety. He writ his own Epitaph in the four following *Latin Verses*, which *Aulus Gellius* has taken care to transmit to Posterity.

*Young Man, tho' in haste, attend a little to this Tomb. It invites thee to cast an Eye on it, and read what is here written. Here lay the Bones of Marcus Pacuvius the Poet. This is all. Farewel.*

*Adolescens, tamen etsi properas, hoc te saxum rogat;  
Utei ad se aspicias, deinde quod scriptum est legas.  
Hic sunt Poetæ Marcei Pacuvei sita  
Ossa. Hoc volebam, nescius ne esses. Vale.*

This Epitaph favours of the Simplicity and Modesty of the Poet. Before him *Nævius* had caused his Epitaph to be engraven on his Tomb. But there the Pride and Vanity of the Poet are much more remarkable than his Character. He speaks of himself thus: *If the Immortals could weep for any Mortal, the Muses would weep for the Death of the Poet Nævius. Since he went down to the Kingdom of Pluto, the Romans have forgotten to speak Latin.*

*Mortaleis immortaleis flere si foret fas,  
Flerent Divæ Camænæ Nævium Poetam.  
Itaque postquam est Orchio traditus thesauro,  
Oblitei sunt Romæ loquier Latina lingua.*

Nor is *Plautus* more reserved, in the Epitaph which is ascribed to him by *Varro*. Since *Plautus* died, says he, *Comedy is in Tears, the Theatre deserted. The Smiles, Sports, Jests, and Numbers, which are numberless all jointly mourn for him.*

*Postquam morte datu 'st Plautus, Comædia Luget;  
Scena est Deserta. Dein Risus, Ludu', Jocusque,  
Et Numeri, innumeri simul omnes collacrumarunt.*

*Lilio Giraldi* fathers on *Pacuvius* a wanton Story, in which the Women are treated very uncivilly. He quotes for his Authority the Epistle of one *Valerius* to *Rufinus*; which may be seen in the 8th Dialogue of the *History of the Poets*. The same Author has taken from him an old Riddle, on a Tortoise; for which we refer to his Treatises *On the Riddles of the Ancients*.

<sup>97</sup> *St. Jerom*, in his *Chronicon*, places the Birth of *Lucius Accius*, or *Attius* the Poet, whom he makes the Son of a *Freedman*, in the Year of Rome 583, under the Consulship of *Aulus Hostilius Mancinus*, and *Aulus Hostilius Serranus*; and it is certain that he grew famous from the 160th Olympiad, which coincides with the Year of Rome 613, by the dramatick



Year of  
ROME  
DCXIII.

C. LÆLIUS  
SAPIENS, &  
Q. SERVILIUS  
CÆPIO.

Consuls.

Aul. Gel.

B. I. c. 13.

Cic. in Orat.

pro Roscio.

Amer.

Philip. 1.

§. 35.

Ed. Vireburg.

Job. Amstol.

1724.

We have already observed that the Licentiousness of Manners, which daily increased, much wanted Restraint. To this end, the Tribunals erected for trying Criminals were multiplied; Informations were brought in great Numbers; and sometimes, without Foundation. Infomuch that if the Impunity of Crimes was a dangerous Evil on the one hand, so was the Madness of the Informers on the other. There was reason to fear, that Innocence was often oppressed by Calumny; and therefore a *Tribune of the People*,

tick Pieces, which the *Ædiles* caused to be acted in the Theatre at Rome. But St. *Jerom's* date does not seem reconcilable with what *Cicero* says of him. The Orator declares in his *Brutus*, That he had often conversed with *Lucius Accius*; and it seems to be implied in a Passage of *The First Philippick*, That the Year of Rome 709, in which *Julius Cæsar* was killed, and in which one of this Poet's Tragedies was played, was sixty Years after his Death; and consequently, That we must place his Death in 649 or 650, if we run back sixty Years from thence. But if it be true, that *Accius* died in 650; it is more so, that *Cicero* was born in the year 647: And consequently, That the latter must have often conversed with the Tragic Poet when only three Years old. So that these seeming Contradictions are only to be reconciled by a different Interpretation of that Passage. That *Cicero* was born in the Year 647, under the Consulship of *Gaius Attilius Serranus* and *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*, is a known Fact, attested by all the Historians; and it is reasonable to believe, That he must have been at least fifteen or twenty Years of Age when he contracted a Friendship with *Accius*: And consequently, That the Poet must have lived till about the Year 668. As to the Difficulty of the sixty Years before the Year 709, *Cicero* himself will happily extricate us out of it. His meaning only is, that the Tragedy of *Accius* was again acted in the Year 709, sixty Years after it had been first brought on the Stage. What Occasion is there to reckon, as some do, these sixty Years from the Death of the Author? *Cicero's* Words don't in any sense imply it. He only implies, That when one of *Accius's* Tragedies was acted again, during the Celebration of *The Apollinarian Games*, great Applauses were given to *Brutus*, one of *J. Cæsar's* Murderers, tho' he could not be present at the Performance, because obliged to absent himself from Rome, to screen himself. Unless, says he, you thought that *Brutus* had none of the Applause of the Roman People, but the whole was paid to *Accius*, as if he had appeared again on the Stage after an Interval of sixty Years. *Nisi forte Accio tum plaudi & sexagesimo post anno palmam dari putabatis, non Bruto*. Thus we see St. *Jerom* and *Cicero* agree, as to the Epocha of the Birth of *Accius*. So that there is no Reason why we may not say, That the Poet was born in the Year of Rome 583; and That he lived above eighty Years; and consequently, That *Cicero* had time enough to know him, and converse frequently with him. But when *Val. Maximus* says, that one *Accius* refused one day to rise up in honour to the Presence of *Julius Cæsar*, when he was entering into an Assembly of men of Letters; this Fact is too distant to relate to the Poet *Accius*: Unless we say, that this was not the great *Julius Cæsar*, but one of his Ancestors, who lived nearer to the time of which we are treating.

*Accius* lived at the same time as *Pacuvius*. But the latter had almost finished his Course, when the young Poet began to shew himself in the World. They were both highly esteemed by the Romans, tho' their Excellencies in the Dramatick way, were different. *Pacuvius*, says *Horace*, was more learned, the other more sublime.

*Ambigitur quoties uter utro sit prior, aufert  
Pacuvius docti famam Senis, Accius alti.*

Epist. 1. L. 2;

This Judgment of *Horace* is confirmed by that of *Quintilian*. *Pacuvius* had indeed improved his Understanding by reading the Greek Authors, whose Beauties he had treasured up, in order to transplant them into his own Pieces. Infomuch that *Aulus Gellius*, B. 7. ch. 14. supported by *Varro's* Authority, proposes him as a Model for Poets, with respect to the Plenty and Variety of his Thoughts and Expressions. Whilst *Accius*, according to the Ancients, had that Force and Energy which *Pacuvius* wanted. In short, they both excelled in noble Sentiments, and a judicious choice of Characters. But *Quintilian*, though an Admirer of both, wishes that their Diction had been more elegant and polite; and to excuse them, makes the roughness of Style which is objected to them, not so much the Fault of the two Poets themselves, as of the Age in which they lived. Whereas *Cicero* judges very differently of them in his *Brutus*. He says that neither *Pacuvius* nor *Cæcilius* had a graceful Style, tho' they lived in an Age which he calls the glorious *Æra* of Roman Probity, and of the Latin Tongue. This happy Time was that of *Lælius* and *The second Scipio*; who, among other excellent Qualities, which raised them above the vulgar, had the Faculty of expressing themselves with great Purity and Delicacy, both in their Writings and in common Conversation. And indeed, before the time of *Pacuvius* and *Accius*, *Terence* and *Plautus* had dispersed in their Writings all the Beauties of the Latin Tongue. So that *Quintilian* unjustly condemns the Age in which they lived, as barbarous, in order to excuse their incorrect and obsolete Language.

*Aulus Gellius* tells us, that *Accius*, intending to go into Asia, took his Road through *Tarentum*, and there visited *Pacuvius*, to whom he read his Tragedy of *Atræus*. The old Man highly commended the Piece; but did not conceal its Defects from the Author. He thought the Expressions harsh, the Characters extravagant, and the Incidents too suddenly and hastily introduced, without due Preparation. *Accius* not only had great Deference for *Pacuvius's* Advice, but turned it to his Honour, and made Advantages of his Criticisms. Your Censures, replied he, give me Assurance that I shall at last succeed in my Labours. The Mind is much like an Apple; at first hard and sour; but when come to maturity, sweet, and agreeable to the Palate. And probably, Experience and Reflection made him a perfect Master of these Lessons, which *Pacuvius* had first taught him: For he dedicated himself entirely to the Drama. With the Talents he had for Dramatick Poetry, he might justly have entertained Hopes of becoming an eminent Orator. But that was not his Inclination. *Quintilian* says, That some Person would have engaged him to turn his Thoughts that way, and That he replied he would by no means do it: because upon the Stage, he could have the satisfaction of making his Actors say what they would; whereas at the Bar, he should have the Mortification to hear what he should not like. *Macrobius*, *Priscianus*, *Festus*, and *Nonnius Marcellus*, ascribe to him some historical Annals in Verse, and a Treatise of Poetry divided into several Books, and entitled *Didascalica*. Whether *Cicero* means him, when he says of one *Accius*, (*De Legibus*, L. 1.) who had written some historical Annals, That he was a trifling Author, who had composed some Latin Pieces, without ever having applied himself to the Greek Writers; That the Trifles with



*ple*, named *Memmius* <sup>98</sup>, took great Pains to put a Stop to those Swarms of Informers, Year of who indiscriminately accused the most virtuous *Citizens* of the greatest Crimes; and took *R O M E* Advantage of the Absence of those who had Employments in the *Provinces*, to wound *DCXIII.* their Reputation. To this end, he prepared a Law which consisted of these two Articles.

1. It forbade the bringing any criminal Process against those who were employed in the publick Affairs in the *Provinces*. And 2dly, It enacted, That every Informer who was *C. LÆLIUS* convicted of a false Accusation should be marked in the Forehead with the Letter K, *SAPIENS, &* which was the first Letter of the Word *Kalumniator*. This mark was to be made, either with a hot Iron, or with the Point of a Needle; and it was so infamous, that no one who was thus stigmatized, was ever after suffered to be a Witness. This was the famous *Memmian* <sup>99</sup> *Law*, which was now passed by the *Comitia*, and continued long in force; till the Emperor *Trajan* substituted in the room of it, the *Lex Talionis*, or *Law of Retaliation* <sup>100</sup>. *Plin. Jun. in Panegy.*

But after all, the Overflowings of Vice were not very general in *Rome*. There were still some of those great Minds left which retained the Innocence and the Steadiness of antient Times. Of this we have an Instance, in the just Severity of a Father to his own Son. *T. Manlius Torquatus* had translated his Son *D. Junius Manlianus* into the *Junian* Family by Adoption; and *Junius*, when *Prætor* in *Macedon*, had governed it with insatiable Avarice. His Oppressions had been so crying, that the Province was obliged to send a Deputation to complain to the Senate; and when the Process was already begun against the oppressive *Prætor*, *Manlius*, his Father, offered the Senators and the *Macedonian* Envoys to be his Son's Judge, and to punish him with rigour, if he found him guilty. *Manlius* had the Character of a learned Civilian, a Man of great Integrity, and a very rigid and inflexible Father. Besides, the Law which gave Fathers a Right to be the first Judges of their own Children was not yet entirely abolished. The Senate and Prosecutors therefore agreed to refer the Decision of the Affair to the Father of the Accused; and this grave Senator, after he had spent two Days in the Trial, pronounced Sentence against his own Son in these Words: *Let the guilty Junius be for ever banished from his Father's House, and from all the Lands of the Republick.* This was the severest Punishment that could then be inflicted for robbing the Publick; and the Son was so struck with Grief at it, that he strangled himself the next Night. But the Father was so little affected with the Death of his Son, that he would not deign to assist at his Obsequies. When the Corps was carrying to the Funeral Pile, he gave Audience to his Clients as usual; and discovered not the least signs of Grief in his Countenance. This manly Rigour seems to have been hereditary in his Family. In his Porch, he daily saw the Bust of that Ancestor, who caused his Son to be be-

with which he swelled his History, were insupportable; and That if he sometimes soared a little higher, it was with a nauseous Ostentation: is uncertain. It is not easy to believe, he could speak so contemptibly of a Man, whom he commends in several other Places. To which we may add, as a farther Proof of this, That the *Roman* Orator here makes his Remarks on some Annals which were in prose: whereas *Accius* wrote his, in verse.

Among the chief Pieces of this Poet are reckoned the Tragedies of *Tereus*, *The Thebais*, *Phyloctetes*, *Andromache*, *Medæa*, *Meleager*, *Atræus*, *Clytemnestra*, and *The Trojans*; all Subjects borrowed from the *Greeks*. He made the expulsion of the last *Tarquin*, the Subject of the Tragedy which he called *Brutus*; and *Manucius* thinks without Reason, that this was played in the Games that were celebrated after the Murder of *Julius Cæsar*. It is plain, from the 2d and 5th Letters to *Atticus*, *B. 16.* that the Tragedy of *Tereus* was then performed, as we shall have occasion to prove hereafter. It is obvious, that the Fury of *Tereus*, and the Misfortunes of *Progne* and *Philomela*, which were the Subjects of the latter, gave room for the severest Reflections against Tyranny. Some make him the Author of two Comedies, one of which is entitled *The Nuptials*, and the other *The Merchant*. *Pliny* says, *B. 34. ch. 5.* that this Poet, though a very little Man, made himself a very great Statue in the Temple of the *Muses*. According to *St. Jerome's Chronicon*, he was one of those whom the

*Romans* sent to *Pisaurum*, a City of *Umbria*, to plant a Colony there. To which the Holy Father adds, that he acquired an Estate in the neighbouring Country, which from him was called *Fundus Accianus*. This City gave Birth to another *Accius*, an able Orator, against whom *Cicero* defended *Cluentius*; and who possibly might be related to the Tragick Poet.

98 There were several *Plebeian Aediles* and *Tribunes of the People* of the *Memmian* Family, which shews it to have been originally *Plebeian*. Nevertheless, *Virgil*, through excessive Flattery, derives it from *Mnestheus*, one of *Aeneas's* Companions. A pardonable Fiction in Poets, who have long assumed a Licence of ennobling their Patrons.

99 Several modern Civilians have quibbled on the Name of *Memmian*, which we have given this Law; and pretend that the Law here spoken of is *The Remmian*. In proof of this, they quote *The Pandects of Florentius*, and several Codes of Civil Law, where we read *Lex Remmia* instead of *Lex Memmia*. Whether it was promulged in the Year of *Rome* 613, is not certain. We have no positive Proof of it. We only know, that it was in force in *Cicero's* Time, and had long before him protected the *Roman Citizens* against the Impudence of Informers. We have therefore thought proper to follow *Pighius*, who in his *Annals* places the making of the *Memmian Law* under the Year 613.

100 See Vol. I. p. 452. N. 64.



headed for disobeying the Orders of his General; and the more heinous Crime of *Junius* deserved much less Compassion from a Father who thought himself dishonoured by it.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXIV.  
L. CALPURNIUS PISO, &  
M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS,  
Consuls.

§. XXXIII. The War in *Spain*, or rather in *Celtiberia*, had lasted fifteen Years, when the Republick chose *Lucius* <sup>101</sup> *Calpurnius Piso*, and *M. Popillius* <sup>102</sup> *Lænas*, Consuls. The first resided at *Rome*, and had the Affairs of *Italy* under his Care. The other was allotted to supply *Pompey's* Place, and repair his Faults in *The Hither Province*. As for *The Further*, the same *Cæpio* who had just ended the War there by the base Assassination of *Viriatus*, was confirmed in the Government of it in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. To the eternal Reproach of the *Romans*, they no longer valued Men for their Probity, but for the Advantages they gained the Republick, by any Methods, how odious soever. In the Ages of *Roman* Virtue, this *Consul* would doubtless have been recalled, and perhaps have found an Accuser, who would have got him condemned to Banishment. But now, the Magistrates exercised all their Severity against Strangers, especially those from the Eastern Countries. The *European* and *Asiatick* *Greeks* had several times endeavoured to introduce into the Capital of the World the Worship and Ceremonies of the Gods they adored in their own Countries. A new *Jupiter*, under the Name of *Sabazius* <sup>103</sup>, had already been brought into Credit. The more absurd and infamous the Rites used in the Mysteries of the new God were, the more agreeable were they to the Taste of the superstitious and corrupted *Romans*. But the *Prætor* who had the care

<sup>101</sup> *Pighius* and *Cassiodorus* give *Calpurnius Piso* the Forename of *Cneius*. But this appears to be a Mistake, both from *Maccabees*, B. 1. ch. 15. and from *Valerius Maximus*. The *Consul* for this Year is there called *Lucius* and not *Cneius*.

<sup>102</sup> See Vol. 4; and Vol. 2. p. 98. Note 43.

<sup>103</sup> This is another of those imaginary Gods whom the ancient *Greeks* honoured with their Worship. The little the *Pagan* Writers have told us of him, is buried in a Heap of Fables, Contradictions, and Absurdities. Impiety and Libertinism realized this Phantom of a Deity. Afterwards the Eastern Nations, which erected Altars to him, disguised him according to their Humours, and formed Ideas of him agreeable to their own Prejudices, or to the fabulous Traditions, which received their Sanction from Superstition. Hence the Uncertainty and Dreams of the Mythologists, in order to fix the Origin of a God, whose Attributes were not settled by the Pagans themselves. *Aristophanes*, *Diodorus of Sicily*, *Lucian*, *Harpocration*, *Hesychius*, and *Eustathius*, make *Sabazius* and *Bacchus* the same God; and the *Thracians*, according to *Stephen of Byzantium* and *The Scholiast of Aristophanes*, gave the God of Wine no other Name. The Worship of *Sabazius*, called also *Sabadius*, and *Sebadius*, is said to have been transmitted to them by *Orpheus*, who took it from the *Egyptians* and *Syrians*. And in order to come at even the Etymology of the Word *Sabazius*, a Nation of *Sabæ* in *Thrace*, have been invented, among whom *Bacchus* was worshipped. But *Eustathius*, *Hesychius* and *Suidas* are not of this Opinion. They place the *Sabæ* in *Phrygia*; and there find the first Worshipers of *Bacchus*. And they appeal to the Authority of *Strabo*, who says, the *Phrygians* were originally a Colony of *Thracians*. But if these People did ever exist, is it not more natural to say, that they derived their Name from their God than from them? Others have recourse to the two Terms of *Evoé*, *Saboé*, the usual Cry of the *Bacchantes* in their Fury when celebrating their nocturnal *Orgia*. Then, armed with Torches, and their Heads heated with the Fumes of Wine, they ran about with their Hair disheveled, and mixed with Men, without keeping any settled Course; and in their Phrenzy continually uttered, with terrible Howlings, the Word *ἑοῦ*: Which is a Composition of the two Monosyllables *Io é*, which express the passionate wishes of Lovers for the Persons tenderly beloved. The fabulists make *Jupiter* speak these two Words at the Sight of

his Son *Bacchus*, who had transformed himself into a Lion, to defend himself against the Giants. *Ἐὐ εἰ*, cried the Father, out of tenderness, and in transport of Joy; that is, *Bene sit illi! May he prosper!* or *May his Attempt be successful!* Or if you will, *Evoé* *Bacche* was an Exclamation of Triumph, which recalled to mind the Conquests of *Bacchus*. *Arnobius*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Theophilus*, *Strabo*, and the Authors abovenamed, observe, that the *Phrygians* and *Thracians* pronounced the Word *Saboe*, or *σαβοῖ*, in their *Bacchanals*; which in their Language signified the same thing as the former. The *Greeks* had adopted both in their Feasts of *Bacchus*. This appears from *Demosthenes's* Oration against *Eschines*. He casts this Reproach on the latter, that in the Talent of bawling at the Celebration of the *Orgia*, he might boast of being the first Man in *Attica*. You bawl out, says he, with a marvellous Strength of Lungs, *Evoé*, *Saboé*. *Suidas* observes, that the Barbarians used the Word *σαβοῖ* in the same Sense as the *Greeks* did *Εὐαζοῖ*, to signify the Clamours and Fanaticism of the *Bacchantes*. Thus, in *Thrace* and *Phrygia*, the Priests of *Bacchus*, and those who were initiated in his Mysteries, were called *Saboi*. This is observed by several Writers, both ancient and modern, and among the rest by *Harpocration*.

Among the five *Bacchus's* which the Mythologists rank among the Gods, it is asked, which it is that was surnamed *Sabazius*? And if we consult *Cicero*, in his last Book *Of the nature of the Gods*, he tells us, it was the third; who was the Son of *Cassius*, and gave Laws in *Asia*. *The Scholiast of Aristophanes* in his Comedy of *The Birds* seems likewise to have thought as *Cicero* did, when he says, that *Bacchus* was a King of *Phrygia*, to whom the People of the Country erected Altars after his Death. But *Diodorus Siculus* says, he understands by the Name of *Sabazius*, another *Bacchus*, the Son of *Jupiter* and *Proserpine*, who first taught the Art of putting Oxen to a Plough, and ploughing the Earth; for which reason he was drawn with Horns on his Head. Whilst *Clemens Alexandrinus* insists, that the *Sabazius* sought for is the same as *Jupiter* himself, the *Coryphæus* of the *Pagan* Gods. He discovers this by the terrible *Sabazian* Mysteries, which were instituted to his Honour. In them, says he, were represented to those who assisted at them, the infamous acts of this God, who, in the Form of a Serpent, dared pollute his own Daughter *Proserpine*. This horrible Act of Violence was represented to them by



Care of Foreign Affairs, purged Rome of a Worship, introduced contrary to Law, and destructive of good Manners. Afterwards indeed, the Times changed, the Corruption became more general, and the God *Sabazius* had his Temples and his sacred Banquets at Rome. But *Hispallus* had the Honour to exterminate them during his *Prætorship*. And by his Orders, a Company of *Assyrians*, chiefly from the Neighbourhood of *Babylon*, were sent back into their own Country. They were Astrologers, called 104 *Chaldeans*, from their native Country, who had infatuated the whole City with their Impostures. By their bold and uncertain Predictions, they raised the Ambition of the Great, fomented the Passions of the Women, filled some with senseless Fears, others with rash Presumptions, and corrupted the Hearts of all. *Hispallus* therefore ordered these publick Pests to leave *Italy* in two Days. There have ever been Impostors in all Ages, who have undertaken to foretell future Events; and the *Romans* were always very curious to know their good or bad Fortune. But these are Secrets which belong only to God, which He seldom reveals, and which can never be known with Certainty, but from Him. The wisest of the Heathen themselves, acknowledged the Vanity of Astrological Predictions, and thought them pernicious to Government.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXIV.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO, &  
M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS,  
Consuls.

§. XXXIV. *Gabinus* likewise, a Tribune of the People, was resolved to reform what he thought an Abuse in the Practice of the *Comitia*, both those by Tribes, and those by Centuries. The Custom had hitherto been, to vote *viva voce*; and to pronounce their Votes aloud, in order to their being entered in a publick Register. But the Tribune, who was a Man of mean Birth, thought this some Infringement on the Liberty of Elections. He there-

by shewing them the Figure of this Reptile. Nor was this all. It was necessary for those who would obtain the Favour of *Jupiter*, to take the mysterious Animal into their Bosoms. This was the Proof, and the Symbol, of the *Sabazian* Initiations. *Julius Firmicus*, in his Treatise of Idolatry, and *Arnobius*, B. 5. Against the Gentiles, agree exactly in this Point. The latter expresses himself thus, concerning this mad kind of Worship. *Ipsa sacra & ritus initiationis ipsius, quibus Sabazius nomen est, testimonio esse poterunt veritati, in quibus aureus Coluber in sinum demittitur consecratis, & eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus.* And this Opinion of *Clement* *Alexandrinus* is favoured by an Inscription in *Gruter*, which says, That one *Quintus Nunnius* made a Present to *Jupiter Sabazius*. Q. NUNNIUS ALEXANDER DONUM DEDIT JOVI SABAZIO. Whilst, on the other hand, *Mnaseas*, an ancient Author quoted by *Hesychius*, contends, That *Sabazius* was nothing less than *Jupiter*. He was, according to him, the Son of *Bacchus*, who shared with his Father, the Worship of *Thrace*, *Phrygia*, and *Greece*. And lastly, *Macrobius*, *Saturnal*. B. 1, acknowledges with most Authors, That *Sabazius*, and *Liber*, or the God of Wine, were the same Deity; and he makes them both the same as the Sun. This, he says, was the prevailing Opinion of the *Thracians*; who worshipping this Planet, in *Bacchus*, or *Sabazius*, had erected to him, on Mount *Cylmissus*, a round Temple which had no Light but what it received from a Cupola, in order thereby to represent the spherical Figure of the Sun. And indeed, the greatest Number of the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors agree pretty well in making *Sabazius* and *Bacchus* but one God; which they infer from the Ceremonies of the *Sabazian* Festivals, which were only an Imitation of the *Bacchanals*.

As to the Surname of *Jupiter* which is given to *Sabazius*, this was only a Title of Honour which the Pagans often liberally bestowed on the favourite Gods of every Country. A Nation which was fond of magnifying the Power and Protection of its tutelary Gods, could no way give the People an high Idea of their Grandeur, better than by equalling them to him, whom they worshipped as the Arbiter of Heaven and Earth.

In order to proscribe this new Deity, the *Romans* revived the wise Regulation, which was made in the Year 567, against the nocturnal Assemblies which had been introduced into *Rome* under the Name of *Bacchanals*; and which *Cicero* applauds in his *Third Book of Laws*.

We have, says he, a fine Instance of the Severity of our Ancestors, in the Search made after those who assisted at the abominable Mysteries of the *Bacchanals*, and in the Punishments the Magistrates inflicted on those who entered into this monstrous Association. To which he adds. Before our Days, *Diagondas*, a Law-giver at *Thebes*, suppressed, by a general Law, all nocturnal Sacrifices, even in the midst of *Greece* it self, which gave rise to this Society of debauched People. Whilst *Aristophanes* gives so little Quarter to these new Gods, and the nocturnal Solemnities instituted to their Honour, as to represent *Sabazius* and some other strange Gods, as obliged to pack up and be gone from *Rome*, like so many banished Wretches.

Some Moderns have in vain sought for the Name of *Sabazius*, in the Term *Sabaoth*, as it the *Greeks* thought, that the God of Armies, *Deus Sabaoth*, and the God of Wine, had had something common to them both. And *Plutarch* has been as unfortunate in his Conjectures, when he says, That the turbulent Agitations used in the *Bacchanals* resembled much the *Jewish Sabbath*, which the *Levites* had consecrated to the Worship of *Bacchus*; and That these Priests, (who were dedicated to the Service of the True God,) took their Name from that of *Evius*, which was given to *Bacchus*. So gross a Blunder is surprizing in so judicious a Writer as *Plutarch*. The Comparison of two Things so contrary to each other, as the *Sabbath* and the *Orgy* of the *Bacchantes*, implies an utter Ignorance of the *Jewish* Religion in him that made it.

104 By *Chaldeans*, we understand a Sect of Philosophers which was form'd in *Chaldæa*, before the Days of *Abraham*. This Country is thought the first which gave Birth to Astronomy. *Herodotus* says, That the *Egyptians* learnt of the People of *Assyria* and of the *Babylonians*, the Art of knowing the different Elevations of the Pole, the Use of the Quadrant, and the Division of the Day into twelve Parts. *Cicero*, *De Divinat.* L. 1, turns into Ridicule the foolish Vanity of these Philosophers, who boasted that they could produce a Series of Astronomical Observations, which they carried back above 470000 Years. They ventured to maintain this strange Paradox, in the Presence of *Calisthenes*, who was come to *Babylon*, at the Instance of *Aristotle* his Cousin, in order to consult their ancient Memoirs concerning the Origin and Progress of Astronomy. In process of Time, they made an ill Use of this Knowledge, in order to impose on the Credulity of the



Year of therefore drew up a new <sup>105</sup> Law, and got it passed; whereby it was enacted, That for  
 ROME the future, every one should give his <sup>106</sup> Vote, in *Tablets*, or little Boards, on  
 DCXIV. which were written the Names of the Candidates. This Innovation had the Appearance  
 of a publick Good; but it was in reality only a Cover, to conceal the unjust Preference  
 which the common People gave to unworthy Men. Whilst they declared their  
 Votes *viva voce*, their Respect and Fear of the great Men kept them in awe, and they  
 seldom voted against Men of Worth. But the taking off this Restraint, encouraged the  
 Populace to attempt whatever they pleased: And we shall soon see this Usage of Voting  
 by *Tablets* introduced, in all Cases in general, which were brought before the  
 People.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO, &  
 M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS,  
 Consuls.  
*Cic. de Legib.*  
 B. 3.

Another *Tribune*, of the same Rank with *Gabinus*, undertook to revenge the Affront he had received from *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*. We have before observed, That this Great Man had, in his *Censorship*, which was not yet expired, justly disgraced a bad *Citizen*, named *Claudius Asellus*. But this Man, tho' degraded by *Scipio* from the Rank of a *Roman Knight*, had found so much Favour with his Collegue, as to be

the Simple. Several Swarms of these Impostors dispersed themselves in the different Countries of *Asia* and *Europe*; and the People were easily persuaded to believe, on their Words, That the Stars, the different Motions of the Planets, and their retrograde Motions, formed so many mysterious Characters, which discovered the Secrets of Futurity. They represented the Heavens as a great Book, filled with enigmatical Cyphers, of which they boasted they had the Key; and pretended, that every Man's Fortune is there disclosed, by the different Situations of the Stars at the Time of his Nativity.

<sup>105</sup> The *Gabinian Law* is the first of those which were called *Tabellariæ Leges*, from the *Tabellæ* or *Tablets*, by which the People gave their Suffrages.

<sup>106</sup> The Order observed, in the manner of giving Suffrages, or Voting, whether in *The Comitia* by *Tribes*, or those by *Centuries*, after the Publication of *The Gabinian Law*, was this. All the Classes of *Citizens*, summoned every one according to its Rank, by the publick Criers, were brought over very narrow Bridges, to a kind of Enclosure surrounded with Barricades, not unlike our common Sheepfold; and therefore the *Romans* called it *septum* and *ovile*, as we have observed in the first and second Volumes. At the Gate, or Door, of each Bridge, were posted the *Distributores*, that is Persons appointed by the President to distribute to all that entered, as many *Tablets*, which were a kind of Tickets, as there were Candidates. On each of these *Tablets* were written the initial Letters of the Name, Surname, and Forename of one of the Competitors. The writing these belonged to the publick Scribes, who never failed to prepare these *Tablets*, and put them into the Hands of those who were to distribute them. At that end of the Bridge which was next to the Enclosure, every *Roman* in his turn, presented his *Tablets*, in which were written the Names of the Candidates for whom he voted. These Suffrages were collected in Baskets, or Urns, by Men appointed to that Office by the President of the Assembly and called *Rogatores*; and these put the Baskets into the Hands of those who were stiled *Custodes*, and whose Office it was, to count the Suffrages by Points, in the President's Presence, and to inform the Assembly how they stood, by the publick Crier.

The Candidate who had the greatest Number of *Tablets* or *Points*, was elected. To which *Horace* alludes in the following Line which afterwards became a Proverbial Saying,

*Omne tulit PUNCTUM qui miscuit utile dulci.* Art. Poet.

And lastly, the President solemnly proclaimed him whom the *Centuries*, or *Tribes* had chosen by a Majority of Votes. He declared him either *Consul*, or *Censor*, or *Prætor*, or *Ædile*, as occasion required. The Proclamation was made in these Terms. QUOD BONUM, FAUSTUM, FORTUNATUMQUE SIT, MIHI MAGISTRATUIQUE

MEO, POPULO, PLEBIQUE ROMANÆ, *Titium*, CONSULEM, vel PRÆTOREM RENUNCIO. That is, I declare such a one *Consul*, or *Prætor*, &c. May it please the Gods to make his Election turn to my Advantage and that of the Roman People. And hereafter we shall see this Method of Proceeding take place, in passing Laws, and in giving Judgment in those Criminal Causes, which were tried at the Tribunal of the *Comitia*.

Without doubt, the Heads of the Republick could not take too much Care to secure the Fidelity of those, whose Business it was to distribute, collect, and count these *Tablets*. And therefore an Office of this Importance, was rarely entrusted with any, but Persons of experienced Probity. Sometimes, the chief Members of the Senate voluntarily undertook it; as appears by *Cicero*, in his Oration against *Piso*. *Hoc certe video*, says he to the Senators, *quod indicant tabellæ publicæ, vos Rogatores, vos Distributores, vos Custodes fuisse Tabularum, & quod in honoribus vestrorum propinquorum non facitis, vel ætatis excusatione, vel honoris, id in salutē meā, nullo rogante, vos vestra sponte faciatis.* He had himself taken the Trouble to count the Suffrages in the *Comitia* by *Centuries*, wherein *Piso* was chosen *Consul*. Nevertheless, he plainly enough informs us, That ordinarily speaking, the Choice fell indeed upon Persons who were valuable for their Probity, but such as had never before been promoted to any Dignity in the Republick.

For the greater Security, every Candidate had his own *Custos*, a Friend zealous in his Interest, and not to be corrupted, whom he named to count up the Votes that were for him. And there were likewise a kind of Inspectors, to take care that the *Distributores* acted faithfully, and to prevent any Fraud when the Suffrages were collected.

Nevertheless, all these Cautions, tho' so prudent and well judged, were not a sufficient guard against the Violences of opposite Factions. It sometimes happened, that Persons succeeded by private Practices, Intrigues, Surprise, Fraud, open Force, or Treachery, in spite of the Vigilance of the Magistrates and Senate. The following Parts of this History will furnish us with some Instances of it. Such Disorders were inevitable in a democratical State, where every thing was done at the Will of a confused Multitude whose Inclinations, Sentiments, and Interests were generally opposite. This crowd of People who met in the *Comitia*, to determine absolutely concerning the Lot, or Fortune of a *Citizen*, were many of them mercenary Wretches, who sold their Votes, or gave them as their Fancies, or Interests led them. The Officers themselves, who collected the Tickets, were not all proof against Corruption. They sometimes had an understanding with the President, who appointed them, and served his own Designs, by promoting the Interest of those Candidates whom he favoured, tho' to the Injury of the Publick.

restored



restored by him: and by his Intrigues, he had obtained one of the ten Places in the formidable College of *The Tribunes of the People*. The Power of these *Plebeian Magistrates* is well known; they were formidable to the *Consuls* themselves; and had Credit enough to make even the *Censors* stand in fear of them. *Asellus* therefore, when thus exalted, thought it in his Power to oblige the *Censor* to give him Satisfaction for the blot he had cast upon his Reputation; and to this end he cited him to appear before the People. But the illustrious *Roman*, during the seven Days between the Citation and the Day of Appearance, shewed no Concern at the Prosecution. He neither put on Mourning, nor let his Beard grow, nor shut himself up in his House, as was usual with those who were accused before the People. The same firmness of Soul which he had all along shewn in so many Battles, he still retained in a criminal Prosecution, wherein his Honour was concerned. He affected more than ever to appear in Publick, to harangue the People in the *Comitium*, and to throw out satyrical Reflections on his Adversary. And, in short, *Scipio's* Confidence gained him that Favour from the Commons, which other accused Persons sought to obtain by many Humiliations. When the decisive Day came, *Asellus*, in a studied Harangue, took great pains to magnify his Merit, in order thereby to aggravate the Injury done him by the *Censor*. *I have borne Arms*, said he, *in all the Places where the Republick has any Generals. In your most distant Provinces I have fought in your Troops.* Here *Scipio* interrupted the Orator in the most shining Part of his Discourse; and with one proverbial Saying, which alluded to the Name of *Asellus*, he both turned his Adversary into Ridicule, and put an end to the Trial with a Jest. *True*, *Asellus*, said he, *You have travelled almost every where. But if an Ass was to make the Tour of the whole World, he would never become a good Courser.* And indeed, it is not at all surprizing, that the Conqueror of *Carthage* should not sink under an unjust Accusation. But it may seem strange, that any one should dare to accuse him before the People. Tho', after all, this Policy in a Republican State was good. The People's preserving to themselves a Right of calling into Judgment even the triumphant Victors was keeping them in Subjection, and preventing the ill Uses they might have made of their Grandeur and Glory.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXIV.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO, &  
M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS,  
Consuls.

Cic. in Lælio,  
3<sup>d</sup> de Orat. B.

2.

Vell. Paterc.  
B. 2.

A. Gell. B. 3.

§. XXXV. And now, the Republick might have settled the whole World in as secure a Peace as *Italy* it self enjoyed. She had at present no War but in *Celtiberia*; and this the Senate might have ended with Advantage, and shut up the Temple of *Janus*. *Pompey*, whether right or wrong, had actually brought the *Numantini* to make an hasty Peace with him. He had entirely humbled these proud *Spaniards*; and had the *Conscript Fathers* confirmed his Act, all the *Roman Provinces* had been in Tranquillity. But these crafty Politicians had very different Views. They were determined at all Events to employ the *Legions* abroad, in order thereby, to preserve Order and Tranquillity in the Capital; and they ordered the *Consul*, *Popillius Lænas*, who was to embark with a new Reinforcement for *The Hither Province*, to examine into the Treaty his Predecessor had made, and disannul it. It had not passed through the necessary Forms, neither had the Republick confirmed it. So that it was not in so good a State, as that which *Fabius Servilianus* had formerly concluded with the unfortunate *Viriatius*; and which the *Romans* afterwards broke, even tho' it had been ratified at *Rome*. *Popillius* therefore set out with a Resolution to continue the War with the *Numantini*: And as soon as he arrived, and had taken the Command of the Troops upon him, he made it his first Business to examine into the Nature of this pretended Peace, against which the Senate were so strongly prejudiced at *Rome*. The *Numantini* appeared, and deposed that *Pompey* had made a Treaty with them, and had received the Deserters, Hostages, and Money, which they had obliged themselves to pay him; and in the *Roman Army*, the Officers and Soldiers all confirmed their Depositions. So that here was a Cloud of Witnesses against the Old *Pro-Consul*; and his only Evasion was, That he had treated only by Word of Mouth, and had been cautious enough to deliver nothing in Writing. But was it necessary that an Agreement with a General of an Army, should have been drawn up in the same Forms, as Contracts in Civil Matters? In short, *Pompey* gave the *Numantini* the Lye, and denied that he had concluded a Peace with them. And here we cannot but again ask, What is become of the ancient Probity of the *Romans*? The new *Consul* thought it too perplexed an Affair for him alone to determine. He sent both *Pompey* and his Accu-

App. in Iber.

Vell. Paterc.

B. 2.

Val. Max. B.

8. c. 5.

107 *Scipio* must have harangued the People more than once, on the Subject on which *Asellus* had accused him. At least *Aulus Gellius*. B. 2. ch. 20, speaks

of a fifth Oration which this great Man made before *The Tribes*, against his Accuser.



Year of  
ROME  
DCXIV.

L. CALPURNIUS PISO, &  
M. POPILLIUS LÆNAS,  
Consuls.  
Cic. de Offic.  
B. 3.

fers to *Rome*, on board the same Vessel in which he himself came; and there, tho' *Pompey* did all he could to darken the Affair with Chicnery, the Senate could not but think it an extraordinary Case. Here was on one side an Army of Witnesses; and on the other, no defect, but the want of something in Writing, which was merely Matter of Form, and very excusable in a Nation, who understood nothing but War, and were too little upon their guard against Frauds. But the Interest of the Republick determined it. The Judgment of the Senate was, That *Pompey* had not made a valid Treaty with the *Numantini*; but had only endeavoured to amuse them with Negotiations. Nevertheless, the few Men of Virtue that were left at *Rome*, would not allow this to be an equitable Decree. They thought it necessary that the Affair should be brought before the People; and that *Pompey* ought, at least, to have been condemned to be delivered up to the *Numantini*, in expiation of the Reproaches his Conduct had cast on the Religion of the Romans. But the artful *Pro-Consul* found Means to divert this Storm likewise, and to prevail on the Commons to declare in his Favour. They voted, that he had never treated with the *Numantini* in Form, and acquitted him. A Judgment notoriously unjust in it self; but who could resist the Faction of a mad and prepossessed Multitude? The *Numantini* were sacrificed to the Interests of *Rome*; and the War was continued even with more Injustice than it had been begun. Thus, the first Consul of the *Pompeian* Family, which had never yet been considerable, did not signalize himself so much by his Probity or his Valour, as by his Artifices and Intrigues.

Whilst the Affair of the Peace was undecided, *Popilius* suspended Hostilities in *Hither Spain*; and *Numantia* had a whole Year's Time to breathe, and prepare for the worst. The *Roman Consul* continued in a manner 198 idle in his Camp, waiting for new Orders from the Republick. Whilst *Cæpio* restored that Order and Regularity in *The Further Province*, which the Wars with *Viriatius* had destroyed. He took Possession of the rebellious Cities, forced the Husbandmen to return to their Lands and cultivate them, renewed the Commerce which had been interrupted, revived the ancient Laws and Customs, and put this Country in a Condition to be soon able to pay to *Rome* the old Contributions. In short, had his Victory been as honourable as it was compleat, few Generals would have better deserved the Honours of a *Triumph*. But the manner in which *Viriatius* had been assassinated, and the Clamours of the Publick on that Account, were invincible Obstacles in the way to that Honour; which the Senate and People might otherwise have done him. He peaceably waited for his Successor, who came to him from *Rome*, after his two Years of Government were expired.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXV.

PUB. SCIPIO NASICA, &  
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXXVI. In *The Field of Mars*, two *Patricians* were chosen *Consuls*, whose Provinces were allotted them as usual. The Government of the Affairs of *Italy* fell to *Publius Scipio Nasica*, that of *The Further Province* to *D. Junius Brutus*. And as to *The Hither Province*, the Administration of Affairs there, was continued in the Hands of *Popilius Lænas*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. It was therefore his Lot to renew the War with the *Numantini*; and what Success he had in this Expedition against a People who were justly enraged at the fraudulent Proceedings of a General, whose Republick had suffered him to escape unpunished, will soon appear. In the mean time, we must attend to the Disturbances which were raised at *Rome* by *The Tribunes of the People*, before *Brutus* embarked. It was necessary to make new Levies in the City, to recruit the Troops in *Spain*. Many of those *Legionaries* whom *Pompey* had so ill governed in his Province, had dispersed themselves, and several of them had ventured to return to *Rome*, before they had obtained leave to quit the Army. The Desertions were become intolerable, and it was necessary to make some Examples. The People therefore treated one *Caius Mutianus*, who was the greatest Criminal, with great Severity. He was doubtless an Officer, if not a *Centurion*, or even a *Military Tribune*; and his Punishment was both infamous and painful. After he had been beaten with Rods for a great while, under the *Furcæ Patibulæ*, he was reduced to the State of a Slave, and for the greater Ignominy, was sold for one single *Sesterce*; and some others of his Accomplices underwent the same Punishment.

Epit. Livian.  
Frontin. Strat.  
B. 4. c. 1.

This Judgment in a military Cause, had been given at the Motion of *The Tribunes of the People*; who had taken the Cognizance of it from the *Consuls*, contrary to rule and ancient Custom; and this increased the Confidence of the *Plebeian College*. They usurped

108 All *Popilius's* Campaign, says *Appian*, was only a fruitless Expedition against the *Lusones*, a People near *Numantia*, whom *Strabo* places towards the Springs of *The Tagus*, and *Ortelius*, near the Banks of *The Ebro*.



new Rights, tho' the *Consuls* were both *Patricians*. They insisted on it as their Right, that for the future each *Tribune* should have the Power, whenever new Levies were made, to excuse any ten Persons whom he pleased from military Service. This was a very extraordinary Claim, though not a new one. The *Tribunes* had endeavoured to usurp this Privilege thirteen Years ago, in the *Consulship* of *L. Lucullus*, and *A. Postumius*; but now, they carried every thing with Violence. One *Gaius Curatius*, the hottest and most seditious of them, cited the *Consuls* to appear before the People, accused them of making their Levies with an intolerable Rigour; and by that means gained the *Tribunes* their Point. The latter represented to the People, That in order to restrain the Severity of the former, who little regarded the Interests of the Commons, it was necessary that each *Tribune* should have the Privilege before-mentioned. The Commons thought they should find their Account in it, and the Law was ready to pass. But still the *Consuls* opposed it with a noble Steadiness worthy of their Birth and Station: And then they were treated with the utmost Indignity and Contempt. The insolent *Curatius*, a Man equally despicable on account of his Person and his Birth, ordered them to be carried to Prison; and added Insults to this ill Treatment. As the Officers were basely dragging the illustrious *Nasica* thro' the Streets of *Rome*, *Curatius* gave him a Nick-name, which he could never get rid of. From his somewhat resembling one *Serapio*, a vile Pig-Seller, who furnished Pigs for the publick Sacrifices, the *Tribune* called him *Serapio*. All Men of Honour murmured at the Insolences of the *Tribunes*; but the ten Collegues were so united, that not one of them could be prevailed on to withstand the Violence of the Body; and the two *Consuls* chose rather to give way to their Fury, than to raise a Sedition. It was thus that this sacred Power of *The Tribunes* increased, in proportion as Probity decreased in the State. We shall soon see greater Storms raised by this College; and these Beginnings will insensibly bring on the Ruin of the Republick.

§. XXXVII. When *Nasica* and *Brutus* came out of Prison, their Confinement only made them the bolder in suppressing the Insolence of the *Tribunes*. The same *Curatius*, who had resolved to humble the *Consuls*, had instigated the People to cry out, *Famine*, in full *Comitia*. Under Pretence that Things were growing very dear, the despicable *Tribune* would have compelled the *Consuls* to have proposed to the Senate the sending a Deputation into the Provinces, to get Corn transported to the City. But there was no real want of it; and the two Heads of the Republick plainly saw, that *Curatius* stirred up these Complaints, only in order to gain an Ascendant over the Senate it self. *Nasica* therefore, notwithstanding his Imprisonment, and the ridiculous Surname which had been given him, resolved to maintain his Dignity; and when the People were murmuring round *The Tribune of Harangues*, on which he stood, the *Consul*, with an Air of Authority, and majestic Tone of Voice, spake these few Words. *Silence, Romans. Pay due Respect to the Presence of the Heads of the Republick.* Immediately all were silent, and not a Murmur heard. And then the *Consul* added, *Tho' you may pretend to be Judges of the Necessities of the Publick, I understand much better what those Necessities are, than any mutinous Rabble.* This from so venerable a Man, struck them with awe, and they dispersed. The Famine was forgot, and greater Respect than ever was paid to the *Consuls*; whom nothing had moved to give way to *The Tribunes*; but the Fear of publick Confusions.

The Senate shewed them an extraordinary Regard, in referring a Trial to them, which regularly was under the Cognizance of the *Prætor*, and removeable from them to the People in the last Resort. All capital Cases devolved at last upon them, and this was a Case of Murder. The Forest called *Scantia*<sup>109</sup>, which belonged to the Republick, had been for some Time a Retreat for Robbers and Assassines. A Company

<sup>109</sup> The Passage in *Cicero's Brutus*, which informs us of this Fact, is differently represented. In several Editions we read in *Sila Sylva*, as if the Murder had been committed in the Forest of *Sila*, and not in that which was called *Scantia*. The latter, according to *Cicero* himself, was in *Campania*. He mentions it more than once in his *First Oration on the Agrarian Law*. *Pliny Hist. B. 2*, speaks of two *Scantian Waters*, which emitted flames; and which probably took their Name from the neighbouring Forest. There now remain no Traces of it. As to the Forest of *Sila*, *Strabo* places it in *Bruttium*, on the side of *The Apennines*; and makes it 700 *Stadia*, or 87 *Roman Miles* long, which make 29 *French Leagues*. A Part of it is still remaining in the Neighbourhood of *Cosenza*, towards the Springs of *The Crathi*, *The Nestho*, and *The Triunni*, Rivers of *Calabria*. *Cosenza* is reckoned to be near 80 Miles from *Rheggio*. So that it is past Dispute, that the Forest of *Sila* reached beyond the Neighbourhood of *Rhegium* and of the Country of the *Luceri*. *Dioscorides*, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Columella* tell us, That it supplied the *Romans* with Plenty of Pitch, which they used chiefly in their Shipping.

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Year of of Men who had farmed the Pastures of that Forest, of the last *Censors*, *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, and *Lucius Mummius*, were suspected of these Murders; and their Children and Domesticks were charged with the Robberies of which the Publick complained. The accused chose *C. Laelius* to defend them, whose Eloquence was smooth and insinuating, as his Manners: But all he could gain by his first Defence was, to have the Affair suspended. He therefore pleaded a second Time with his usual Politeness and Moderation; but these are not Qualities which make very strong Impressions. However the Cause was adjourned; and then the Orator did Justice on himself. He advised his Clients to choose another Defender; and told them *Galba*, who was a vehement Speaker, would better suit their Cause. The Clients took the Advice, and *Galba*, after making some Difficulties about engaging in a Cause, which a famous Orator had so well begun, at *Laelius's* Request, undertook it. The Adjournment was only to the third Day from that Time; so that he had scarce more than one Day to consider the Case, and prepare his Speech. But he came from his Study, full of that Fire, which seemed to have transported him during the Composition; and never was Speech spoken with more Ardour, or heard with more Attention. The Applause was general, and the accused were acquitted by the *Consuls*.

PUB. SCIPIO  
NASICA, &  
D. JUNIUS  
BRUTUS,  
Consuls.  
*Cicero de Bru.*  
to.

§. XXXVIII. Whilst *Brutus*, who was appointed to bring the People of *Further Spain* to their Duty by Force of Arms; was thus detained in the City, by a Train of Civil Affairs; the *Pro-Consul Popilius* was preparing to march towards *Numantia*. The Orders for renewing the War were received; and their Rage made the *Numantini* little inferior in Strength to the *Roman Legions*. Nevertheless, the Despair to which the Perfidy of *Rome* had reduced them, did not make them rash. Their General kept them within their Walls, waiting for the first Hostilities of the *Pro-Consul*. Their Army was much smaller than the *Roman*; and it was therefore necessary to supply the want of Numbers by Stratagem; which was attempted thus. The *Numantini* had formerly posted several Bodies of Men on their Frontiers, to harass the *Romans* as soon as they had entered them; but now, they did not send one single Detachment into the Field. The nearer *Popilius* came to the City, the more desolate he found the Country: Nor did one Squadron of the Enemy oppose his March. And when he came within reach of the City itself, it appeared to be defenceless, no Soldiers being to be seen on the Ramparts. These Appearances made the *Romans* believe, that *Numantia* was abandoned by its Inhabitants; and the *Legionaries* were very impatient to make themselves Masters of it by Assault. Their General therefore consented they should make one, though he was still suspicious of some Ambuscade; and afterwards finding that the whole *Numantian* Army was drawn up in Battalia within the Place, and waited only for the Entrance of some of the Assaultants, to cut them in Pieces, he immediately countermanded his Orders. But as soon as the Retreat was sounded, it was made in so tumultuous a manner by Men who were either loaded with Scaling-Ladders, or perhaps returning down them, that *Mageras*, who probably commanded in *Numantia*, made a Sally in so good Order, and so very seasonably, that he immediately put the Rear-Guard of the *Romans* to the Rout; and then falling furiously on the rest of their Army, he entirely defeated it, and disabled it from fighting the whole Campaign.

Front. Stratag.  
B. 3. c. 17.

Epit. Livian.

110 The Text of *Cicero* varies here again. In some Editions we read *Picuarids*, which signifies, that these Farmers had farmed of the *Censors* all the *Pitch* which the Forest produced. In others we read *Pecuarids*, which signifies the *Pastures* in which the Cattle were fed. We adhere to the latter Reading, which is supported by the best Authorities.

111 This is the same *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, whom we have seen exercising the most horrible Cruelties against the *Lusitanians*, in the 4th Volume. *Cicero's* Character of him, in his *Brutus*, is this. No Orator of his Age, even *Laelius* and *Scipio* not excepted, disputed the Prize of Eloquence with him. His Genius, an Enemy to all Restraint, could not be confined within the narrow Bounds of a regular strict Method. Hurried away with the Fire of his Imagination, he abruptly broke off the Thread of his Discourse, in order to give it all the Graces and Ornaments of Rhetoric, to embellish it with those sublime Strokes which make so lively Impressions on the Mind as to shake all the Powers

of the Soul, and to make his Advantage of every Topic which naturally arose from his Subject. It was then he displayed the wonderful Talent which he had, of pleasing, affecting, and interesting his Auditors in his Quarrel, or of raising their Compassion if his Subject required it, and in short, of infusing into them the same Passions which warmed his own Breast. Nevertheless *Cicero* acknowledges, that the Orations which remained of his were of a very different Character; that they were dry and tedious, their Style obsolete, and made more in the taste of the Ancients, than those of *Scipio*, or *Laelius*, or even of *Cato* himself. Such has been the Fate of many Orations which have been transmitted down to us from the Ancients. When written on Paper, they are only, if I may so speak, a sort of dead Carcasses, which are no longer animated by that Gesture, Action, and Fire, that Energy, those lively Motions, those luminous Sallies, that Vehemence, and that pathetick Elocution, which are the Soul of true Eloquence.



Indeed, Fable has not invented any thing more wonderful, than what History assures Year of  
us of the inconceivable Exploits, of a handful of Men got together in a little poultry *R O M E*  
Town. But as strange as it may appear, the Fact is indisputable, that *Numantia* a- *DCXV.*  
lone cost the *Romans* more than the Conquest of *Macedon*, and of all *Greece* together. Hi- *PUB. SCIPIO*  
therto we see, no General has been able to reduce it. All have either lost their Cha- *NASICA, &*  
racters as Generals, or their Reputations as Men of Veracity, before it; and it will *D. JUNIUS*  
hereafter appear, that what we have yet to relate of these brave *Spaniards*, will be *BRUTUS.*  
more prodigious, than all their past Exploits. *Consuls.*

§. XXXIX. As to *The Further Province*, the *Consul Brutus* governed it, and made War there, with much more Success and Glory than *Popilius*. He happily executed the Orders he had received from the Senate, when he left *Rome*; which were to make the following Use of the great Levies which were made in the City for his Province.

1. That he should fill up the Places of all the Veterans in the Army with the Youth he *Epit. Liv.*  
carried with him. 2. That he should procure an honourable Retreat in Spain for the Veterans he should disband, assign them Lands for their own Properties, build them a City in a wholesome and agreeable Situation, settle them upon the Foot of other Roman Colonies; and to make this the more populous, settle with them such of *Viriatus's* Soldiers, as had surrendered to *Cæpio*. And, 3dly, That he should complete the Reduction of *Lusitania*, and subdue the Remains of the Rebels by Force of Arms. *Brutus* faithfully *App. in Iberic.*  
put these Instructions in execution; and made it his first Business to disband the Veterans. Then he chose them a fruitful and convenient Soil, at a little Distance from the Sea, and near the Mouth of *The Turia* <sup>112</sup>. There he built a City, peopled it with *Romans* and such *Spaniards* as had surrendered themselves to them, and called his new Colony *Valentia* <sup>113</sup>; which was afterwards a famous Place, and in length of Time became the Capital of the Kingdom of that Name.

After these Works of Peace, he betook himself to War. *Lusitania* then comprehended within a vast Compass of Ground, a great Number of different Nations; and from among these restless and warlike People, there were continually starting up Companies of Robbers, who chose themselves Leaders, dispersed themselves over the Country, and filled it with Rapines and Murders. The first Successes of *Viriatus* had emboldened some of these Leaders of *Banditti*; and they all promised themselves a more happy Fate than that of this famous *Lusitanian*. Their Custom was, to fall furiously and suddenly on a defenceless City, or open Town, or a Detachment of the *Romans*; and when they had killed and sacked all they could, to retire with inconceivable Swiftnefs to the Rocks and high Mountains, and there divide the Spoil. It being therefore difficult, if not impossible, either to overtake them in their Flight, or to

<sup>112</sup> This is the Name *Salust* and *Plutarch* give to that River of Spain, which is now *The Guadalquivir*. *Pliny* calls it *Turium*. In *Pomponius Mela*, and *Cicero's Oration for Balbus*, it is called *Duria*. It discharges itself into *The Mediterranean*, half a League from *Valencia*. *Hermolaus Barbarus* and *Molet* think, with Reason, that it is the same River as *The Turulis* of *Ptolemy*. This we judge, by the Situation *Ptolemy* gives it.

<sup>113</sup> Such was the *Æra* of the Foundation of *Valentia*, according to the *Epitome of Livy*. *Annius of Viterbo*, an Author infamous for his Lyes and Dreams, which he palms on us for so many Truths, took it into his Head, That one *Romus*, a King of the Country, founded this City, and called it *Rome* from his own Name, 300 Years before the Capital of *Italy* was founded by *Romulus*. But such a Fable built only on the Credit of so contemptible a Writer, can impose upon no body. This City is called by *Pliny*, *Valentia Contestanorum*. *Ptolemy* calls it *Valentia Edetanorum*. It is now the Capital of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, and is called *La Hermosa*, or *La Belle*, by the *Spaniards*. *Jerom Surruta* thinks the City here spoken of, was another City of *Valentia*, situated on the Banks of *The Tagus*. But no ancient Historian mentions this City which never existed but in Imagination. Some think that the new City built by *Brutus* was the same which is now called *Valencia of Alcantara*, which is about four Leagues distant from *Portalegre*, on the Confines of *Portugal*, and

is watered by the River of *Savar*. And some conjecture, that the Place here meant is another City of *Valencia*, situated in *Upper Lusitania*, over against *Tuy*, near the Banks of *The Minho*. In proof that both the two last-named Cities were founded by the *Romans*, they observe; 1. That they belonged to *Further Spain* which the *Consul Brutus* had for his Province; whereas the former of them belonged to *Hither Spain*. 2dly, That the City here spoken of belonged to, and bordered upon, the Country where *Viriatus* had made War; and that *Lusitania* and its Neighbourhood, were the Centre of the *Spanish* General's Exploits. But besides that, we are not sure that any other City besides the Capital of the Kingdom of *Valencia*, was anciently called *Valentia*, the Reader may have observed, that *Viriatus* carried his Excursions far beyond *Celtiberia*. So that it may be presumed, that this City was as it were a Bulwark, to guard the Neighbouring Provinces against the *Lusitanians*. Add to this, that the City, of which *Livy* speaks, is that which served for a Retreat for *Viriatus's* old Soldiers, after they had surrendered to the *Romans*: And by an ancient Inscription dug up in the first of the three Cities beforementioned, it appears that the Inhabitants called themselves *Veterani* and *Veteres*; doubtless to shew that the City was originally inhabited by Soldiers. And lastly, *Valencia* had afterwards the Title of a *Roman Colony*. *Pliny* agrees in this particular with the Inscription.



Year of *ROME* *DCXV.* come to a regular Engagement with them, they never fighting pitched Battles; the *Consul* took the only Resolution that was proper for the Occasion, which was to enter their own Country. All the fine Provinces which lay between *The Tagus*, *The Durius*, *The Bætis*, and *The River of Forgetfulness*<sup>114</sup>, were a Prey to these Rebels; which made the Diversion very necessary: and *Brutus* imagined, that the Love of their Wives, Children, and in a word, of their Country, would bring them back to defend their Lands and domestick Gods. The *Roman Army* therefore marched towards the City where these Pillagers were born; and the *Consul*, upon his first coming, met with much more Resistance than he had expected. The whole Country took up Arms with a Fury not to be described. Men, Women, and Children turned Soldiers; and fought with the Courage peculiar to the *Spanish Nation*, and which *Rome* had experienced to be superior to that of any Nation in the World. As to the Women in particular, *Brutus*, who first experienced their Valour, was astonished at it. They were intermixed in the same Bodies of Foot and Horse with their Husbands, killed their Enemies without Fear, and were killed themselves without a shriek. Nevertheless, these unfortunate People, who were more brave than skilful in the Art of War, were forced at last to give way to superior Force. They retired into the Mountains, and carried all the Effects they could with them; and the *Consul* pursued them thither. In short, he at last surrounded them, and when he had them in his Power, shewed a Regard to their Valour, accepted of their Submission, gave them their Lives, and divided their Spoils amongst them and his own Soldiers.

*App. in Iberic.*

Such was the *Consul's* first Expedition against the Nations on this side *The Durius*. After this, the *Roman Legions* passed that River and ranged all the Country to *The River of Forgetfulness*, or *Lethe*. And here we meet with a very extraordinary Instance of the Superstition of the *Romans*. Because the Poets<sup>116</sup> had given the same Name of *Lethe*, to a River in Hell, the whole Army refused to pass this. They thought it was going down alive into the Regions of the Dead, without hopes of Return. And when they saw that the Waters of the River were muddy, the *Legionaries* grew still more obstinate. They thought they were at the Gate of *Tænarus*<sup>117</sup>. But their General was better instructed,

<sup>114</sup> The *Phœnicians* who formerly possessed *Lusitania*, gave *The Tagus* the Name of *Tag* or *Dag*, which in their Language signified a Fish. And indeed this River now abounds with all Sorts of Fish, and is reckoned one of the largest in all *Spain*. Inſomuch, that the *Portuguese* call it the King of Rivers. It runs about 110 Leagues in length; rises in *New Caſtille*, near the Confines of *Arragon*, 3 or 4 Leagues from *Albarazin*, in a Mountain, in which rise likewise two other pretty considerable Rivers, *The Xucar* and *The Guadalquivir*; and after it has crossed all *Caſtille* from Eaſt to Weſt, it runs into *Portugal*, and falls into *The Atlantick Ocean*, two Leagues below *Lisbon*. *The Tagus* was formerly famous for the Gold Duſt it brought down with its Sand.

<sup>115</sup> The ancient Geographers, among the reſt *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Antoninus*, and *Ptolomy*, give *The River of Forgetfulness* the ſeveral Names of *Limias*, *Limæa*, *Limium*, *Belio*, and *Oblivio*, which has the ſame Signification in *Latin*, as *Lethe* has in *Greek*. The Natives now call it *The Lima*. This River, which is the moſt Northern one that waters *Portugal*, riſes in a marſhy Part of *Galicia*, between the Cities of *Orenſe*, and *Monte-Rei*. It paſſes by *Soñao* and *Puente de Lima*, and falls into *The Ocean* at *Viana*. The Name of *Lethe* or *Forgetfulness*, which the Ancients gave it, was founded on a Faſt related by *Strabo*. He ſays, that ſome People who lived on the Banks of *The Guadiana* were forced to abandon their old Habitations by a Sedition which aroſe among the People of the Country, paſſed *The Lima*, ſettled themſelves for good near this River, after they had loſt their Head, and being content with their new Dwellings, forgot their Native Country. *Mariana* and *Alvarez de Colmenar* ſpeak alſo of a River of *Lethe* in *Andaluſia*, which is the River now called *Guadalete*. It runs to *Burnos*, *Arcos*, *Xeres de la Frontera*, and *Port St. Mary*; and diſchar-

ges it ſelf into the *Ocean*, to the South-Eaſt of the Mouth of *The Guadalquivir*, and to the North of *The Bay of Cadiz*. There are likewiſe five other Rivers reckoned up which had the Name of *Lethe*. The firſt in *Ionia*, the ſecond in the Iſle of *Crete*, the third and fourth in *Macedon*, and the fifth in *Lybia*, which riſes near *The Great Syrtis*, and after a pretty long courſe, ſinks under ground for the Space of four Miles, and then appears again near the City of *Berenice*. Hence the Poets have taken occaſion to ſay, that it was one of the Rivers of Hell.

<sup>116</sup> The Poets formed their Notions of the River *Lethe* from the *Pythagorean* Doctrine concerning the Pre-exiſtence and Tranſmigration of Souls. Agreeably to this Doctrine, they invented a River, which had the Quality of making People forget all things paſt, without leaving the leaſt Trace of them in the Mind; and ſaid, that every Soul was indiſpenſably obliged to drink of the Water of this River before it entered into a new Body. On the other hand, the Advocates for the Tranſmigration, made uſe of this Fiction to explain how the Soul could paſs from one organiſed Body into another, without remembring any thing of its former State, no not even its pre-exiſtence. They contended, that all the ancient Traces which external objects had raiſed in the Mind before its change, vaniſhed, and gave place to new ones. So that, according to their Opinion, the Soul was in effect as much born again, if I may ſo ſpeak, every time it aſſumed a new Body, whether that of a man or Beaſt, as if it had never before exiſted.

<sup>117</sup> *Tænarus* is a Promontory of *Laconia*, now known by the Name of *Cape Matapan*, or *Cape Maina*. In the Brow of this Promontory, there is ſo dark and deep a Cavern, that the Poets took it for an Air-Hole, or Gate of Hell. It was through this Place, according to the Fabuliſts, that *Hercules* took his Route,



ed, and less credulous. In order to encourage his Soldiers to follow him, he first snatched a *Roman Eagle* out of an Ensign's Hands, and threw it to the opposite Bank; and then he went over himself and said, *Let who will follow me. It shall, at least, be said,* Epit. Livian. *that your General has passed the Lethe without dying.* This Example of an esteemed Leader, and the Shame of leaving him alone in an unknown Country, encouraged the *Legions*; and then they passed this formidable *Lethe*, and came into those fine Plains App. in Iber. which reach to *The Minius*. However, *Brutus* did not extend his Conquests further in his first Year; and he spent his Winter between *The* <sup>118</sup> *Minius* and *The Lethe*. But we shall see him penetrate into the furthest Corners of *Spain*, the next Year; and carry the *Roman Name* into Countries where it had never before been known.

§. XL. The *Comitia* assembled in *The Field of Mars*, conferred the *Consular Fasces* on *M. Æmilius* <sup>119</sup> *Lepidus Porcina*, and *C. Hostilius Mancinus*. And in the mean time the War with the *Numantini* seemed to be grown more furious than ever. Since *Popillius Lænas* had attempted the Siege of *Numantia* with so little Success as has been related, an experienced General was wanted to command the *Roman Armies* in *The Hither Province*. But it unfortunately fell to the Lot of *Hostilius Mancinus* to succeed *Popillius*. The other *Consul* continued in *Italy*: And *Junius Brutus*, after his Success the last Year, was continued in his Government of *Further Spain*. Of the *Prætors* who went to their Provinces, only two are come to our Knowledge. One was *Publius Manilius*, who governed *Sicily*; the other, one *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, whose Province was *Africa*; and with whom the Misfortunes which seemed to threaten the Republick for the ensuing Year, began. He went with great Gaiety to embark at the Port of *Terracina*, in order to go and take Possession of a wealthy Province. But he was scarce on board, when a Storm arose, the Lightning fell upon his Ship, and burnt it to Ashes. And this first unfortunate Prefage was followed by many others. When the *Consuls* went to *Lavinium* as usual, to take the Augury of the Chickens; they were so far from falling greedily to their Meat, that they flew away, and were lost in the Forest of *Laurentum*. This Omen of the sacred Birds, which were never after found, was thought very unlucky by the *Romans*. To which were added, the other Prodigies which were thought to have happened at *Rome*, or were reported there from several Parts of *Italy*. It was said, That Blood was seen to run down at the Palace of the Foreign Ambassadors, and in *The Comitium*; That, on *The Esquiline Hill*, a Colt was foaled with five Legs; That, at *Prænestæ*, a long Stream of Flames had been seen in the Air, and Lightning had fallen when the Sky was not overcast; and that the Lake *Fucinus* had overflowed 5000 Paces. All these pretended Prefages alarmed *Rome*; unless perhaps the Historians collected them together *ex post facto*, after they had seen the Misfortunes which befell her in the course of this Year. At least, it's certain, that we are not told that the Republick did any thing to expiate them, or prevent the ill Consequences of them.

So that Civil Affairs took their usual Course. The Assemblies of the People met as usual in *The Comitium*, and the *Tribunes*, according to Custom, presided in them. And now, *L. Cassius* <sup>120</sup> *Longinus*, one of their Body, undertook to extend the Law

Route, to go and brave *Pluto* in his own Kingdom after he had chained *Cerberus*, which guarded the Mouth of the Cavern. It was said, that the Cave was a Retreat for a sort of Dragon which terrified the whole Neighbourhood. And the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Country imagine to this Day, that the Devil comes out of this Hole every Day, and hunts for Prey round about it, in the Shape of an Hound.

<sup>118</sup> *The Minius*, now *The Minho*, rises in *Galicia*, near a Town called *Castro del Rey*; runs from the North-East to the South-East; crosses *Galicia*, and falls into *The Atlantick Ocean*, near the Confines of *Portugal*. Near this River Vermilion is found in great Plenty; and from thence the Ancients gave it the Name of *Minius*.

<sup>119</sup> It is conjectured, that *Marcus Æmilius Lepidus Porcina*, was the Son of him, who according to *Livy*, B. 39. conducted a Colony to *Modena* and *Parma*, in quality of *Triumvir*. Some few Years after, the Senate had sent him on a Deputation into *Transalpine Gaul*, with *Caius Lælius*, in the Year of *Rome* 583. But be that as it will, it is certain, that he

who was raised to the *Consulate* in the Year 616, made himself famous for his Eloquence. He was the first of the *Latins*, who knew how to give his Style that Sweetness and Harmony, which was in a manner become natural to the *Greek Writers*. So that this great Man was so much admired at the Bar, that *Scævola*, one of the Speakers in the *First Book De Oratore*, puts him upon a Level with *Servius Galba*: Though Nature had given the latter so wonderful a Talent for speaking in publick, that *Scævola* himself never speaks of him, but with Ecstasy. He was, says he, a *Divine Orator*. *Equidem & Servium Galbam memoria teneo, divinum hominem in dicendo.* The Famous Orators, *Caius Carbo* and *Tiberius Gracchus* were constant Auditors of *Æmilius*, and formed themselves to Eloquence by this excellent Pattern. These Testimonies which are so much to the Honour of *Marcus Æmilius's* Memory, are taken from *Cicero's Brutus*. In *Cicero's* Time, *Æmilius's* Writings were in every body's Hands, and supported the Reputation he had acquired.

<sup>120</sup> The *Cassian* Family was divided into two Branches. The first, which was that of the *Viscellini*, was

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXVI.

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
C. HOSTILI-  
US MANCI-  
NUS, Consuls.

Jul. Obsequ.  
c. 83.



Year of ROME DCXVI. *Gabinus* had got passed, two Years before. It may be remembered, that this *Tribune* had at length got it enacted, That, in the Election of Magistrates, the Votes should not be given *viva voce*, but by *Tablets*, or in Writing. But in the Tryals of Criminals it was not so; the old Custom still prevailed, and the *Tablets* were not in Use. So that *Cassius's* present Innovation<sup>121</sup> was, That he would have them introduced in these Cases likewise. An Alteration, which must be allowed to have been good in it self; but it was a new wound to the Power of the *Patricians*; who by their Interest with the People, had often screened many Criminals from a just Condemnation. However, *Cassius* drew up his Law, proposed it to the People, and represented the Necessity of it. And tho' it was opposed by the whole Body of the Nobility except himself, *The Second Africanus* promoted it. This Great Man, tho' the Dispute was carried on with great Warmth on both Sides, was wholly influenced by the Welfare of the Republick; and his Abhorrence of Crimes, made him zealous against Criminals, whom the Protection of the Great

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
C. HOSTILI-  
LIUS MAN-  
CINUS, Con-  
suls.

was *Patrician*, and gave the Republick several chief Magistrates; among the rest, *Spurius Cassius*, surnamed *Viscellinus*, who after he had been honoured with three *Triumphs* and three *Consulships*, was condemned to die, as an Enemy to the Roman Senate and People, in the Year of Rome 268. The second Branch was that of the *Longi*, and *Longini*; of which were some *Tribunes of the People*, and several Magistrates of the first Order, whom we shall make known in the course of this History. *Frontinus*, in his Book Of *Aqueducts*, gives *Lucius Cassius*, the *Tribune of the People* here spoken of, the Surname of *Ravula*; probably, because the Colour of his Eyes was reddish. *Ravula*, says *Festus*, a *ravulis oculis*.

121 *Cicero* speaks of *The Cassian Law*, in his *Oration for Plancus*, and his *Second Oration for the Agrarian Law*, in the most pompous Terms. It is, says he, the strongest Defence and Support of the publick Liberty. Under the Protection of this salutary Law, the Judges can give Judgment in all cases with Confidence. They have nothing to fear, either from the Artifices of Seducers, or the Violence of Factions, or the Attempts of Men in Power. Thus spake *Cicero* then, as he was led by the Difference of the Times, and the Causes which he was to defend. But in his *Third Book of Laws*, he speaks a very different Language. He had here nothing in view but Truth, and the publick Good. Besides, *Quintus*, his Brother, and *Atticus* his old Friend, were the only Witnesses of his Discourse; so that he could have no Motive to dissemble, before two Persons, who had the greatest Share of his Affection and Confidence: And therefore, he declares his Sentiments with that Openness of Heart, upon which he piqued himself in his private Conversations. The Laws concerning *Scrutinies*, says he, were made by Men whose Probity was not suspected. The First, which related to the Election of Magistrates, was made by one *Gabinus*, a very mean Fellow. The second, which settled the Method of Voting in criminal Causes, was the Work of *Cassius*; a Man indeed of an honourable Family: But his Family will pardon me, if I say, that in declaring himself against all good Men on this Occasion, he had nothing in view, but to gain himself popularity, which he sought for by base Compliances. The third, which ordered, that the Suffrages should be given in Writing, in passing or rejecting Laws, was made by *Carbo*, a seditious and a wicked Man. Yet still the Suffrages were given *viva voce*, in Causes of High-Treason against the State, which were the only Cases *Cassius* had excepted; and *Cælius* soon put these on a Level with the rest. We shall have occasion to enquire into these two Laws hereafter.

After the passing of *The Cassian Law*, when any criminal Cause was to be tried, either by *The Comitia by Tribes*, or in the *Prætor's Court*, each of the judges had three *Tablets* [or *Tickets*] given him. On the first was written the Letter A, which stood for the Word

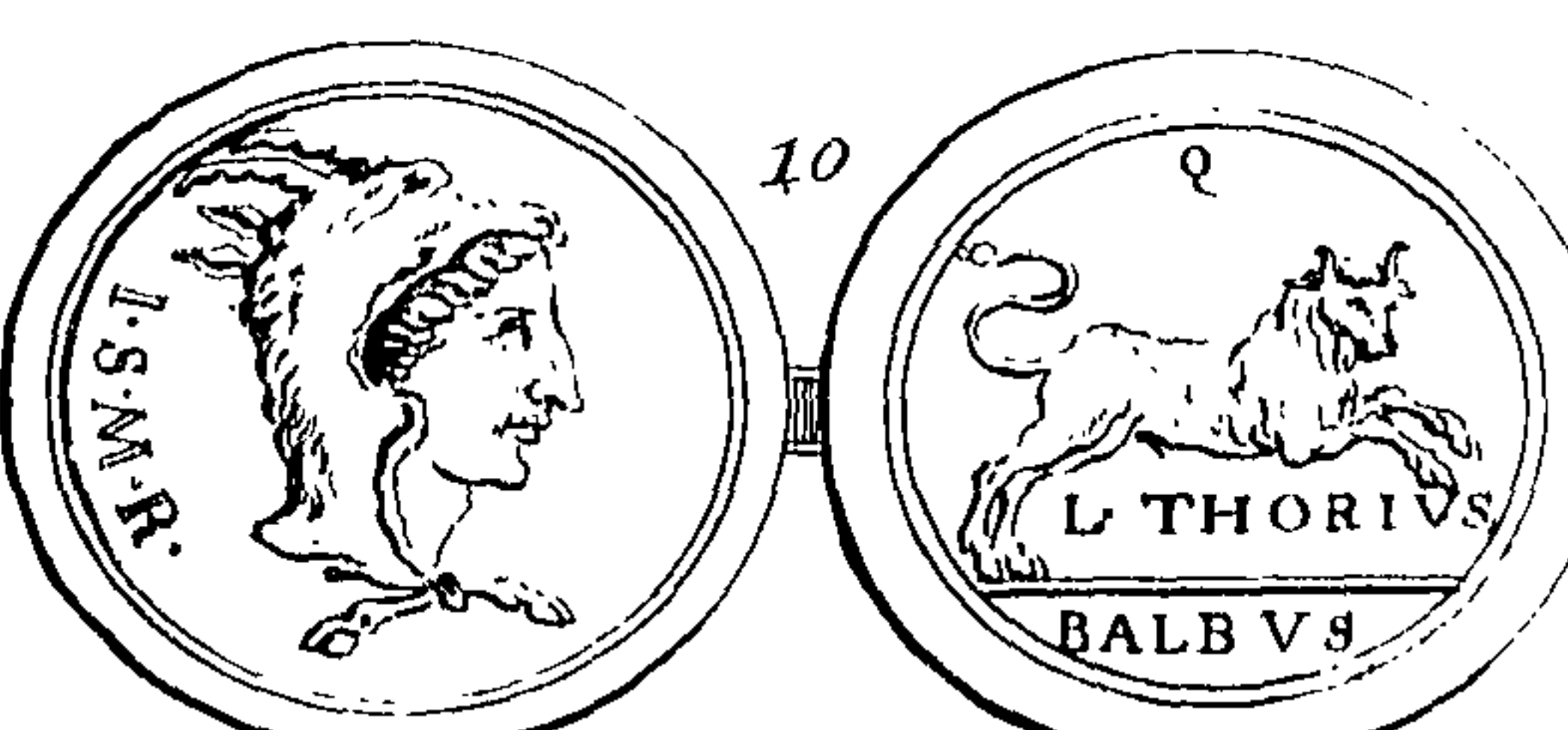
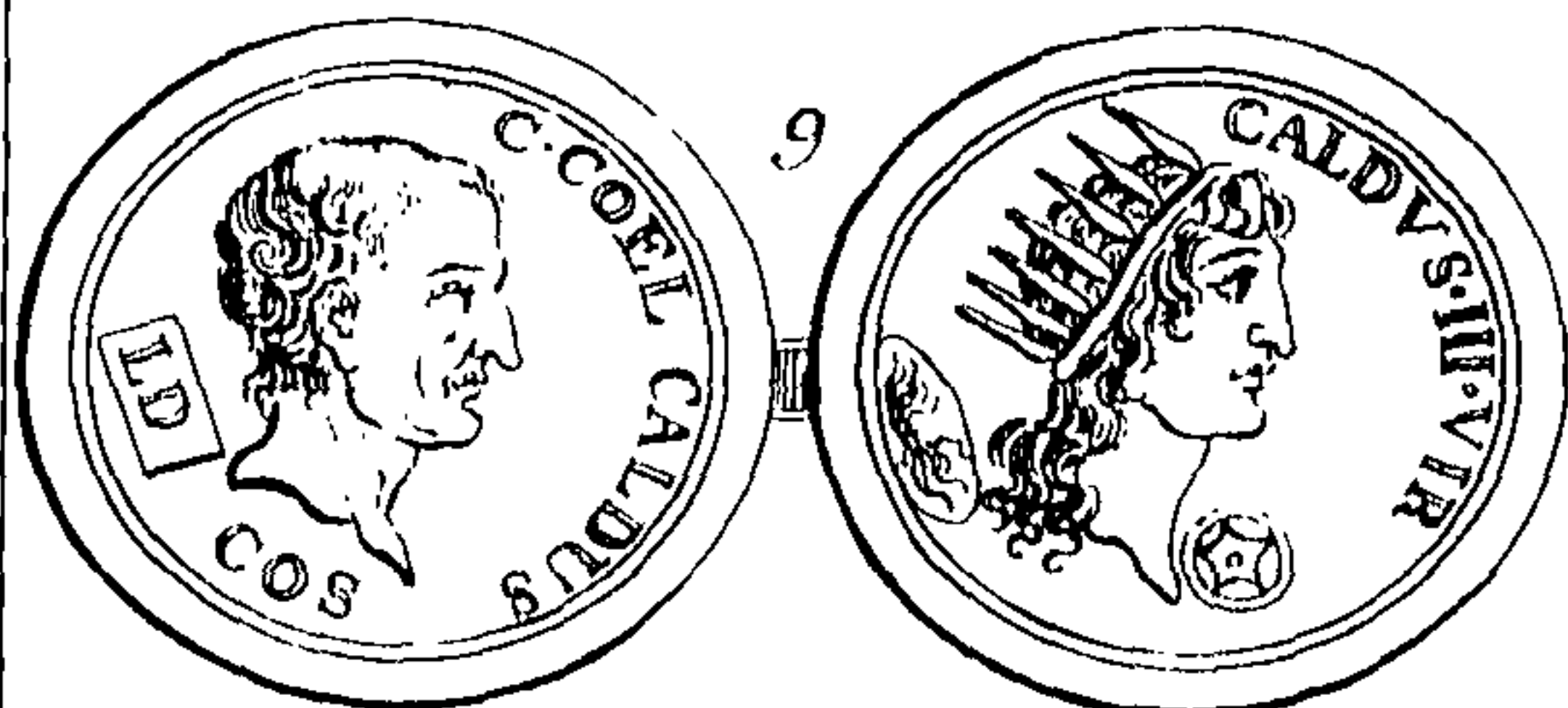
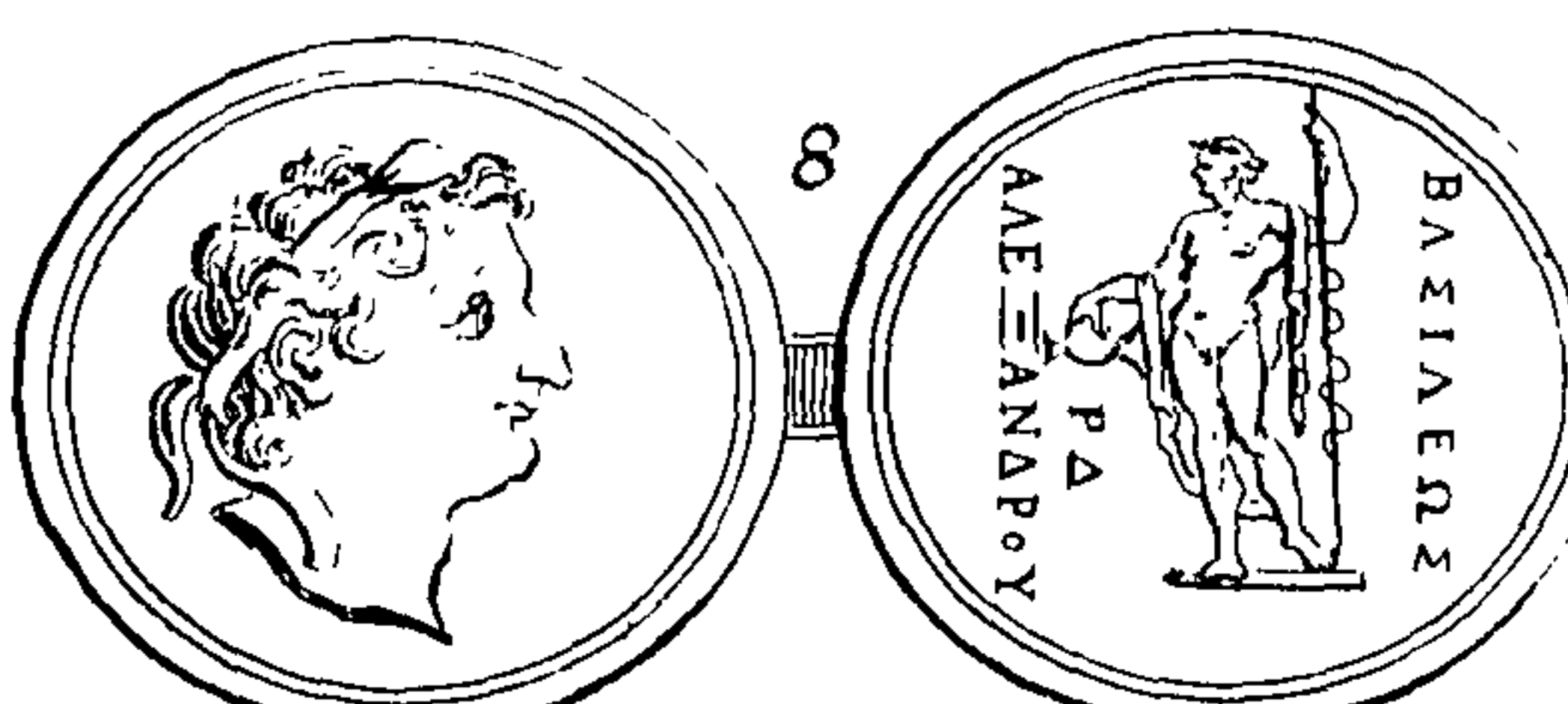
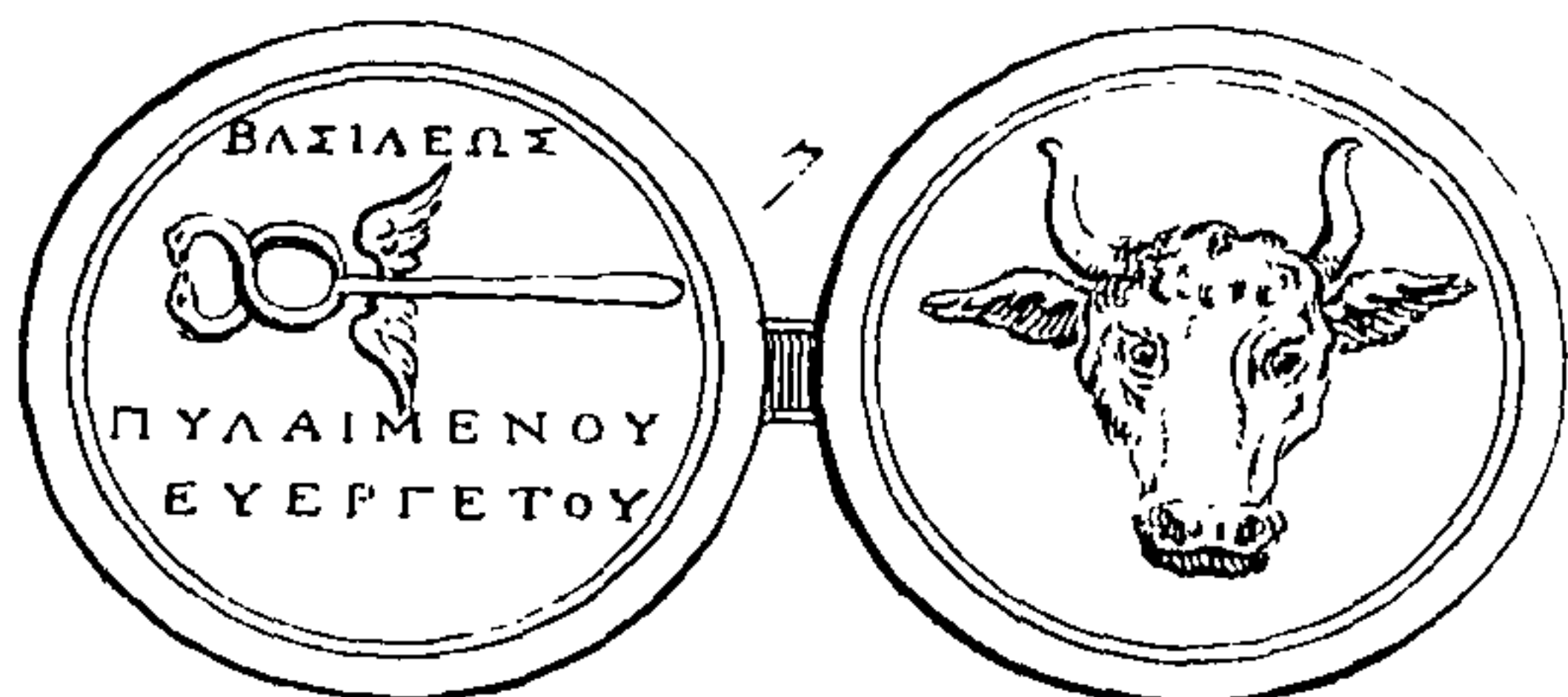
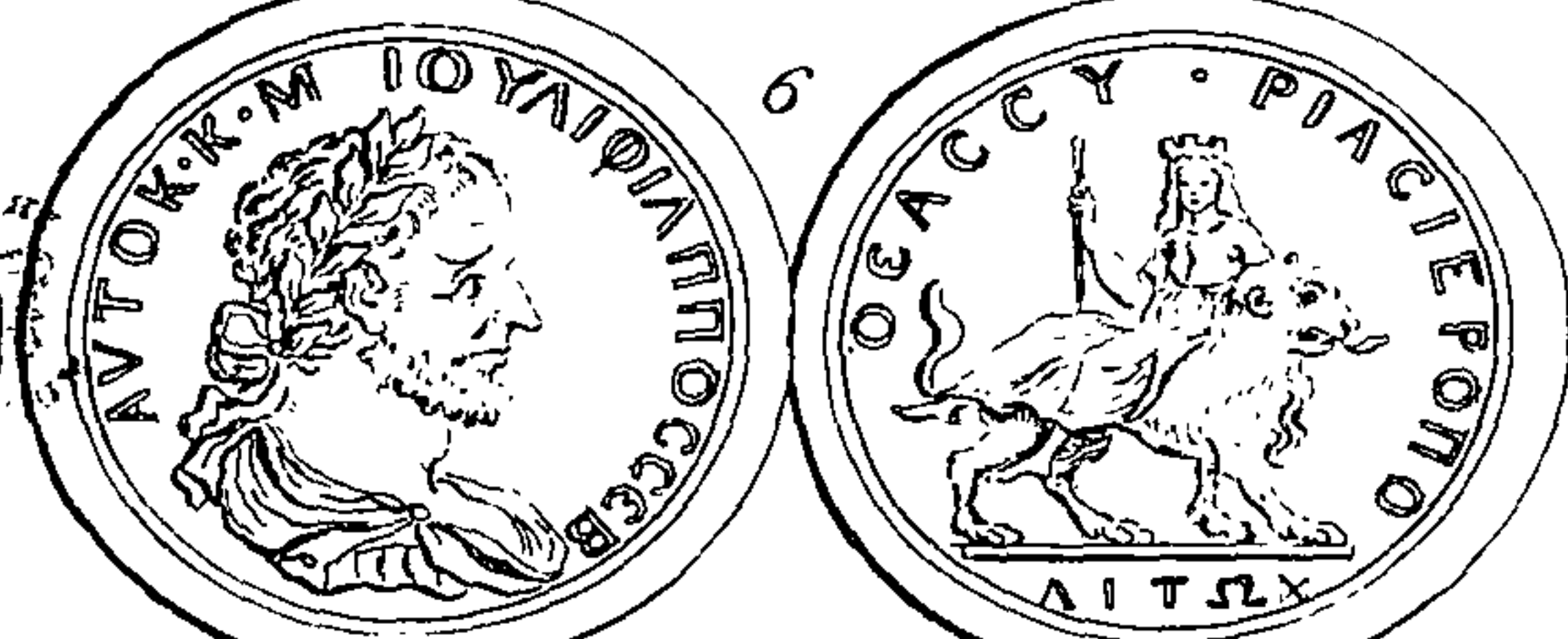
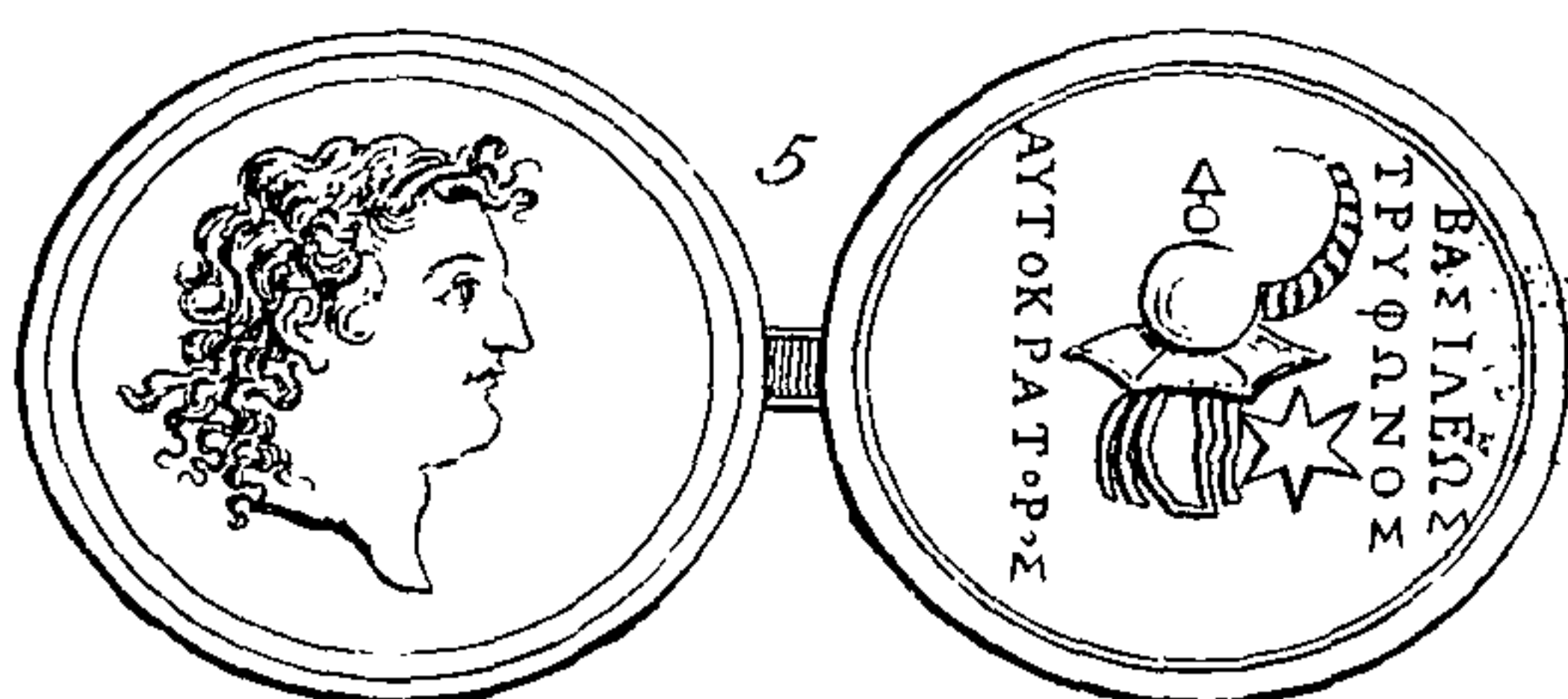
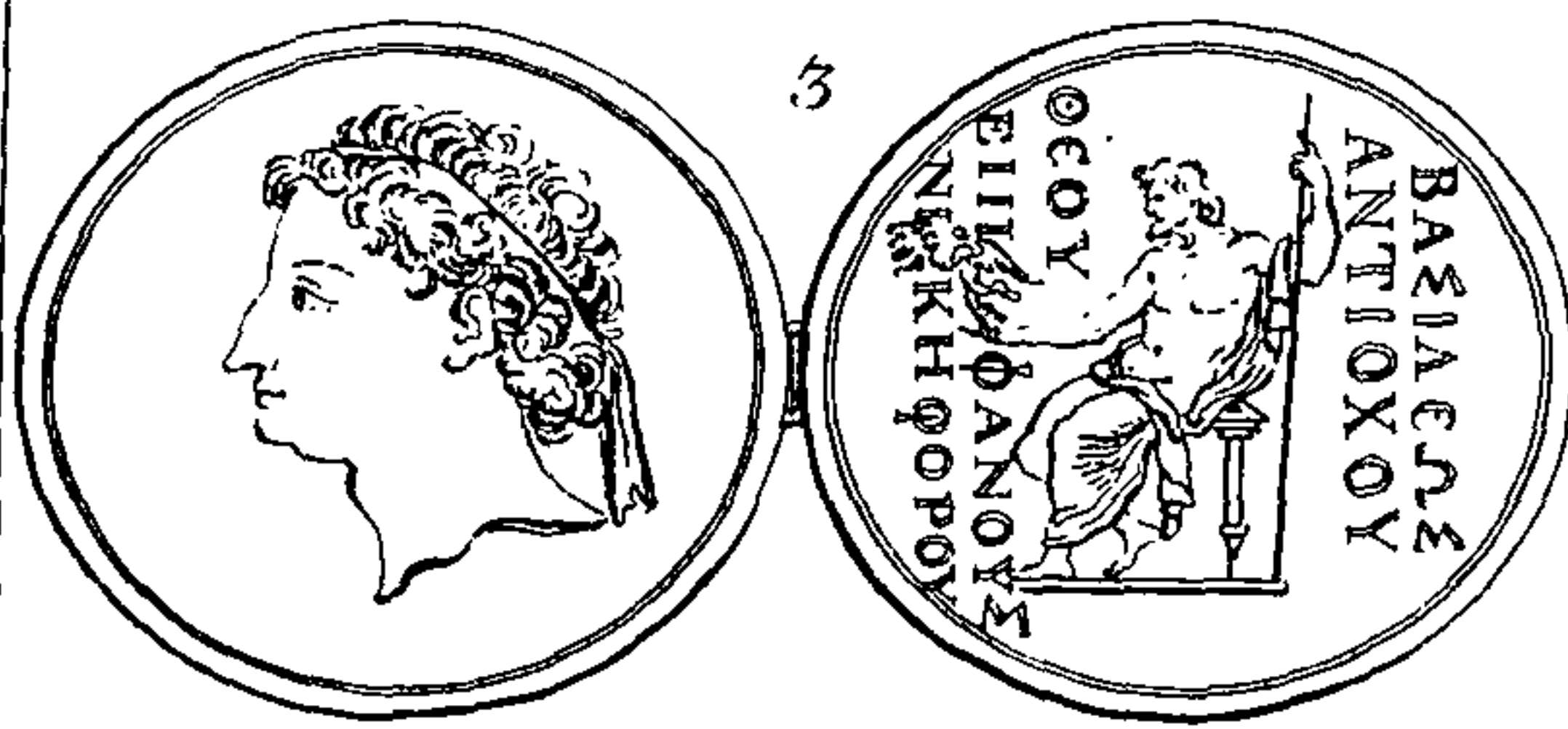
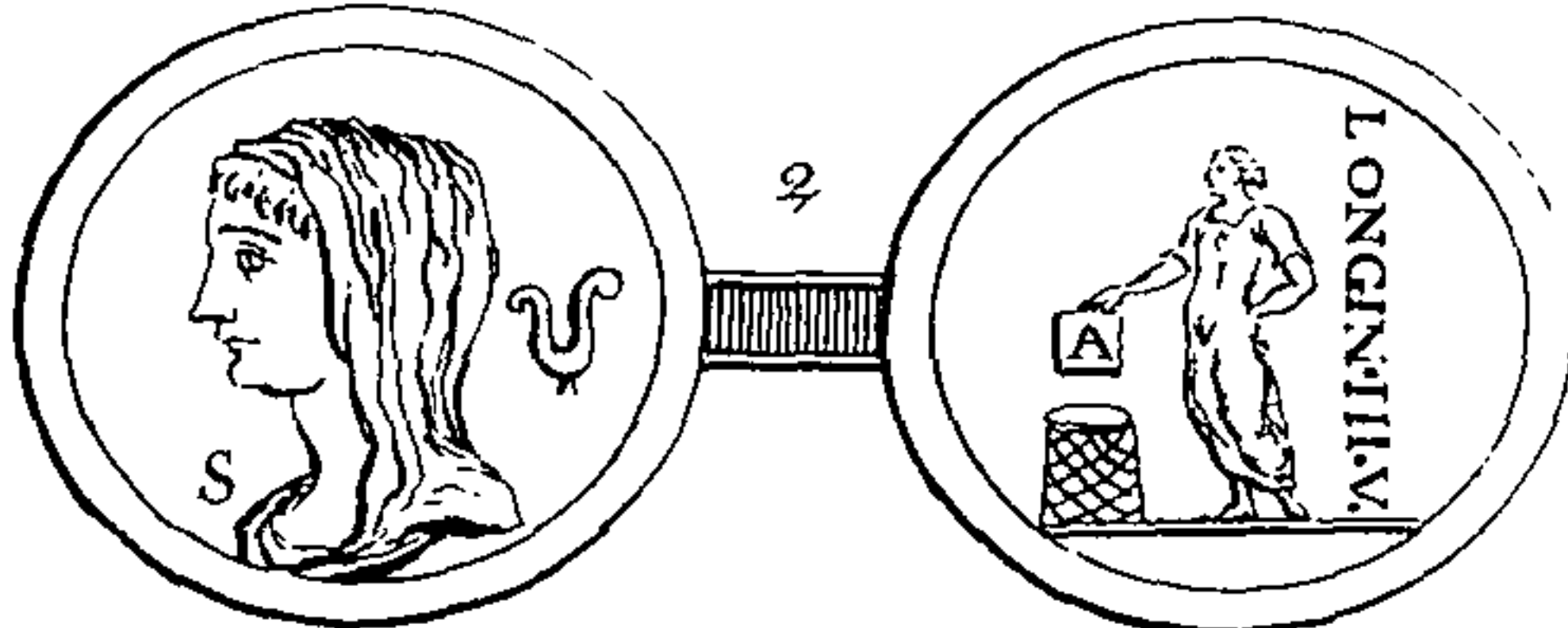
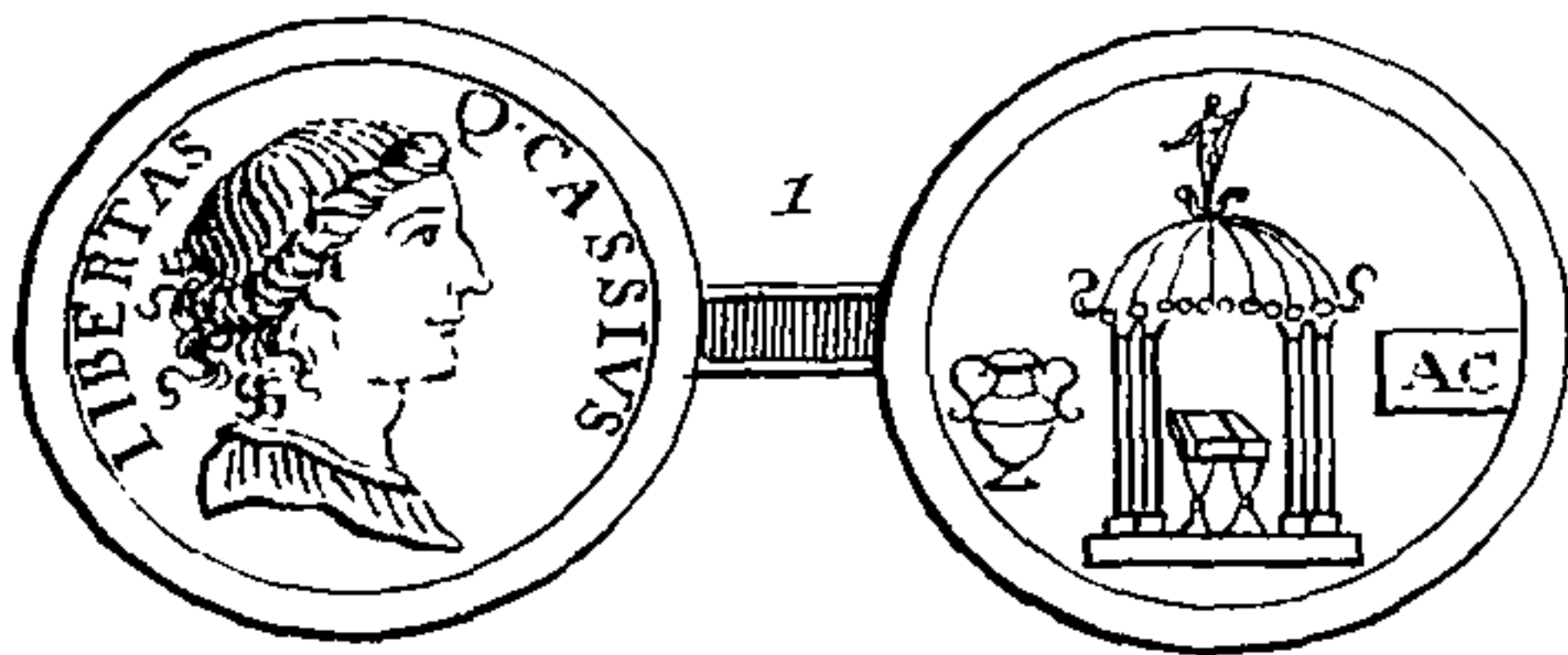
*ABSOLVO*, I acquit, and by this the accused was discharged. The second declared him Guilty, by the Letter C, which stood for CONDEMNO, I condemn him. And by the two Letters on the third, N. L. which stood for the Words NON LIQUET, the Judge declared, that the Fact in Question did not appear clear to him, and put off the Determination of the Cause to another Time. Before Sentence was pronounced, the Opinions were taken. Every Judge privately declared his, by one of the three Tickets or *Tablets*, which he put into a Box appointed to receive them. Then the Opinions were counted, and the President, according to the Majority of them, condemned or acquitted the Accused. If the Tickets were marked with the two Initial Letters, N. L., Judgment was suspended, till the Court was better informed; and then the Judge ordered the Suspension of the Cause by the Word *AMPLIUS*. This manner of Voting in secret, in criminal Causes, was in Use among the *Athenians*. Nevertheless, it was not approved of by *Plato*, who in his *Third Book of Laws*, declares for Voting *viva voce*, ἵνα φανερόν ᾖ ψήφος. And *Aristotle* condemns it, in his Book Of *Politicks*, when he says, it was the Invention of one *Hippodamus*, who had introduced it, in the Republick of *Miletum*, his native Country. But indeed, after these *Scrutinies* came into use, the Judges were no longer exposed as before, to the Vengeance of those, who were attached, either by Duty or Affection to the Accused. It prevented dangerous Animosities, which arose from the Knowledge of Judgments which were openly given; and which raised up mutual Hatred in Families which were perpetuated from Father to Son.

But notwithstanding all these Precautions, the new Law gave rise to new Abuses, at the same that it prevented the Old. The Suffrages were often not so secretly given, but it was easy to discover, which of the Judges were for, and which against the Question. This was done by giving to each *Tablets* of a particular Colour, or known by some particular Mark.

Nevertheless, the *Cassian Family* gloried in being the Authors of this Law, and transmitted the Fact to Posterity on several Medals. On one, the Freedom of Voting is represented by the Figure of the Goddess Liberty, which is on the Face of the Medal, with these Words round her, LIBERTAS Q. CASSIUS. This *Q. Cassius* was doubtless the Master of the Mint, and one of *Longinus's* Descendants. The Urn, and the two Letters A. C. on the Reverse, are the most natural Symbols of *The Cassian Law*; and the oblong Square which contains the two initial Letters, give us a sensible Idea of the *Tablets* or *Tickets*, on which the Suffrages were given. The round Edifice represents the Temple of *Vesta*, as we have observed in the first Volume. This Temple alludes to the severe Judgments *Cassius* had passed in his *Prætorship*, against the *Vestals* who had profaned the Altars of the Goddess by their Incontinence. The *Curule Chair* placed in the Porch of the Temple, represents the Tribunal from which he gave these Sentences.

§. See Plate  
4. No. 1.







Great too often screened from Punishment. In vain then did the *Consul*<sup>122</sup> *Æmilius* Year of  
speak against the new Law: In vain did the Nobility procure one of *The Tribunes of the* R O M E  
*People*, named *Antius*, to protest loudly against this Innovation. *Scipio* made *Antius* DCXVI.  
desist from his Opposition; and at *Cassius's* Motion, a *Plebiscitum* was passed, and af-  
terwards observed, which ran thus. *Except in the Case of Treason against the State,*  
*Judgment shall be given by Tablets in all criminal Causes, which are brought by Appeal*  
*before the People.* The Romans were doubtless persuaded, that Traytors to their Coun-  
try were too odious to the *Citizens*, for any of them to be so far influenced by any Fears,  
as not to vote openly for their Punishment.

However, its certain, *Scipio Æmilianus* incurred the Displeasure of the Nobility and Senate, by thus having appeared too Zealous for *The Cassian Law*. And since, *The first Africanus*, who was his Grandson's Pattern, had formerly retired from *Rome* at a Time when his Credit there was diminished; why may we not conjecture, That *The Second Africanus* took the like Resolution, in the like Circumstances? This was the only Motive, that could make him consent to take a Voyage to *Asia*, in quality of an Ambassador.

tences; a part of which will be spoken of hereafter. The Reverse of another Medal\* alluding to this Law, needs not to be explained. In the *Citizen* who throws down a *Tablet* marked A, we see the Observation of *The Cassian Law*; and the Name of *Longinus* III. V. points out one of the *Triumviri Monetales*, who was of the Family of *Cassius Longinus*. Indeed, it is surprising, that *Cicero* should seem to suspect the Virtue of a Man, who made Criminals tremble, and whose Tribunal was thought very fatal to all Offenders. But he judges otherwise of him in other Parts of his Works, and makes him abundant amends for the Injury he seems here to do him on account of his new Law. In order to justify *Cicero*, we must distinguish *The Tribune of the People*, from him before whom the *Vestals* were tried; but whether there is Reason so to do, will be examined into hereafter.

122 The Steps the *Consul Æmilius Lepidus* took,\* See Pl. 4. to oppose the new Law, exasperated *Lucius Cassius*, N. 2. who did not lose time in revenging himself. This *Tribune of the People*, accused him as a Criminal, for having built too high a Country-House, at a great Expence, in the Territory of *Alsum*, a City of *Hetruria*, situated near the Mouth of *Tyber*, and already mentioned, Vol. 3. This publick Expence was deemed an open Breach of the ancient Laws, which tended to suppress the Luxury of the *Citizens*. *Cassius* brought his Accusation before *The Tribunal of the People*, and had Interest enough to gain his Point. The Majority of the Suffrages were against the accused, and *Lepidus* had the Mortification to see himself condemned to pay a large Fine.






# THE

# Roman History.

## BOOK L.

Year of §. I. **W**HILST the Arms of *Rome* were thus employed in the West, the  
*ROME* East, which she had too much neglected, seemed to have little  
DCXVI. more to do with her. The several Kingdoms of *Asia*, and chiefly  
 *Egypt*, had in a manner thrown off all Dependence upon her: A Stop having been  
M. ÆMILIUS put to those frequent Embassies from *The Levant* to *Italy*, which brought thither the  
LEPIDUS, & Complaints of the Eastern Monarchs, and both honoured and enriched the *Roman* Se-  
C. HOSTILIUS nate. The Capital of the World was no longer filled, as formerly, with *Asiaticks*.  
MANCINUS, Nevertheless, almost all the States in *Asia* were in a Flame. They now disputed their  
Consuls. Quarrels among themselves; without the Consent, and often contrary to the Intenti-  
Strabo, B. 14. ons, of *Rome*. But at length, the Senate applied themselves afresh to their true Inte-  
rest; resolved to revive the old Correspondence between the *Asiaticks* and the Repub-  
Val. Max. lick; and very prudently pitched on very proper Persons to be sent on an Embassy to  
B. 4. c. 3. all the Courts of *The Levant*. *Scipio Æmilianus* and *Mummius*, whose *Censorship*<sup>1</sup> was  
Cicero, in Som- just expired, were appointed to make a general Visit, both to the Countries subject to  
nio Scipionis. *Rome*, as *Macedon* and *Greece*; and to the Monarchies which were only in Alliance  
Athenæus, with her, as those of *Pergamus*, *Bithynia*, *Syria*, *Judæa* and *Egypt*. And it is highly  
B. 6. probable, that *Lælius*, that faithful Friend of *Scipio*, got himself nominated for the  
third Ambassador; since it is very unlikely, that a Man of his consequence should un-  
dertake so long a Journey purely to accompany his Friend. But be that as it will,  
*Scipio* took no Attendants with him but one Man of Letters, named *Panætius*<sup>2</sup>, a  
Philosopher by Profession, and of an established Reputation; nor any Guard or Equi-  
page, more than five<sup>3</sup>, or at most seven, Slaves. This great Man founded not his  
Hopes of Success in his Negotiations on a splendid Train, so much as on the Renown  
of his Name, which was spread throughout all the World.

When the Ambassadors came to *Macedon*, they found its Peace disturbed by a new  
Usurper, named *Perseus*, who pretended to be a King's Son, and laid Claim to the  
Crown. *Greece* only was in Tranquillity. The *Achæans* still enjoyed that profound  
Justin, B. 38. Peace which was procured for them by this very *Mummius*, whose Presence could not

<sup>1</sup> Authors differ about the Year of *Scipio Æmilia-  
nus's* Departure. *Valerius Maximus* says, it was after  
he had twice enjoyed the Honours of a *Consulship*,  
and of a *Triumph*: And *Cicero*, in his second Book  
*Of Academical Questions*, seems to have been of the  
same Opinion. But, in his *Somnium Scipionis*, he places  
*Æmilianus's* Embassy, between his *Censorship* and his  
second *Consulship*; and we have chosen this last Period,  
as most agreeable with the whole Course of his Life.

<sup>2</sup> *Suidas* mentions two Philosophers, who bore the  
Name of *Panætius*, the older, and the younger. The  
Person here spoken of is the latter, who according to  
*Strabo*, was born in the Year of *Rome* 581, about the  
152 *Olympiad*. Besides the Friendships he contracted  
with *Scipio Æmilianus*, *Lælius*, and *Fannius*, the Son-  
in-Law of *Lælius*, he had the Honour to have the  
famous Historian *Polybius* for his Disciple. Tho' a  
*Stoick* by Profession, he did not approve of either  
the extravagant Maxims, or the Sophisms, of his Sect.

He was a great Admirer of *Plato*, *Aristotle*, and *The-  
ophrastus*. *Cicero* and *Diogenes Laertius* commend  
him in several places of their Works, and give him  
the first Rank among the *Stoick* Philosophers. He  
died at *Athens*, in the Year of *Rome* 650. Several  
Writings are ascribed to him; among the rest, *A  
Treatise on Politicks*, another *On Constancy in Grief*,  
and a third *Of the Tranquillity of the Soul*. *Porphyry*  
tells us likewise that he wrote a Book on Geometry  
and Musick; and *St. Ambrose* and *Cicero* particularly  
extol those he wrote on the Duties of Civil Life. *A-  
thenæus* speaks of a Society of Philosophers called *Pa-  
nætiaists*, perhaps so called, because they followed the  
Principles and Doctrine of *Panætius*.

<sup>3</sup> *Athenæus* mentions only five Slaves in *Scipio's*  
Train; one of which died on the Road: But his place  
was supplied by another, whom the Ambassador de-  
manded his Friends to buy for him.



but be agreeable to them. In *Egypt*, *Phyſcon*, a Monster, rather than a King, poſſeſſed alone the Throne<sup>+</sup>, which had been left him by his Brother *Philometor*. The Mind of the new Monarch was leſs ſupportable than his Body, though he was frightfully deformed; and he too plainly diſcovered his Temper, the Moment he took Poſſeſſion of the Crown. *Philometor*, according to the Cuſtom of the Kings of *Egypt*, had married his Siſter *Cleopatra*, who had borne him a Son, whoſe Birthright the Throne was. *Phyſcon* therefore, as ſoon as he ſaw the Power in his Hands, not only married his Brother's Widow, thereby the better to ſecure his Authority; but even during the Nuptial-Feaſt murdered

Year of  
ROME.  
DCXVI.

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
C. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
Conſuls.

4 *Ptolomy Evergetes* then reigned in *Cyrenaica*, which had fallen to him for his Share. According to *Juſtin*, the Grandees of the late King's Court, ſent Ambaſſadors to him to offer him the vacant Throne, and a Marriage with *Cleopatra*, his own Siſter, the Widow of his Brother *Philometor*, and the Guardian to his Nephew. Soon after he entered *Alexandria*, he cut the Throats of all thoſe who were attached in Duty and Fidelity to his Ward, as lawful Heir of the Crown of *Egypt*. And as he could not but look with Jealouſy on the young Prince, whoſe Birth entitled him to the Monarchy, the Traitor ſoon got rid of him. The Infant, yet very young, was in the Arms of his Mother, juſt married to *Evergetes*, when this barbarous Prince murdered him, in the miſt of the Rejoicings of the Nuptial Feaſt.

But if we may believe *Joſephus*, in his *Second Book againſt Apion*, the Uſurper did not wait for an Embaſſy from *Alexandria*. As ſoon as informed of the Death of his Brother, he left *Cyrene*, and repaired to the Capital. Then he immediately formed the Deſign of driving from the Palace the Princes his Nephews, and their Mother *Cleopatra*; and *Onias*, the laſt *Jewiſh* High-Prieſt of that Name, took up Arms, according to this Hiſtorian, in defence of the Queen. The new King, tranſported with Rage at this News, immediately made the *Jews* of *Alexandria* feel the Effects of his Vengeance. He inſtantly condemned them all to be trod to Death by Elephants. But by the miraculous Interpoſal of Omnipotence in their Favour, all thoſe unhappy People eſcaped the Fury of theſe formidable Animals. But it is eaſy to ſhew by the Hiſtory of the *Maccabees*, That all this Story is an Invention of *Joſephus*; and That to do the more Honour to his own Nation, he has related a Fact here, which had paſſed in the Reign of *Ptolomy Philopator*. Can any Man believe that *Onias*, who was then a Fugitive in *Egypt*, could raiſe in a Foreign Country an Army ſtrong enough to reſiſt a powerful King? However, it is certain, That this wicked Prince made himſelf the Curſe of his People by unparalleled Cruelties. They who had the greateſt Share in the Confidence of his Brother *Philometor*, were firſt ſtripped of all they had, and then either executed, or baniſhed. Others were ſacrificed to his Suſpicions, and died in Tortures. So that the *Alexandrians*, tired out with his Tyranny, waited only for an Opportunity to ſhake off the Yoke: And *Ptolomy*, to get rid of his Fears of a People ready to revolt, and to provide for his ſafety, reſolved on a general Maſſacre of all the Strangers and Citizens in *Alexandria*. He ordered them to aſſemble in the *Gymnaſium*, the place appointed for bodily Exercises; and both Men and Women ran thither in Crowds. The poor Creatures knew not that he called them together only to deſtroy them; and when he ſaw the Multitude of People aſſembled there, he ordered fire to be ſet to the *Gymnaſium*. Then great Numbers of theſe Perſons, who were brought from all parts of *Alexandria*, either by the Commands of their Prince, or their Curioſity, periſhed in the Flames; and they that eſcaped the Fire, could not avoid the Swords of the armed Battalions, which the Tyrant had placed at all the Avenues. Theſe bloody Scenes therefore made the reſt of the Inhabitants of the Capital tremble, and

fearing the ſame Fate themſelves, they determined to prevent the Blow with which they were threatened. They aſſembled tumultuoſly, without following any guide, but their Rage and Deſpair; and running to *Ptolomy's* Palace, ſet Fire to it, and reduced it to Aſhes. The wicked King, to eſcape the ſearch of theſe furious Men, had fled, and retired to the Iſland of *Cyprus*, which then belonged to the Crown of *Egypt*. And fearing leſt the People of *Alexandria* ſhould take his Son by *Philometor's* Queen, who was brought up at *Cyrene*, and place him on the Throne, he took care to have him privately conveyed to *Cyprus*. He was followed to his Retreat by *Cleopatra*, his Niece, now his Wife, ſince he had put away the Queen her Mother; and he had the Mortification to hear there, that the *Egyptians*, after they had thrown down his Images and Statues, had juſt given the Sceptre to *Cleopatra*, his Siſter, and former Wife. At this News, his Rage ſtifled all natural Affection in him; and the unnatural Father, conſidering his Son *Memphis* only as *Cleopatra's* Child, reſolved to revenge the Mother's Quarrel upon him. The Beaſt had not Paternal Tenderneſs enough to give him Horror at ſpilling the Blood of a young Prince, his own Son, and amiable for his Beauty and riſing Vertues. He cauſed his Throat to be cut in his own Sight, and then ſent his Limbs, after he had been cut in Pieces, ſhut up in a faſtened Cheſt to *Alexandria*. The Meſſenger, who had the care of this melancholy Charge, took care to convey it privately to the Gate of the Queen's Palace, on her Birth-Day, which the People were then celebrating. But when the Cheſt was opened, this terrible Sight changed the publick Joy into a general Mourning; and Grief, rather than the Ambition of Reigning, armed the Queen againſt *Ptolomy*. She applied her ſelf to her Son-in-Law *Demetrius Nicanor*, to whom the King of the *Parthians* had lately given leave to return into *Syria*; and promiſed him to put him in poſſeſſion of the Crown of *Egypt*, if he would join his Forces to hers, to oppoſe a Brother whom ſhe deteſted. And indeed *Ptolomy* was come out of the Iſland of *Cyprus*, at the Head of a numerous Army; and the total Deſeat of *Cleopatra's* Troops, and the taking *Marfias* their General, opened him an Entrance into his Dominions. To the great Surprize of all the World, he pardoned his Priſoner; and this ſingle Act of Clemency appeaſed the Fury of his Subjects. So that he entered *Alexandria*; whiſt *Cleopatra* eſcaped into *Syria*. She had no other Refuge in her Miſfortunes. She could no longer depend on *Demetrius Nicanor*, whom the new Troubles in *Antioch* had forced to abandon the Siege of *Pelufium*, in order to ſecure his own Dominions.

Thus *Ptolomy* remounted the Throne; and kept the Name and Authority of King, till the 29th Year of his Reign, and the 67th of his Life, which ended about the Year of *Rome* 636.

It is hard to believe, that a Prince who is repreſented as ſuch a Monster by the Hiſtorians, ſhould have deſerved the Reputation of being the Reſtorer of Letters in *Egypt*. But this Fact is atteſted by *Athenaus* in ſeveral places. He ſays that *Ptolomy*, in the ſhort Intervals which were between his Debaucheries, applied himſelf, of his own accord, to the Study of the



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
C. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
Consuls.

murdered the Child who was born to the Crown, even in his Mother's Arms. And notwithstanding this barbarous Act of Cruelty, the inhuman King took the Name of *Euergetes*, that is, *The Beneficent*: But the People of *Alexandria* soon changed it into that of *Chacergetes*, that is, *The Mischievous*. And indeed, his Reign was nothing but one continued Series of Banishments, Murders, and Oppressions, with respect to his People; and of Brutality and Debauchery, with respect to himself. His Guards were composed of only *Greek* and *Asiatick* Soldiers, all Mercenaries; and their whole Employment was to murder the rich Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, and plunder their Houses. So that, this City which was the largest, and most populous of any in the World, was soon deserted by its old Citizens; and *Physon*, in order to get himself Subjects, gathered together all the Rogues and Banditti he could, from foreign Countries. It was just at the Time of these Transmigrations, that *Scipio*, and the Ambassadors his Collegues, landed at the Port of *Alexandria*; and the more conscious the King of *Egypt* was of his Crimes, the more Respect and Submission he affected to shew to the *Roman* Deputies. He went to meet them; but made such an Appearance, as gave them a great Contempt of him. Nothing could be more frightful than his Person. He had a great Head and a broad Face shockingly ugly, upon a short, fat, squat Body, with a Belly enormously prominent. And his Dress was agreeable to his vitious Dispositions. He wore only a fine Stuff, which was so transparent, as to leave those Parts visible, which Modesty obliges us to conceal. The chaste *Scipio* and his Collegues, were extreemly offended at these Indecencies, but they had no right to reform them. At least, they kept themselves upon the Reserve, till they came to represent to the Senate after their Return, the extravagant Scenes, of which they had been Eye-witnesses in *Egypt*.

*Justin, B. 36.* §. II. From *Alexandria*, the three Ambassadors sailed for *Pergamus*, where *Attalus* then reigned. He was the Son of the famous *Eumenes*, of whom we have said so much, and whose Attachment to *Rome* had not always been equal. When *Eumenes* died, he left this Son very young, under the Guardianship of Prince *Attalus* his Brother, who governed the Kingdom 20 Years, in a faithful and constant Correspondence with *Rome*, to whom he was an invariable Friend. And when this virtuous Prince restored the Crown to his Nephew, the latter was as well affected to the Republick as himself. But, with all his Care, and the best Education he could give him, he could not subdue the cruel Temper of his Ward. However, young *Attalus* still loved his Mother *Stratonice*, and his Wife *Berenice*, with the Affection of a good Child, and the Tendernefs of a fond Husband. But when they died, he set no Bounds to his Grief. Being persuaded, that the Princes of the Blood, and the Chief Lords of his Court had procured their Deaths, he caused them all to be massacred, and filled their Palaces with Blood and Slaughter. However, he at last alleviated his Sorrow as well as he could, by erecting a stately Mausoleum in Honour to his Mother; and by this Act of filial Piety, procured the Surname of *Philometor*. Nevertheless, being conscious of the many Murders he had committed, and imagining that the *Shades* of his Relations were perpetually haunting him, this threw him into a deep Melancholy; and he at first confined himself to his Palace, and would see no body. He let his Hair and Beard grow, and never appeared in Publick; not even at the great Banquets, which the *Asiatick* Monarchs frequently made with unparalleled

the Sciences and polite Arts. Nay, according to this *Greek* Author, he had so extensive a Knowledge, and so happy a Facility in discoursing on all kinds of Literature, that he thereby acquired the Surname of *The Philologist*. To which he adds, That he had written 24 Books of History, and a sort of Commentary on *Homer*. He enriched his Library, with the most valuable Manuscripts, which he sought for, and bought at a great Expence, in all Parts of the World: The *Athenians* sold him the Works of *Æschylus*, *Sophocles*, and *Euripides*, for 15 Talents, which make 15000 French Crowns.

l. s. d.  
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*Arbutb.*

His Bounty to Men of Letters and Ingenuity, drew into *Egypt*, Grammarians, Geometricians, Musicians, Painters, Men skilled in all kinds of Manufactures, and Masters of great Learning and Experience for the forming of Youth. And he most signally shewed his Liberality in favour of one *Panaretus*, a Disciple of *Arcefilas* the *Academick Philosopher*; by giving him a Pension of 12 Talents, that is 36000 *Livres*, for Life.

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*Arbutb.*

5 The Report of *Scipio's* coming had reached *Egypt* before him; and upon the News of the Arrival of this great Man, says *Plutarch* in his *Apophthegms*, the Inhabitants repaired to the Port, with King *Ptolomy* at their Head. Every one pressed to see a Man, who had filled the whole World with the Fame of his Exploits. Whilst he was landing, amidst the Acclamations of a Crowd of People, he had wrapped up his Head in one Lappet of his Robe; but he was forced to comply with the Desires of the *Alexandrians*, that he would shew himself openly to them. Then *Scipio* said pleasantly, with a very low Voice, These People are obliged to us for our coming; it has given them, at least, the Pleasure of seeing their King; alluding to the Custom of the Kings of *Egypt*, and especially the *Ptolomies*, who generally shut themselves up in their Palaces, and seldom appeared in Publick. But it is after all uncertain, whether this was not said by *Scipio* when he was on another Embassy to the Kingdoms of the East, about the Year 623.

Splendour



Splendour. Afterwards, he withdrew himself entirely from Business, and shut himself up in a Garden which he cultivated with his own Hands. There he planted and cultivated some venomous Herbs, which he mixed with wholesome Pulse; and in his mad Fits, sent Packets of them to those, whom his gloomy Disposition led him to suspect: And at last, he employed himself wholly in the Art of melting Metals. He made Moulds, and cast Brass and Wax in them, for Busts and Statues. In these Employments, so much beneath the Regal Dignity, *Scipio* and the other *Roman* Ambassadors surprized him; and found him to retain his Senses only in this Particular; that his Attachment to the Republick had not been diminished, by that Mysanthropy into which he was fallen. On the contrary, his Affection for her remained even to his Death, and it will hereafter appear to what lengths he carried it.

§. III. *Scipio* soon left the Court of a mad King, where nothing but melancholy Objects appeared; and took his Route towards *Syria*. There *Demetrius Nicanor*, the second of the *Seleucidae* who had assumed that pompous Surname, had now reigned eight Years. This Prince, after the Death of *Alexander Bala*, whom he had defeated and put to flight on the Banks of *The OEnoparas*, had settled himself on the Throne; and had made it his first Care to remit the Tributes which the *Jews* had long payed to his Predecessors. By this means he had perfectly reconciled himself to *Jonathan* the High-Priest; and his Reign would have been more peaceable, if he had not been so imprudent as to disband his *Syrian* Troops, in order to take Foreigners only, into his pay. *Tryphon*, one of the Generals of the preceding King, took occasion from thence, to raise great

Year of  
ROME  
DCXVI.

M.ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
C. HOSTILI-  
LIUS MAN-  
CINUS, Con-  
suls.

Strabo. B. 16.

6 The *OEnoparas*, according to *Strabo*, waters the Territories of *Antioch*.

7 *Jonathan*, according to the History of the *Maccabees*, had taken Advantage of the Dissentions which divided *Syria* between *Alexander Bala* and *Demetrius Nicanor*, to make himself Master of the Citadel of *Sion*, which kept *Jerusalem* in subjection to the Tyranny of the *Syrians*, and served for a Retreat for the Apostates from the Religion of *Abraham*. At last *Nicanor* became peaceable Possessor of the Throne, by the Defeat and Death of his Rival; and the new King was in great Wrath, when he heard that the Fortress was besieged by the *Jews*. He immediately wrote to *Jonathan*, forbidding him to continue the Siege, and commanding him at the same time, to meet him at *Ptolomais*. Nevertheless, the Holy High-Priest did not think himself obliged to discontinue the Attacks; but he with great Confidence, began his Journey to meet *Demetrius*, attended by the chief Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, and loaded with the richest Presents for him. When the King saw this venerable Man, his Anger soon expired, and he gave him Testimonies of a most sincere Friendship, in the Presence of the Lords of his Court. To these external Appearances, he likewise added more solid Advantages. *Jonathan* was confirmed in all his Dignities; and the King of *Syria* for ever discharged the *Jews* from all Tributes, upon paying the Sum of 300 Talents. So that nothing remained to perfect these Favours, except to withdraw the *Syrian* Troops from the Citadel of *Sion*. But the Monarch was inflexible in this Point. He only promised, That for the future, *Jerusalem* should receive no Insults from the Garrison. However, this Promise was immediately executed; and *Jonathan*, under the Protection of the King of *Syria*, governed his People in Peace. For it is not improper to remark here, that the *Jews*, since their return from Captivity, were become a popular State, of which the High-Priest was Head, and had the chief Authority. But it is certain, That they were successively dependent on the Kings of *Babylon* and *Persia*, and afterwards, on those of *Syria*, whom after the Conquests of *Alexander the Great*, they always acknowledged to be their lawful Masters. Yet still, they had all along kept Possession of a Right, of governing themselves by their own Laws, of choosing their own Magistrates and Governours of Places, of raising Troops for the Defence of their Country, and of disposing of the Finances of the State as they pleased.

8 The History of the *Maccabees* assigns no other Cause of the Troubles in *Syria*, but the Obstinacy of *Demetrius Nicanor*, in disbanding his old *Syrian* Troops. These brave Men, who were obliged to disperse themselves in the Provinces, spread murmurs and discontent wherever they came; and *Tryphon*, who wanted only a favourable Opportunity to declare openly against *Demetrius*, took Advantage of the general Discontent of the Soldiers. We ought not therefore to say with *Justin*, That the sole Motive that led the *Syrians* to a Revolt, was their Contempt for a Prince, who gave himself up to Effeminacy and the most scandalous Debaucheries, as he is represented by *Athenæus* when he says of him B. 13; upon the Authority of *Nicolas of Damascus*, That he gave up the Government of his Kingdom to the Caprice of *Alyrina*, a Courtesan of *Samos*, with whom he was desperately in Love. Neither had *Livy* any better Authority for saying, *Epit. B. 52*. That the unparalleled Cruelties of *Demetrius*, forced *Tryphon* to take up Arms in defence of the oppressed People.

9 *Tryphon*, before his Revolt, was called *Diadotus*. According to *Strabo*, he was born and brought up in the neighbouring City of *Apamea* in *Syria*. As he was esteemed one of the greatest Zealots for *Alexander Bala*, *Demetrius Nicanor* admitted him to no Share of his Confidence. But an obscure and private Life did not suit the Taste of a Man of vast Ambition. He very early formed vast Schemes, and proposed nothing less, than deposing his lawful Sovereign, and placing himself in his Throne. And *Strabo* says, That after he had formed this Design, he seized the Fortress of *Coracesium* in *Cilicia*, and made it his Magazine of Arms. From thence he spread the Fire of Sedition in all the Country. He then assembled together a Company of Pyrates, who scoured the Seas with Impunity; and stole the Inhabitants of the Coasts, to carry them to *Delos*, where they sold them to the *Romans*, who since the taking of *Carthage* and *Corinth*, piqued themselves upon having a great Number of Slaves in their Service. The Indolence of *Demetrius Nicanor*, adds the same Author, the Avarice of the Governours who had their Share of the Profits of this infamous Trade, and the Connivance of the King of *Egypt*, a declared Enemy to the King of *Syria*, encouraged these Robberies. These Disorders, and the other Troubles in the East, determined the *Roman* Senate to send *Scipio Emilianus*, to inform himself upon the Spot, of the State of the Provinces of *The Levant*; in order, says *Strabo*, not

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Year of great Disturbances. He knew that the Son of *Alexander Bala*, named *Antiochus*<sup>10</sup>, lay  
 ROME hid in *Arabia*, with a Lord named *Emalchuel*; and he with great Difficulty prevailed to  
 DCXVI. have the young Prince committed to his Care, upon an Assurance that he would seat him  
 M.ÆMILIUS on his Father's Throne. As soon as young *Antiochus*<sup>11</sup> appeared in *Syria*, all the Troops of  
 LEPIDUS, & the disbanded Army assembled to him; and *Tryphon* put himself at their Head. In the mean  
 C. HOSTILIUS time, a more imminent Danger threatened *Demetrius*. The whole City of *Antioch* de-  
 MANCINUS, clared against him, and his foreign Guards. To prevent therefore a general Revolt,  
 Consuls. the King of *Syria* had recourse to *Jonathan* the High-Priest, who sent him 3000 brave  
 1 Mac. 11. *Israelites*, whose Religion, the only true one, made them faithful: And these Succours  
 came very seasonably. *Antioch* had raised 120000 Men within her self, to destroy her  
 King. But the 3000 *Jews* relieved him in a wonderful manner. They assembled round  
 him, assisted him in making his Retreat to his Palace, then dispersed themselves in the  
 City, set fire to it, killed 100000 of the Mutineers, and enriched themselves with the  
 Spoils they found in their Houses. Who then does not here see the Finger of the living God,  
 who was pleased to shew the visible Protection he gave his true Adorers, in the midst of  
 the *Gentile* World? Nothing remained for *Demetrius*, but to make the best Use of it;  
 and after he had obliged his Subjects to sue to him for a Pardon, he sent back the *Jews*,  
 his Deliverers, to *Jerusalem*, loaded with Spoils and Presents.

He had likewise promised *Jonathan* to take out of the Citadel<sup>12</sup> of *Jerusalem* the  
 uncircumcised Troops, which had been long in Possession of it. This Gratitude required  
 at his Hands; and *Jonathan* had stipulated for it, as the Reward he was to have for the  
 Troops he had sent to *Antioch*. But the Danger was no sooner over, than *Demetrius*  
 forgot his Promises. He was so far from withdrawing the *Syrian* Garrison from that  
 Fortrefs, where they had the Temple of the true God in their Power, that he even levied  
 upon the *Jews* their ancient Tributes; and threatned the holy People with a new War.  
 God therefore punished his Ingratitude. *Tryphon*, at the Head of an Army formed out  
 of the Troops which had been foolishly disbanded, led young *Antiochus*, now about seven  
<sup>13</sup> or eight Years old, into *Syria*; gained a compleat<sup>14</sup> Victory over *Demetrius*, un-  
 der the Auspices of the young Prince; And this *Nicanor*, who was no longer a *Con-*  
*queror* but in Name, fled first into *Cilicia*, and from thence to *Mesopotamia*, and the  
 other most Eastern Provinces of the Kingdom<sup>15</sup> of *Syria*.

to appease the Fury of these Divisions, but to make  
 their own Use of them. But *Athenæus* is of a diffe-  
 rent Opinion, when he says, That the Design of this  
 Embassy, was to restore Peace to these divided King-  
 doms, and to the Sufferers all the Spoils of which  
 they had been unjustly robbed by these Pyrates.

10 *Appian* calls this Prince *Alexander*, and not *Antiochus*, contrary to the express Testimony of the  
 The Maccabees. Holy Scripture; and *Josephus*. He was the Son of *A-*  
*lexander Bala* and *Cleopatra*, who left her first Hus-  
 band to marry *Demetrius Nicanor*.

11 Young *Antiochus* seems to have been about seven  
 Years of Age, when *Tryphon* drew him from his Retreat,  
 to cause him to be acknowledged King of *Syria*: Tho'  
*Livy* makes him but two Years old. This Historian  
 herein contradicts himself; since he owns, *Epit. B. 55.*  
 That *Antiochus* was ten Years of Age when he lost his  
 Throne and his Life. He had reigned but two whole  
 Years, under the Guardianship of *Tryphon*, when he  
 died; and consequently, according to *Livy's* other Ac-  
 count, could at most, be only entered into the fifth  
 Year of his Age.

12 *Antiochus Epiphanes* had built this famous Ci-  
 tadel, in a Quarter of *Jerusalem*, called *The City of*  
*David*; thereby to secure *Jerusalem* to him, and to  
 make the *Jews* feel the Yoke of Slavery to which he  
 had reduced them. *Apollonius*, the King of *Syria's*  
 General, immediately gathered into this Fortrefs, all  
 the Apostate *Jews*, and added them to the Idolatrous  
 Soldiers which composed his numerous Garrison.  
 The new Citadel became the Retreat of all the Rogues  
 and Robbers in *Judæa*; and the Inhabitants of *Jeru-*  
*salem* greatly suffered long by it, through the Cruelties  
 and Insults committed there by this insolent Rabble.  
 See 1 *Maccab.*

13 *Alexander Bala* no sooner became King of *Sy-*  
*ria*, but he married *Cleopatra*, the Daughter of *Ptole-*  
*my Philometor*, in the Year of the *Greek Era* 162, ac-  
 cording to the Chronologists, which answers to the  
 Year of *Rome* 603. Supposing then that she bore *Antiochus*  
 nine Months after her Marriage with *Alexander*,  
 the young Prince must have been at least seven Years  
 old, in the second Year of the Reign of *Demetrius Ni-*  
*canor*, and the 169th of the *Greek Era*, when *Try-*  
*phon* caused himself to be crowned King of *Syria*, in the  
 City of *Apamea*.

14 *Athenæus* says. *B. 5.* That *Demetrius's* Army was  
 commanded by General *Sarpedon*; and That the Bat-  
 tle was fought in the Plains of *Ptolemais*.

15 The Kingdom of *Syria*, when it fell to the Share  
 of the first *Seleucus*, after the Death of *Alexander the*  
*Great*, contained, to the South, *Palestine*, *Phœnicia*,  
 and *Cælosyria*; to the East, *Adiabene*, *Mesopotamia*,  
 and *Babylon*; to the West, *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, and  
 some other Provinces; and to the North, *Syria pro-*  
*perly so called*, and *Comagene*. So that this extensive  
 Country made one of the most powerful Monarchies  
 in the World. The Masters of these vast Dominions  
 gave themselves the Title of Kings of *Asia*, because the  
 most considerable and finest Part of that great Country  
 was subject to their Dominion. Nevertheless, in the  
 Reigns of *Seleucus's* Successors, several Parts of this  
 great Kingdom dismembered themselves from it, either  
 in order to give themselves Sovereigns of their own,  
 or to recover their Liberty, under the Protection of  
 the *Romans*. In the Time of *Demetrius Soter*, *Syria*  
 was inclosed between *Egypt*, *Babylon*, *The Mediterra-*  
*nean Sea*, *Natolia*, *Pontus*, and the other Provinces  
 which reach from the Coasts of *The Archipelago* to the  
 Springs of *The Euphrates*.



§. IV. The Son of *Alexander Bala* was therefore now in Possession of *Antioch*, and Year of of the Throne, under the Guardianship of *Tryphon*, who made it his first Business to R O M E gain over *Jonathan*, and the Jewish Nation. He wrote pacifick <sup>16</sup> Letters to this Pon- DCXVI. tiffical King, sent him some Gold Plate for his Table, permitted him to cloath himself M. ÆMILIUS in Purple, and gave his Brother *Simon* the Command of all the Coast, from *Phœnicia* LEPIDUS, & to *Egypt*. This made *Jonathan* a Friend to young *Antiochus*, and an Enemy to the C. HOSTILIUS ungrateful *Demetrius*; and at this Time, this wise Conductor of the People of God, re- MANCINUS, newed his Alliance <sup>17</sup> with *Rome* and with *Lacedæmon*; for the *Lacedæmonians* were <sup>1 Mac. 12.</sup> likewise thought to be descended from <sup>18</sup> *Abraham*. Then, under the Protection of the new King of *Antioch*, and the *Roman* Republick, he undertook to cut off all Commu- nication between the City of *Jerusalem* and the Citadel, (of which the *Syrians* had been Masters, ever since the Time of *Antiochus Epiphanes*) gained his Point, and promised himself a lasting Peace. But the Ambition of *Tryphon* soon troubled his Repose. This Guardian of young *Antiochus* advanced towards *Judæa*, with all the Forces of *Syria*. His Point then in view was, to wrest the Crown out of the Hands of his Ward; and he thought the Faithful *Jonathan* would obstruct the Execution of his Treachery. And in- deed the bold High-Priest had penetrated into his Designs, and in order to prevent him, went to meet the *Syrian* General at the Head of 40000 *Israelites*, and came up with him at *Bethsan* <sup>19</sup> a City of *The Tribe of Manasseh*. At the sight of so many Troops, *Tryphon* was intimidated, and had recourse to Artifice instead of Force. No Declara- tion of War had been made; and the *Syrian* found it easy to deceive the Jew, with good Words. To what end, said he to *Jonathan*, are all these Preparations? Our Hearts are united. Why then these Arms and hostile Proceedings among Friends? Dismiss this useless Train, and let us go together to *Ptolemais* <sup>20</sup>. I will put you in Possession of that City, as a Reward for the Services you have done young *Antiochus*. Credulity is too often the Fault of good Men. *Jonathan* trusted to the Fidelity of a Deceiver; dismissed his Army, keeping only 3000 Men with him; and afterwards sent 2000 of them to *Galilee*. So that he entered *Ptolemais* with a Guard of only 1000 Men, who were all

<sup>16</sup> In the Letter *Tryphon's* Ward wrote to *Jonathan*, he granted him the Privilege of drinking in a Gold Cup, and of wearing a Gold Clasp, as the Princes of his Blood did; and likewise gave him, according to the sacred Historian, the Government of four Cities.

<sup>17</sup> It was with an intent to strengthen the Alliance already made between the two Republicks, that *Jonathan* sent *Numenius* and *Antipater* to *Rome*, as is related in the *First Book of Maccabees*. The Ambassadors were introduced into the Senate; and had the Pleasure to find the Senators well disposed towards the Jewish Nation. After they had assured the two Envoys of their Good-will and Protection, they ordered Letters of Recommendation to be expedited for them, addressed to all the Princes and Governours of the Countries through which *Antipater* and *Numenius* were to pass in their return. From *Rome* they went to *Lacedæmon*, where they received the same Demonstrations of Friend- ship.

<sup>18</sup> *Arius* King of the *Spartans* or *Lacedæmonians*, in his Letter to the High-Priest *Onias*, acknowledges, that the *Lacedæmonians* were descended in a direct Line from *Abraham*, as well as the *Hebrews*; and the sacred History is so clear in it, as to leave no room for Doubt. The difficulty is, to trace out this Descent, which is lost in the Obscurity of those ancient Times. The Interpreters who attempt this, give us nothing but Conjectures. Some go back to the Children of *Abraham* by *Keturah*, and are inclined to believe that some of them, or their Descendants, led a Colony into *Peloponessus*, and divided themselves in the different Quar- ters of that great Province. They support this Opini- on on the Authority of *Josephus*. According to him, *Abraham* persuaded the Children and Grand-Children he had by *Keturah*, to make new Settlements. Others, as the Jesuit *Serrarius*, have recourse to the Old Scho- last of *Pindar*, who says, That *Laconia* was first in- habited by the *Achæans*, and then by the *Dorians*; and the latter appear to *Serrarius*, to have been Na-

tives of the City of *Dora* in *Palestine*, and consequent- ly the Descendants of *Abraham*. And if these Con- jectures are not sufficient, he borrows the Testimony of *Stephen of Byzantium*, who speaks of one *Sparton*, a Jew, and a Man of *Sparta*, who founded the City of *Azotus* in *Judæa*, and gave it his Son's Name. Whence the Jesuit concludes, That anciently the *Spar- tans* and *Jews* were in a manner but one People.

<sup>19</sup> The City called *Bethsan* by the *Hebrews*, *Me- thora* by *Zonaras*, and *Bazan* by *Cedrenus*, stood on the Confines of *Galilee*. It is the same that is mention- ed in the first Chapter of *Joshua*. The *Canaanites* kept Possession of this City, which was the most Con- siderable one in *Decapolis*, after the *Israelites* had con- quered *Palestine*. It stood in the middle of a great Plain, near the Mountains of *Gilboa*, one Mile on this side *Jordan*, and 120 *Stadia* from *The Lake of Gennesareth*, according to *Josephus*; who computes, that *Bethsan* was 600 *Stadia*, or 25 *French Leagues* from *Jerusalem*. The *Greeks* gave it the Name of *Scytho- polis*, as it is called 2 *Mac. xii*; because anciently in- habited by *Scythians*. These People, according to *He- rodotus*, had extended their Conquests as far as to *Syria* and *Palestine*, in the Reigns of *Psammitichus* King of *Egypt*, and *Cyaxares* King of the *Medes*. *Pliny* pre- tends, upon the Credit of an ancient Tradition, That *Bethsan* was anciently called *Nysa*, from the Name of *Bacchus's* Nurse, whom the *Scythians* buried near that Place. The Eastern Nations now call it *Elbeyzan*. It was on the Walls of this City, says *Josephus*, *Antiqu. B. 6*, That the *Philistines* hung up the dead Bodies of *Saul* and *Jonathan*. *Ptolomy* places it, by mistake, in *Cælosyria*. The *Talmudists* say, That before the *Ba- bylonish* Captivity, it was subject to the *Israelites*, who had at last driven the *Canaanites* out of it. But, after- wards the *Affrians* made themselves Masters of it, and continued so, long after the Return of the *Jews*.

<sup>20</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 562. Note 57. This City is now known by the Name of *St. John D'Acra*.



Year, of slain by the Inhabitants; and *Jonathan* alone was kept alive, in order to be exposed to more cruel Treatment.

DCXVI. In the mean time all *Jerusalem* thought him dead. His Brother *Simon*, who thought himself the only surviving Son of the five his Father *Mattathias* had had, took upon him the Command of the Troops of his Country; and made haste to revenge the Cause of God, and the Death of his Brother. The Syrian Army, on the other hand, left *Ptolemais*, advanced towards the Land of *Judah*, and encamped near *Addus*<sup>21</sup> in The Tribe of *Ephraim*. *Jonathan*, loaded with Chains, and narrowly watched, followed *Tryphon* to his new Camp. The *Israelitish* Army marched towards *Addus*, and *Simon* posted himself near the Syrian Camp. And then the artful *Tryphon* invented a new Stratagem to rob the *Jews* of their Wealth, and *Jonathan* of his Children. He sent a Députation to the *Jewish* Camp, to inform *Simon*, That his Brother was alive; That he had detained him Prisoner only on account of the Money he owed to the King of *Syria*; and That he would set him at Liberty, if the *Jews* sent him 100 *Talents* of Silver, and *Jonathan's* two Sons for Hostages. This the Ambassadors insisted, was a necessary Precaution; because *Jonathan* was so much exasperated, that unless he gave them security for his Fidelity, they should always have reason to suspect his joining with the *Egyptians* and *Romans*, to make War upon the *Syrians*. *Simon* had a very good Understanding, and had always preserved that Character among his Brethren; and he was not without his Suspicions of some hidden Treachery concealed under these artful Speeches. But he was afraid of the Censures of his People. He concluded, That, upon his Refusal, *Tryphon* would put *Jonathan* to Death; and the People ascribe that Death to him as the Author of it, by refusing to send the 100 *Talents*, and the two Hostages. He therefore resolved to comply, perhaps at the Request of the People; the Money was sent, and *Jonathan's* two Sons went into Confinement to their Father. And then *Tryphon* pulled off the Mask; and openly declared himself an Enemy to the *Jewish* Nation. His Army marched towards *Jerusalem*; and after some Digressions, drew near to <sup>22</sup>*Bascaman*; the place which the cruel Syrian chose for the Execution of *Jonathan*<sup>23</sup> and his two Sons. But whether he destroyed them by Poison or the Sword, no Historian is exact enough to inform us. Thus perished that virtuous *Jonathan*, that Restorer of the Holy City, and that brave Leader of his People, whom Victory always attended; and in whom, in a Word, Heaven seemed to have revived the great *Judas Maccabeus*. *Simon* succeeded both, and in his turn became the Commander of the People of God; at first indeed with less Authority, but afterwards with a truly regal Power.

*Joseph, B. 13, Liv. Epit.*

After the Death of *Jonathan*, the way was open for *Tryphon* to pursue his Ambition to his utmost Wishes; and the Traitor then turned his Rage against the young King, his Ward, whom he had established on the Throne. This Son of *Alexander Balas* was troubled with the Stone; his Guardian caused him to be cut for it; and ordered the Surgeons to kill him in the Operation. By this means, *Tryphon* made himself Master of a great Part of the Kingdom; and immediately after his Elevation, the Usurper made the *Syrians* feel all the Weight of a Tyrannical Government. Then *Simon* fore-

<sup>21</sup> *Addus*, which *Josephus* calls *Addita*, was a City situated on a Mountain, which commanded The Plains of *Judah*, and was not far from *Jerusalem*.

<sup>22</sup> The Author of the History of the *Maccabees* says, That the Snow which covered the Ground hindered *Tryphon* from entering into the Country of *Gilead*, and that he therefore stopped near *Bascaman*.

<sup>23</sup> This City could not therefore stand in *Gileaditis*, as *Josephus* and some Geographers after him have pretended.

<sup>24</sup> *Josephus* does not agree with the History of the *Maccabees*, when he says, That *Tryphon* did not form his Design of killing *Jonathan* the High-Priest, and young *Antiochus*, till after *Demetrius* had been vanquished and taken Prisoner, by *Arsaces*, the King of the *Parthians*. At the same time that the sacred Text places the Defeat and Captivity of the King of *Syria*, in the 172d Year of the *Greek Era*, it tells us, That *Jonathan* and young *Antiochus* had been dead ever since the 170th Year of that *Era*.

\* Pl. 4. N. 3.

24. As soon as the Traitor *Tryphon* had got rid of

his Ward, by assassinating him, he made all haste to secure himself the Protection of the *Romans*. He sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, according to *Diodorus Siculus*, to notify his Accession to the Crown of *Syria* to the Republick; with Instructions to present the Roman Senate with the Statue of A Victory of solid Gold in his Name, and prevail on them to confirm him in his Title of King. The Statue, according to the same Historian, weighed 1000† of those Pieces of Gold, which were called *Aurei*; each of which was worth 25 *Attick Drachmas*, that is, about 12 *Liures*, 10 *Sols*, *French*, as we have observed Vol. 4. p. 488. Note 17. But the Senate were not surprized by the artful *Tryphon*. They received the Present, and ordered the Name of the young King *Antiochus* to be inscribed on the Pedestal. A very notorious Proof that the *Romans* were not inclined to favour the unjust Designs of a Parricide and a Tyrant.

Add to this, that tho' young *Antiochus* had only the Shadow of a Regal Power, without the thing, he is honoured with the Title of a King in a Medal\*. The Lineaments



foreseeing that so violent a Reign could not last long, no longer kept any Correspondence but with *Demetrius*<sup>25</sup> *Nicanor*, who was then confined to *Upper Syria*. *Judæa* acknowledged only this Prince to be King, obtained of him a Discharge from all Tributes, and recovered a perfect Liberty. Under *Simon's* Government, the City of *Gaza*<sup>26</sup>, which had revolted after the Death of *Jonathan*, was retaken: And to complete the Happiness of the *Jews*, the Citadel of *Jerusalem*, of which a *Syrian* Garrison had now kept Possession for seven and twenty Years, was forced by<sup>27</sup> Famine to surrender. A happy Year! which the holy Nation have ever since commemorated with Joy; and which became an<sup>28</sup> *Æra*, by which they dated their publick Acts.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXVI.

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
C. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
Consuls.

1 Mac. xiii.

§. V. In the mean time, the Kingdom of *Syria* was still divided between *Tryphon*, who ruled in *Antioch*, and *Demetrius Nicanor*, who had fled for<sup>29</sup> Refuge to the *Upper Provinces*, round about *Babylon*. The latter made haste to assemble some Troops to go and drive out the Usurper; and, in order to make<sup>30</sup> new Levies, entered into a Canton of *Media*, which *Arfaces*<sup>31</sup>, King of the *Parthians*, claimed as a part of his Territories,

Lineaments of Youth appear in his Face; and the Reverse is charged with a *Jupiter*, who holds in his Hand the Image of *Victory*, to point out the Advantages he gained over *Demetrius Nicanor*, the lawful King of *Syria*. The Inscription of the Medal gives *Antiochus*, besides the Title of King, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ, those of GOD, THE ILLUSTRIOUS, and THE VICTORIOUS, ΘΕΟΥ, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ. We have elsewhere observed, that the Kings of the East were fond of these pompous Titles.

<sup>25</sup> *Simon* had sent Ambassadors to *Demetrius* to offer him all the Forces of *Judæa* against the Usurper; but at the same Time insisted, That the King should engage to observe the antient Treaties, and leave the *Jews* in the full Enjoyment of all their Privileges. *Demetrius* having no better Resource, in the melancholy situation of his Affairs, granted all, and received from the Envoys, the Golden Palm-Tree and Crown, which the High-Priest sent him, by way of Homage.

<sup>26</sup> *Gaza*, called also *Gazara*, was formerly one of the five chief Cities of the Country of the *Philistines*. After it had been conquered by the *Israelites*, it became a part of *The Tribe of Simeon*. *Alexander the Great* destroyed it. In its neighbourhood was built another City of the same Name, at a little Distance from the Mouth of the River *Bezor*, and from *Ascalon*. It had a Port, 20 *Stadia*, or a little League, beyond its Walls. This City is famous for the Exploits and Death of *Samson*. We must take care not to confound it with another *Gaza*, near the Confines of *Egypt*. The latter was under the Dominion of the *Ptolomies*. We ought also to distinguish it from another City, called *Gazer*, and *Gazara*, which belonged to *The Tribe of Ephraim*.

<sup>27</sup> *Josephus* had no Reason to say, That *Simon* caused the Citadel of *Sion* to be razed, and the hill on which it was built to be levelled. *The History of the Maccabees* tells us in express Terms, that it subsisted, after *Simon* had made himself Master of it. Besides, *Josephus* contradicts himself. In his Description of *Jerusalem*, B. 6. of *The Wars of the Jews*, he says that the Citadel of *David* then stood in the highest Quarter of the City.

<sup>28</sup> This famous *Epocha* answers to the 170th Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, to the 611th Year of *Rome*, and to the first Year of the High-Priesthood of *Simon Maccabæus*. The *Jews* afterwards annually commemorated this happy time, which put an end to their Slavery.

<sup>29</sup> After the Victory gained by the perfidious *Tryphon* over the Army of *Demetrius*, this dethroned King was, for above two Years, a Vagrant and Fugitive in his own Dominions. At length, according to *Josephus*, the *Greeks* and *Macedonians* settled in *Mesopotamia*, sent a Deputation to invite him to come into their Country, which the Kings of *Parthia* had taken

from *Syria*, in the Reign of *Demetrius Soter*, as we are informed by *Appian*. The Deputies assured him, That he needed only to appear at the head of an Army to reduce this great Province to his obedience, and That the People waited only for his Presence to shake off the Yoke, and follow his Standards. After which, they promised him to carry him back triumphantly into *Syria*, and join their Arms with his against the Usurper of his Dominions. And it is certain, by *The History of the Maccabees*, that, in the 172d Year of *The Greek Æra*, and the 613th of *Rome*, *Demetrius*, seduced by these great Hopes, raised an Army of *Syrians*, who had continued faithful to him, and marched towards the Country of the *Medes*. His Design was to draw Auxiliaries from thence, thereby to enable himself to reduce the Rebel *Tryphon*, whom he had already vanquished, and perhaps forced to abandon the Capital. At least, there appears in proof of this a Medal of *Demetrius Nicanor*, struck at *Sidon*, as the capital Letters ΣΙΔΩΝ shew, in the Year of *The Greek* Pl. 4. No. 4. *Æra* PO, that is 170. On the Reverse, is an Eagle with a Palm-Branch behind him, the Symbol of Victory. But be that as it will, the Success of *Demetrius's* Expedition did not answer his Expectations. *Arfaces*, King of the *Parthians*, whose Kingdom contained *Persia* and *Media*, as well as *Assyria*, would not suffer *Demetrius* to pass through his Frontiers in Arms. He ordered his Officers to do their utmost to take this Prince Prisoner, and bring him to him under a good Guard. Accordingly a Battle was fought, and *Demetrius*, not able to escape from the Conqueror, was taken, carried to *Arfaces*, and imprisoned.

<sup>30</sup> *Justin* had no grounds for saying, That *Demetrius* undertook the War with the King of the *Parthians*, to efface the ill Impressions he had given his People by his Idolence and Voluptuousness; or That, he increased his Army with a considerable Reinforcement of *Persians*, *Elymæans*, and *Bactrians*, who joined him, and with these numerous Troops entered into the States of the King of the *Parthians*, and gained some signal Victories over him; or That, being at last deceived by the false Appearances of a Treaty of Peace, he inadvertently surrendered himself up at Discretion to a perfidious General who seized him, carried him in derision as a Captive through all the Cities of *Media*, and brought him to the Capital, where *Arfaces* gave him a favourable Reception, and softened the Rigour of his Captivity, by honouring him with many Works of Distinction. All these Facts are either unknown to, or contradicted by, the sacred Author of *The History of the Maccabees*.

<sup>31</sup> *Appian*, *Orosius*, *Justin*, and the greatest part both of ancient and modern Authors, give *Arfaces* the Name of *Mithridates*, and make him the sixth King of the *Parthians*, from the first *Arfaces*, the Founder of the Empire, from whom the Kings of *Parthia* are commonly



Year of ritories, and there fought a Battle, in which he was made Prisoner <sup>32</sup> of War. *Tryphon* took Advantage of the Misfortunes of his Rival, and maintained himself on the Throne. *DCXVI.* Put it happened, that *Demetrius*, though a Captive, found means to obtain, not only the Favour, but the Friendship of *Arfaces*, and married his Daughter *Rodogune*. He had, by his Flight, abandoned *Cleopatra* his other Wife, by whom he had had two Children. The brave Queen had retired to *Seleucia* <sup>33</sup> with her Sons; had already assembled a great Army of *Syrians* about her; and only wanted a General to lead it against *Tryphon*. To supply this want, *Cleopatra* cast her Eyes on the younger Brother of her Husband; invited him from *Rhodes*, whither he had retired to escape the Searches of *Tryphon*; and promised to marry him in the room of *Demetrius*, who had deserted her in her Distress, and to put him at the head of the Army which had declared for her. This Prince, named *Antiochus*, and surnamed <sup>34</sup> *Sidetes*, complied with the Sollicitations of *Cleopatra*; and took such Measures as he thought proper to dispossess *Tryphon*, and seat himself in the Throne of his Fathers. The most important of these was, to gain over to him the High-Priest, the Leader of the *Jews*. To this end, he wrote to *Simon*, making him such Offers as were most likely to affect him. He freed the *Jews* from paying any of the Tributes which they had formerly paid to the Kings of *Syria*: And as the Right of coining Money was the only Regal Prerogative which the Heads of the *Jewish* Nation wanted to make them to all Intents and Purposes Kings, he likewise granted them this Privilege <sup>35</sup>; which in all Probability had been taken from them, ever since the fatal Overthrow they had received from *Nabuchodonosor*. The wise High-Priest therefore would not reject such great Advantages, whereby he was invested in the Rights of Royalty, and made a free, independent, and sovereign Arbitrator of the Religion, Revenues, and Government of his Country; but adhered to his Benefactor *Sidetes*, and assisted him in mounting the Throne of his Ancestors, and driving out *Tryphon*.

1 Mac. xv.

Young *Antiochus* then, depending on the Friendship of the *Jews*, left *Rhodes*, came to *Seleucia*, there married his captive Brother's Wife, took upon him the Command of her Army which he led against the Usurper, and he found it no difficult matter to overcome him. *Tryphon* was become the Curse of *Syria*; all his Troops disbanded themselves at the Sight of a Prince of the Blood of the *Seleucidae*; and the Tyrant had no Resource but in Flight. He therefore retired to the City of *Dora* <sup>36</sup> near *Joppa*, where *Antiochus Sidetes*, who closely pursued him, besieged him both by Sea and Land: And during this Siege, the High-Priest *Simon* signalized his Zeal for the new King. He sent him 2000 of his best Troops, with considerable Presents in Gold, coined Silver, and precious Vases. But Prosperity had changed the Heart of *Antiochus*. He sent back to *Simon* his Presents and Soldiers, and by an Ambassador threatened *Judea* with a new War. In the mean time, Heaven justly punished him for his Incon-

commonly called *Arfacidae*. This *Mithridates*, the first of that Name, was the Son of *Priapatus*, who gave Law to this Nation fifteen Years. We shall hereafter speak of the Country of the *Parthians* and *Medes*, and will then relate the Origin and Succession of the Princes called *Arfacidae*.

<sup>32</sup> *Justin*, B. 38. says, That *Demetrius* was carried to *Hyrkania*; and That *Arfaces* gave his Prisoner his Daughter *Rodogune* in Marriage, and caused all the Honours due to Royalty to be paid him: And adds, That the King of the *Parthians* engaged to carry back *Demetrius* into *Syria*, at the head of a powerful Army, and join with him against the Usurper *Tryphon*. But the Death of *Arfaces* frustrated all these fine Expectations. *Phraates* opposed the King of *Syria*'s Return, with

• N. B. The Authors have not given us this Medal in the origin. I plates; unless they mean one and the same Medal, here and before, in Note 29. At least there is but one to answer both References, which is in Pl. 4. No. 4. and which partly agrees with both Descriptions.

a Design to seize his Dominions. According to *The History of the Maccabees*, *Demetrius*'s Expedition into *Parthia*, was in the 172d Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, and the 613th of *Rome*; and if so, the first Year of his Captivity can fall only in the 174th Year of the *Greek Era*. Nevertheless, that *Demetrius* was not yet a Prisoner in the beginning of this Year, appears certain by a Medal \* struck at *Zidon* in honour to him. The *Greek Year* 174, or 174, is expressly marked on the Reverse; and we here see likewise a Palm-Branch, the Symbol of Victory, which ill suits with the State of a King already in Captivity.

<sup>33</sup> The City of *Seleucia* here spoken of was situated at the Mouth of *The Orontes*, near Mount *Pierius*. It was also called *Pieria*, to distinguish it from the other Cities of the same Name.

<sup>34</sup> Besides the Interpretation before given of the Surname of *Sidetes*, some have conjectured, That it expressed the Love *Antiochus* had for the Chase; which the *Phœnician* Word *Sid* signifies. *Eusebius* and the Medals add to his other Titles that of ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ, or *The Beneficent*, and *Josephus*, that of ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣ, or *The Religious*.

<sup>35</sup> Till the Reign of *Antiochus*, the Sovereigns of *Asia* had constantly refused the *Jews* the Privilege of coining Money. Nevertheless *Simon* had not waited for the new Monarch's granting him a Power which the Kings of *Syria* were no longer in a Condition to dispute with him. He had three Years before struck Medals, whereon his own Name was inscribed, with the Year which restored the *Jews* to their full Liberty, by the taking of the Citadel of *Sion*. This Event was represented on the Reverse, by the Figure of a Palm-Tree, or Bunch of Grapes, the Symbol of *Judea*.

<sup>36</sup> *Dora* was a maritime City of *Phœnicia*, situated at the Foot of Mount *Carmel*.



fancy. Tryphon escaped from *Dora*, and found Refuge in *Orthozias*<sup>37</sup>, a strong Place Year of situated on the Coast of *Phœnicia*. It is pretended, that he artfully threw Money in the ROME Road, in order to keep the Pursuers employed on the Shore, whilst he got to his Ship; DCXVI. and that by this means the Troops of *Antiochus* were retarded. Nevertheless, young Sidetes, who found his Army great, divided it, and sent a Detachment, under the M. ÆMILIUS Command of *Cendebeus*, to begin Hostilities with the Jews. The Syrian General re- LEPIDUS, & C. HOSTILIUS built the City of *Gedor*<sup>38</sup> near *Gaza*; and from thence made Incursions, and ravaged MANCINUS, the Land of *Judæa*. *Antiochus*, with the rest of his Army, pursued the Usurper; Strabo, B. 14. Front. in Strabo, B. 2. ch. 13. Tryphon<sup>39</sup> perished, either by his own Hands, or by the Orders of his Conqueror, after he had troubled *Syria*, dethroned one of her Kings, put his Ward to Death, got Possession of the Crown, and much abused his<sup>40</sup> usurped Power. He was abandoned by the very People who had crowned him, and became a signal Instance of the Vengeance of Heaven on Traitors and Usurpers.

Such, in all probability, was the State of Affairs in *Syria* and *Judæa*, when *Scipio Æmilianus*, and the two other Roman Ambassadors arrived there. They found the Syrian Monarchy divided between two Kings, the Throne contended for by two Brothers, the same Queen married at the same time to two Husbands who were both the Sons of one Man, the People divided into different Factions, some for the elder Brother, others for the younger; and lastly, *Demetrius Nicanor* confined to the Eastern Provinces, whilst *Antiochus Sidetes* was Master of the Western. And if we may judge of *Scipio's* Sentiments by the usual Policy of his Republick, he could not but be pleased to see *Syria* thus divided.

As to the holy Nation, He found there a Governor, full of Years, and of great Virtues, who was become a Sovereign in his State, and had very lately been victorious over *Cendebeus* the Syrian, one of *Antiochus's* Officers, by the Success which Heaven had given to the Arms of his two Sons, *John* and *Judas*. But what most endeared *Simon* to the three Ambassadors was his invariable Attachment to their Republick. After the Death of *Jonathan*, he had sent a Deputation<sup>41</sup> to the Roman Senate, to obtain their Approbation of his Promotion to the High-Priesthood; and Rome had taken the Jews in a particular manner under their Protection. The Senate had written<sup>42</sup> to all the Kings and Nations of *The Levant* in their favour, and forbid them to give any Disturbance to the victorious *Simon*. So that the Visit *Scipio* paid the High-Priest could not but be agreeable to both.

<sup>37</sup> We can't say, with *Josephus*, That *Tryphon* escaped with his Fleet to *Apamea*. This City of *Syria*, which stood on the Banks of *The Orontes*, was too far distant from the Sea.

<sup>38</sup> The City of *Gedor* is spoken of in the Book of *Jashua*. According to *St. Jerome*, it was a Town of *The Tribe of Judah*. Whereas *Adrichimius* makes *Gedor* and *Cedron* the same City, and places it in *The Tribe of Dan*, near *Modin*. And it is no easy matter to determine which is right. Nevertheless, it appears by the 15th Chapter of *The first Book of Maccabees*, That the City of *Gedor* was pretty near *Azotus* and *Jamnia*.

<sup>39</sup> *Josephus* allows but three Years to the Reign of *Tryphon*. Nevertheless it is certain, That he begun to reign immediately after the Death of *Jonathan* and young *Antiochus*; and from thence to the last Year of his Life, which was the 7th of *Simon's* High-Priesthood, are reckoned six Years compleat. So that he died about the Greek Year 176, which was the 617th of Rome. The fabulous Account *Athenæus* gives of his Death, has not the least Appearance of Truth. According to him, *Tryphon* having vanquished the General *Sarpedon*, who commanded *Demetrius's* Troops, marched his own along the Shore of the *Mediterranean Sea*. And during his march, a prodigious Wave rose to such an extraordinary height, that falling on the glorious Army, it drowned the General and all his Soldiers, not one escaping. *Sarpedon*, informed of this wonderful Event, came to the Shore, there found thousands of dead Bodies, and Fish without Number, which the Wave had brought thither; and caused a

great part of them to be picked up; and sacrificed to *Neptune*, as the Avenger of Tyranny. But a Story of this kind can only be deemed a Fable.

<sup>40</sup> There yet remain some Footsteps of the Reign of *Tryphon* on some Medals. On that in Plate 4. Pl. 4. No. 5. we see him crowned. The Reverse is charged with an Helmet, the Symbol of War, which the Traitor had declared against his lawful Prince; and he is honoured with the Titles of KING and SOVEREIGN. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΤΡΙΦΩΝΟΣ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ.

<sup>41</sup> *Numenius* and *Antipater* were the two Deputies that *Simon* sent to Rome, to renew the old Alliance. They had already been charged with the same Commission, in the High-Priesthood of *Jonathan*. They presented the Roman Senate with a Buckler of Gold, which weighed 1000 *Minæ*, or 1000 Attick Pounds; and delivered to the Conscrip Fathers a Copy of the Act passed in the Assembly of the Jews; wherein *Simon* was declared supreme Governor of *Judæa*, in consideration of the important Services he and his Brothers had done their Country, in order to deliver it from Oppression. The Senate ratified afresh the ancient Treaties, and acknowledged the Jews to be a free and independent People. This Act was engraven on Tables of Brass, and placed, at the Return of the Ambassadors, among the publick Records of *Judæa* on the Hill of *Sion*. The History of the Maccabees has perpetuated the Memory of this Embassy.

<sup>42</sup> In 1 Mac. xv. we find the Letter which was written in favour of the Jews, by *Lucius Calpurnius Piso*, one of the Consuls for the Year 613.

l. s. d.  
3229 3 4  
Arbuth.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXVI.  
M.ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
C. HOSTILI-  
US MANCI-  
NUS, Consuls.

The Time the *Roman* Ambassadors spent in visiting all the Kingdoms, Nations, free Cities, and principal Islands in the East, could not probably be less than about two Years; so that several Elections of *Consuls* were made at *Rome* during their Absence: And we must now return to the Capital of the World, after this long, but as we imagine, necessary Digression.

Jul. Obse-  
quens, c. 83.

§. VI. The *Consul Mancinus* prepared for his Departure for *Spain*, where the Valour of the *Numantini* disconcerted all the Measures of the *Romans*, and rendered the Efforts of their Generals fruitless; and after he had enrolled as many *Legionaries* as were necessary to supply the Losses *Popillius* had had, he left *Rome*, crossed *Latium* and *Hetruria*, and entered *Liguria*, in order to embark at the Port of *Hercules*<sup>43</sup> *Monæcus*. But, as the *Roman Consuls* often took Trifles for Presages when they were setting out on great Expeditions, the General was now alarmed with an unknown Voice, which cried out to him as he was entering his Ship, *Stop, Mancinus, stop*; and upon this frivolous Motive, he ordered his Galleys to proceed to *Genoa*, and himself went by Land to embark there. By this means he thought to have avoided all the Ill which was foretold by this first Presage; but we are told, he ought to have been confirmed in his Fears by the second. When he was got into the Boat of the Ship, with *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*, who was to attend him as his *Quæstor*, a Serpent appeared in it all on a sudden; and though the Seamen endeavoured to take it, escaped from them. Whereas *Mancinus*, say the Historians, neglected the Prognostick, and set sail: And we shall soon see what Misfortunes beset him after his Arrival in his Province. He made a Campaign there, which might have ruined the Affairs of *Rome* in *Spain*; if the *Pro-Consul Brutus* had not supported him, by his Victories and Conquests in *The Further Province*.

We left *Brutus* with his Army passing the Winter beyond *The Lethe*, on the Banks of *The Minius*. After some Months of inaction, he crossed *The Minius* in the Spring without any Obstruction; and led his Troops into the District of *Bracæara*<sup>44</sup>, on the Banks of *The Alestes*<sup>45</sup>. During the *Pro-Consul's* stay above *The Minius*, the *Bracarini*, a Nation of Barbarians, who had never yet had any Commerce with the *Romans*, had incommoded his Army. They had not only refused him Provisions, but had intercepted and plundered his Convoys. *Brutus* made no other Declaration of War with them, than by committing Acts of Hostility; and he found that there were none of the *Spanish* Nations, either more fierce, or more jealous of their Liberty. Their Women marched out to the War, as those did in the most distant Regions of *Lusitania*; but the *Bracarian* Women excelled in one particular all the other female Warriors in their Country. They agreed together to fight to the last Extremity, to die rather than retreat, and not to suffer one Word to escape them, which should testify either Weakness or Fear. Inasmuch that nothing was more common among them, than to prefer Death to Captivity. When they were taken in War, they cut their Children's Throats, and killed themselves; and gloried in delivering themselves from Slavery in this manner.

A Nation so fierce and so brave, found the *Pro-Consul* much Employment. Nevertheless some of their Cities surrendered at Discretion. But this was only a Feint. As soon as the *Roman* Army disappeared, they shook off the Yoke, and took Arms again; and no Place in the Country shewed more Inconstancy than *Talabriga*<sup>46</sup>. This City having several times surrendered, and several times revolted, was become guilty of repeated Breaches of several Treaties. *Brutus* came therefore to punish the Perfidiousness, or rather Levity of the *Talabrigians*; and after he had obliged them to sue again for a Peace, which they had so often broken, he imposed harder Terms upon them. He forced them to disarm themselves, to deliver up all their Deserters to the *Romans*, to give them Hostages for their Fidelity, and to march out of their City, in order to go and settle elsewhere. Nay, he made them fear a still more rigorous Treatment. After he had assembled them in a Plain near the City, he reproached them with their Unfaithfulness in a very bitter Speech, and ordered his Troops to

<sup>43</sup> Now *Monded*. See Vol. 2.

<sup>44</sup> *Bracara*, now *Braga*, is one of the most considerable Cities in *Portugal*; and stands five Miles from the Sea.

<sup>45</sup> The *Portuguese* now call it *Rio di Braga*, or *The River of Brâga*; and some *Cavado*.

<sup>46</sup> It is commonly thought that the ancient *Tala-*

*briga* stood where now stands *Talaga*, a Village belonging to the Kingdom of *Portugal*, at a little Distance from the River *Vanga*. Some indeed pretend, That it is now called *Talavera*; but they don't consider, that the latter belongs to *New-Castile*, whereas the City here spoken of was in *Lusitania*.



surround them. They therefore expected to be all instantly destroyed: But there appeared great Serenity in the Countenance of *Brutus*, and he said, *You are now sensible how very great your Faults have been; and yet the Clemency of the Romans is greater. Go; Return to your Houses; and acknowledge, that you are indebted to Rome for your Lives, and your domestick Gods.* By this generous Act he pacified the Country better, than any Force or Violence would have done.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXVI.

M.ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
C. HOSTILI-  
LIUS MAN-  
CINUS, Con-  
suls.

1 Mac. xv.  
App. in Iber.

§. VII. During these Expeditions of *Brutus* in *The Further Province*, the Consul *Mancinus* took Possession of the Army *Popillius* put into his Hands in *Hitber Spain*. But the *Roman Legions* had been discouraged by the ill Success of his Predecessor; and the little Esteem they had had for their General, had induced them to take many Liberties which it was necessary to reform. He therefore continued in the same Camp which *Popillius* had possessed, but with express Orders to his Men, not to disperse themselves in the Fields, or join in Companies to fall on the Parties of the *Numantini*. Nevertheless, the *Romans* were posted so near *Numantia*, that it was difficult to avoid, or prevent, Rencounters; and in them, the *Romans* were continually worsted, and their Army gradually diminished, more than it might have been by general Engagements or pitched Battles. *Mancinus* therefore thought it necessary to draw his Men farther off from the City, and fortify their dejected Minds against their continual Apprehensions of the Enemy; which were so very great, that these brave *Legionaries*, who were the Terror of the whole World, trembled at the very Sight, nay, even at the Shadow, of the *Numantini*. A dark Night was chosen, in which the *Roman Army* were to decamp without noise, and retire to a solitary and inaccessible Place. This was indeed a kind of Flight unworthy of the *Romans*; and yet it would have been very happy for them, if they could have concealed the Time of it from the Enemy. But it was discovered by the following Accident.

The *Numantini* observed a Custom, which almost universally prevailed among the *Spanish Nations*. Marriages were never celebrated among them but at a certain stated Time; and superiour Valour was the only Merit which gave a Man a superiour Claim to a Woman of distinguished Worth. At this time Addresses were made to a young Woman of extraordinary Beauty, by two such illustrious Warriors, that it was not easy to determine, which was the bravest; and therefore the Parents of the Girl resolved to give her to him of the two Rivals, who first brought them the Right Hand of a *Roman*. And as these two were falling out, instead of meeting with one or two Enemies, as they expected, they perceived that the whole *Roman Army* had left their Camp, and were marching in some Confusion, in the dark. They therefore made all haste to inform their Countrymen of it, raised the whole City in Arms, and at the Head of their Troops killed many more than one *Roman*. The *Consular Army* consisted of at least 30000 Men, whereas the *Numantini* did not exceed 4000 at most. Nevertheless, their late Experience had given these brave *Spaniards* so much Confidence, that they thought they could with this small Body, put to rout all the fugitive *Legions*, and immediately dispersed them by a sudden Attack; and the Attempt succeeded even beyond their Expectations. They first seized the Camp which the *Romans* had abandoned; and then being well acquainted with the Roads, they attacked the Enemy, (almost in confusion already in a precipitate march) in several Places at the same time. Fear and Darknefs magnified the Number of the Aggressors in the Imagination of the *Romans*; they made but a feint Resistance, because they knew not the Weakness of the Enemy; and in short, as strange as it may appear, the 4000 *Numantini* killed 20000 of the *Romans*. At the return of the Light, the Consul saw himself surrounded with Dead, and encompassed on all sides by the Enemy, in the midst of Rocks, and in a rough Country. Besides, the Victory of the *Numantini* made them more formidable than before; and in these Circumstances, instead of giving himself up to Rashness and Despair, he acted as Prudence and the present Necessity seemed to require. He made the first advances, and sent to offer the Enemy Peace. This was the Point the *Numantini* had long desired; Peace with *Rome*, and Independence, was what they had most at heart. Nevertheless, they started Difficulties, and refused to treat with *Mancinus*. The ill Success of their Agreement with the Consul *Pompeius*, made them afraid of entering into any other Treaty with a *Roman General*. But at length they consented to treat, provided it should be only with *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, a young Officer whom they respected and esteemed for his Probity and Worth. He was then *Quæstor* in the *Consular Army*; and with him, by the Consul's Consent, the Conferences were begun. Few *Romans* then excelled young *Gracchus* in Eloquence. Besides, his Father had formerly settled *Spain*, and both his Victories



Year of and his Benefactions were still remembered there. The *Numantini* had therefore a value for the Son; and his Negotiation succeeded. It was agreed, That both the *Romans* and *Numantini* should withdraw from the Plain, and continue good Friends. By this means, the Lives of at least 10000 Men were saved to the Republick, besides those of the Servants and Suttlers which usually follow Armies. So that the *Quæstor* hoped to make a Merit of his Negotiation with the *Roman* People. However, it was necessary that something more should be done, for the Confirmation of the Treaty, and to remove the Suspensions of the *Numantini*. They insisted, That the *Consul* and *Quæstor*, and chief Officers of the Army, should confirm their Promises by an Oath; and by their Promises and Oaths, the poor Remains of the *Roman* Army saved both their Lives, and their Liberty. In the mean time, the *Roman* Camp was plundered by the Conquerors, and among other Spoils, they found the *Quæstor*'s Books of Accompts. In the sudden departure of the Army, which was little less than a flight, he had left them by mistake, with some Things of small value. When returned to *Numantia*, *Gracchus* demanded the Books, to enable him to defend himself against Detraction. The *Numantini* received him with great Politeness, restored them, and offered him all the Booty they had taken in the Camp. But the *Quæstor*, charmed with the great Civilities of the Enemy, would accept of none of the offered Spoils, except only a Box full of that Incense which he used to burn in honour to his Gods.

*Plut. in Grac.*

In the mean time, the *Consul* was sinking into Despair in his new Camp, and had indeed no Comforter but the amiable *Gracchus*. His own Reflections distracted him; and the more he considered the Consequences of this shameful Peace, the more he dreaded the Judgments of the People and Senate. The Misfortune of *The Caudian Forks* was ever uppermost in his Thoughts; and the Punishment inflicted on the *Consuls T. Veturius* and *Sp. Posthumius*, filled him with Terror. His Case was a parallel one; and he had reason to expect the same Fate. And indeed, as soon as the Misfortune of the *Legions* was publicly known at *Rome*, *The Conscrip Fathers* immediately resolved to recall him from *Spain*, and dispatch his Colleague *Æmilius Lepidus* thither, with all speed. Accordingly, the latter raised a new Army with all expedition, got ready, and embarked: Whilst the Murmurs against *Mancinus*, and the Authors of the Peace increased, as fast as the new Levies. *What, said the People, is now become of the ancient Valour of the Romans? An handful of Spaniards make the Conquerors of the World tremble. The Peace which the General has given them, is a shameful Confession, which must make us contemptible in the Eyes of foreign Nations. Let us then repeat the Severity of our Forefathers, and deliver up to these new Samnites the Authors of a Treaty which they have confirmed by vain Oaths. They had no Authority from the People of Rome to make it; Mancinus, through the Mediation of Gracchus, did it of his own Head. They have indeed called on the Gods to witness it, but may Heaven inflict Vengeance on the Criminals.* All *Rome* was full of Murmurs of this sort. Nevertheless, the Friends and Relations of *Tib. Gracchus* appeared in his Defence. They urged, *That the Love of his Country obliged him to conclude a Peace, which the Consul's Proceedings had made necessary; That he had saved the Remains of an Army, which was rashly brought into imminent Danger; and That many Civic Crowns were due to him, for having saved the Lives of so many Citizens.* And without doubt, the Cause of *Gracchus* was much more defensible than that of *Mancinus*. Besides, the young *Quæstor* had several other Advantages to plead in his Favour; his personal Merit, his uncommon Eloquence, his engaging Address, the Remembrance of his Father, who had more than once been honoured with the *Consulship* and a *Triumph*, and lastly, the Nobility of his Mother *Cornelia*, who was the Daughter of the Great *Scipio*, and the Pattern of the *Roman* Ladies.

Nevertheless, the *Romans* were much enraged at so detested a Peace. They were all for breaking it, tho' ratified by Religion, and the sacred Sanction of Oaths. Somebody therefore must fall a Victim to their Resentment; and the Senate decreed *Mancinus* to be sacrificed for the publick Good, and begun a Process against him before he arrived. The unfortunate *Consul* returned from *Spain* with the Ambassadors of *Numantia*, who came to *Rome* to maintain their Cause. But these Strangers were permitted to come no further than the Suburbs, lest the Republick should seem to treat them as Allies, and approve of the Peace made with them; tho' she made them the Present usually given to the Ambassadors of such Nations as were Friends to the *Roman* People. As for the *Consul*, he appeared before *The Conscrip Fathers*, and did his utmost to justify himself, with Honour. *It is not, says he, the Fear of being delivered up to the Numantini, and of paying*



paying with my Head for the Blemish I have brought on the Roman Name, which leads me to appear in this Place in my own Defence. When a Man has once lost his Honour, the Loss of Life is little to be feared. I had almost said, that the Consuls who were formerly surprized in The Caudian Forks, have done Honour to their Names, by sacrificing their Persons. And I readily allow, that the Disgrace of my Defeat can no way be so well washed off, as with my own Blood. I am willing to sacrifice my Life to the Gods, and to the Interests of my Country; and it will be allowed me, that the more innocent the Victim is, the more acceptable it will be to the Immortals. I therefore desire to die; and all I aim at is, not leave an odious Name behind me, which shall reflect Dishonour on my Posterity. I have indeed been vanquished, surrounded, and compelled to conclude with an Oath what has since been adjudged a shameful Peace. But what was the Army, Conscript Fathers, which you sent me to command? Undisciplined Legions, which had been beaten a thousand times under their former Generals, and, which is worse, loaded with the Curses of the Gods. Pompey, whose Example I followed, could no otherwise save them from the Dangers from which they had not Courage enough to deliver themselves, than by making, as I have done, a disadvantageous Peace. This Peace you broke, and thereby provoked Heaven. Hence the threatening Presages which appeared before and at my Departure. And when I arrived, ye Gods! In what a Condition did I find your Troops! They were so intimidated, that whenever they marched to meet the Enemy they turned pale; whenever they were attacked by them, they turned their Backs. In short, they were struck with Panicks. I therefore decamped in a dark Night, which was a necessary Precaution; but my Departure was by accident discovered, and I was attacked and surrounded. Were then the brave Gracchus and my self alone sufficient to sustain the Attacks of a whole Army? It was that Cowardice of the Romans, which had forced me to decamp, that brought on them Destruction, and on me Dishonour. In the Morning, I saw nothing around me but the small Remains of the Army which had escaped the Slaughter; and their Danger was evident; their Death, in case of further Resistance, certain. I therefore preferred a Peace to the shedding of so much Roman Blood. This is my Crime; of which let them judge, whose Sons, and Brothers, and Relations and Friends, I have saved. As for you, Conscript Fathers, sacrifice me to your Policy without delay. Your Victim is ready: And may it appease the Gods, whose Anger you must incur, by breaking these two Treaties of Peace!

Year of  
ROME  
DCXVI.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
C. HOSTILIUS  
MANCINUS,  
Consuls.

The Senate was inflexible. They were resolved to continue the War, and utterly destroy Numantia. Nevertheless, a Treaty sacredly confirmed by Acts of Religion could not decently be broken through, without delivering up the Author of it to the Enemy: Whereas, the Example of Pompey, who was not sacrificed, tho' his Treaty of Peace was broken, spoke in favour of Mancinus. And indeed, in the Times of the Roman Virtue, the Fate of two Men, who were either equally Criminals, or equally Innocent, would have been the same. But now the sad Degeneracy of Rome very notoriously appeared on this occasion: Pompey had found Interest enough to get himself acquitted: Mancinus, in the very same Case, was in a manner condemned before-hand. A Decree was passed, That, as soon as his Office should expire, and the new Consuls should be entered on theirs, they should present a Petition to The Conscript Fathers, to disannul the new Peace with Numantia, and deliver up Mancinus to the Numantini. Nor was the Execution of this unjust Decree long delayed. The Consular Year expired in a few Days; Mancinus went out of his Office; and his Colleague Æmilius continued in Spain, with the Character of Pro-Consul, till a Successor should arrive.

Velleius Pa-  
terculus B. 2.

§.VIII. On The Calends of January, P. Purius Philus, and Sex. Attilius Serranus took Possession of the Consulship; and made it their first Business to get the Numantian Affair settled. Audience was given to the Numantian Ambassadors; and their Speaker addressed himself to the Senate with Modesty, and Confidence, in these Words. Do we appear here, Conscript Fathers, as your Enemies, or as your Allies? You have refused to admit us within your Walls; but then you have honoured us with your Presents. Is then our Fate yet undetermined? Have we not done every thing in our Power to deserve your Favour? Had you ever more constant or more faithful Allies than the Numantini, before these unhappy Wars which have harassed Celtiberia for these 18 Years? They left themselves open, to furnish your Armies with Provisions, and your Soldiers with Cloaths. Indeed Despair at last forced us to become your Enemies, in spite of ourselves; and the Gods, affected with our Miseries, have been propitious to us. But have not our Hearts been all along set on Peace, even at a Time of our greatest Successes? Our good Fortune has twice given us the Victory over your Troops, through the ill Conduct of their Generals; and we have

Year of  
ROME  
DCXVII.  
P. FURIUS  
PHILUS, &  
SEX. ATTIL-  
IUS SERRA-  
NUS, Consuls.

twice



Year of twice made Peace with your Consuls. Though Rome disannulled our first Treaty for ROME. Reasons best known to herself; yet when we were a second time so fortunate, as to have it DCXVII. in our Power to destroy a whole Consular Army without suffering a Man to escape, we were not elated with our Success. Numantia chose Peace before the Massacre of her Enemies; and preferred your Friendship to the Pleasure of Revenge. She concluded another Treaty with Mancinus, only with a little more Precaution than formerly; that is, his Promises have been confirmed by the religious Sanction of an Oath: And we are now come to lay these Claims before you. Will you not keep the Promise which your Consul has made us? Shall not respect be shewn to the sacred Obligation of Oaths in a Republick, which has indeed aggrandized herself by her Valour, but which can no otherwise preserve her Conquests than by Justice and Fidelity? But to what purpose do I insist on the Equity of our Pretensions? As much as it misbecomes us to supplicate, we even intreat you to grant our Request. Put an end, Romans, to your inveterate Rage against a City, which will cost you more Blood than it will cost us. She comes to desire your Friendship, and she intreats you by me, to spare the Lives of your own Subjects. If the Voices of the many Legionaries to whom we have given Life, could be heard so far, they would, in Gratitude, intercede for us. Shall then the Romans be excelled in Acts of Humanity, by a People whom they deem Barbarians?

P. FURIUS  
PHILUS, &  
SEX. ATTIL-  
LIUS SERRA-  
NUS, Consuls.

An affecting Speech; but their Roman Pride made the Senators deaf to all other Considerations. Rome could not prevail on her self to let a City subsist, which had obscured the Glory of her Arms, for 16 Years together; and had brought greater Reproaches on her, than even Carthage had done. The Numantini were ordered to withdraw, and the Decree was definitively pronounced in these Words. The Treaty made between Mancinus and the Numantini shall be deemed null, as wanting the Consent of the Republick. As for Mancinus and the Authors of that ignominious Peace, they shall be carried, bound Hand and Foot, to the Gates of Numantia, and delivered up to the Numantini, stripp'd of their Arms and Cloaths. It was necessary, that the People should confirm what the Senate had done; and L. Furius and Sex. Attilius, two Tribunes of the People, undertook to bring the Affair before the Comitia. Then Tiberius Gracchus, who was involved in the same Condemnation, mounted The Tribune of Harangues; and in defending the Cause of Mancinus his General, he pleaded his own with so much Eloquence, as made strong Impressions on the People. He made them sensible of the Injustice of the Decree they were going to pass. But nevertheless they were hurried away with the Violence of their Prepossessions; and would have it, that it was for their Honour that the War should be continued with Numantia. Yet still they thought it necessary to shew some Regard to the Religion of Oaths, and to sacrifice one Man at least, to avoid the Reproaches of Foreigners. And whilst they were in suspense how to solve all these Difficulties at once, Mancinus himself, in an Harangue, in which he displayed his Virtue in a very strong light, desired of the assembled Citizens, That he might be the Person sacrificed to the publick Good. This Request, though probably not without some Reluctance, was granted, and the offered Victim accepted. It determined, That the War should be renewed with the Numantini; and That Mancinus alone should suffer the Punishment to be inflicted, for the unlawful Agreement he had entered into with the Enemies of the Republick without sufficient Authority. With reason therefore does the Spanish Writer cry out, That the Virtue of Rome wholly centered in Mancinus. The old Roman Probity seemed to be transferred from Italy to Spain, and settled at Numantia. Equity required, That the Romans should deliver up to the Numantini, all the Authors of the Peace, especially Gracchus; and with them, all those Soldiers who had been saved by it from Death or Slavery. But Rome surrendered only the General to them. Humanity required, That she should not drive these brave Spaniards to extremity, who longed for Peace, and who had merited it by their Submission. But she was determined utterly to destroy them. Whilst Numantia, on the other hand, had no longer indulged her love of Slaughter, than the Battle made it necessary; and had treated Gracchus even with great Civility and Politeness, and the Consul with Respect.

Orof. B. 5. c.  
5.

App. in Iber.

§. IX. Whilst Rome was proceeding in the surrendry of the unfortunate Mancinus, his Collegue, Æmilius Lepidus, commanded in Hither Spain the shattered Troops which his Predecessor Mancinus had left him. Indeed, since the new Election of Consuls, he acted only in quality of Pro-Consul; his old Forces had been vanquished, and his new ones were not yet disciplined; and he durst not again attack Numantia, whose Fate was not yet determined; nor perhaps was he strong enough, if he would. But, Lepidus loved



loved Glory and Action; and thought it dangerous to let the Soldiers languish in Idleness. He therefore made himself new Enemies, only for the sake of having some to fight with, and keeping himself employed. On the Banks of the River *Durius*, not far from *Leon*, lived a wild People, called <sup>47</sup> *Vaccæi*, who were jealous of their Liberty, and whose Country was more fruitful and more populous than that of the *Numantini*. These, through the Concern that Neighbours and Countrymen usually shew to each other in Affliction, had assisted *Numantia* in her Necessity; and *Lepidus*, seeking a Quarrel with them, magnified this Act into a Crime. He reproached them with having supplied their Neighbours with Arms, Corn, and Men; and upon this Pretence, declared War with these unfortunate *Spaniards*, who were otherwise living in Peace with *Rome*. We have already observed, that the Republick was continually engaged in new Quarrels, in all Parts of the World, not so much by the Determinations of the Senate or People, as by the Ambition of her Generals. And now, *Lepidus*, whose sole aim was to gain the Glory of having entirely reduced the *Vaccæi*, and the Honours of a *Triumph*, entered into Measures, for that end, with the *Pro-Consul Brutus*, whose Daughter he had married. He pressed him so earnestly to leave his *Further Province* for a few Months, and join his Troops to his own, that the Father-in-Law complied, and they entered the Country of the *Vaccæi* together, and ravaged it. *Palantia* <sup>48</sup> was a strong City, and is supposed to have been the Capital of the *Vaccæi*. Nevertheless, the two united *Consular Armies* were more than enough to take it. So that all things were preparing for the Siege of it, when two Deputies arrived in the Camp of the *Pro-Consuls* from the *Roman Senate*, and brought them a *Decree of the Senate*, to which the *Consuls* themselves always paid great deference, tho' it had not, strictly speaking, the Force of a Law. *Cinna* and *Cæcilius*, the two Senators, told them, that the *Conscrip Fathers* had determined, That they should leave the *Vaccæi* in Peace, and quit their Country, that they might not increase the Enemies of the Republick in *Spain*. But *Æmilius* was warm, and full of his Project; and he replied, *The Determinations of the Senate are made at too great a distance from the Scene of Action, and with too little Knowledge of it, to deserve an absolute compliance from the Generals. Many Difficulties are started at a distance, which vanish when we are upon the spot. Besides, The Conscrip Fathers would have Numantia destroyed; and the right way to do this, is to begin with her Neighbours, who have been always ready to assist that rebellious City. If the Senate was here, they would think as I do. It is not known at Rome, that the two Armies of Upper and Lower Spain are united together under the two Pro-Consuls. In a word, I have already gone too far, to retreat. What will all Spain think, if they see us abandon a Country, in which we have already entered so far? They will ascribe it to our Weakness, if we abandon an Enterprize as soon as it is begun; and this will raise them to a Contempt of us and our Arms. Thus spake the Pro-Consul of Hither Spain; and Brutus still pursued his Son-in-Law's Project for a time; nor would he return into his own Province, till Necessity obliged him.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXVII.

P. FURIUS  
PHILUS, &  
SEX. ATTIL-  
LIUS SERRA-  
NUS, Consuls.

*Æmilius* was fully bent on besieging *Palantia*, tho' his Army was but ill-disciplined, or at least had been much dishonoured by its former defeat. The two Generals chose a Place fortified by Nature for their Magazines, and there built Work-houses for the Carpenters of the Army, wherein they built the Machines for battering the Town. An Officer of Figure, named *Flaccus*, commanded there; and took care of transporting Corn to the *Roman Camp*. He was a vigilant and active Man, and had great Presence of Mind. On the other hand, the *Vaccæi*, without hazarding a general Battle, were continually intercepting the Convoys designed for the Magazines, with small Detachments; and it happened one Day, that *Flaccus* was surprized with a small Body of *Romans* in a narrow Pass. But as soon as he saw the Enemy approaching to cut him in pieces, (for he was weaker than they and could not otherwise escape) he, in the critical Minute, thought of a Stratagem, which saved his Life. As if he saw nothing of the Approach of the Enemy, he ordered his Soldiers to cry out aloud, *Victory! Victory! Palantia is taken!* These Words struck the *Vaccæi* with Terrour; they dispersed without thinking more of the Attack; and the *Romans* continued their March.

App. in Iber.

<sup>47</sup> The *Vaccæi* formerly inhabited the Country which is now a Part of the Kingdoms of *Leon* and *Old Castille*, on both sides the River *Duero*.

<sup>48</sup> *Palantia* is now a City of the Kingdom of *Leon*, situated in a very fruitful Country, and watered by the little River of *Carrion*.



Year of But the Shame of having been deceived only made the *Vaccæi* the more vigilant, in in-  
 R O M E tercepting the Convoys of the *Romans*; so that the Preparations for the Siege went on  
 DCXVII. slowly. The want of Provisions in the Camp increased daily; the *Pro-Consuls* finding  
 it no easy matter to procure them, in the midst of a fierce and warlike People. *Æmi-*  
 P. FURIUS *lius* often repented of his rash Enterprize, and his Neglect of the Senate's Ad-  
 PHILUS, & vice. He could neither get Bread for the Men, nor Forrage for the Horses; and  
 SEX. ATTIL- his Obstinacy was forced to submit to extream Necessity. In short, *Brutus* would  
 LIUS SERRA- carry his Complaisance for his Son-in-Law no farther; and he first proposed leaving  
 NUS, Consul. the Camp, and ordered all Things for a Retreat. The Time he appointed for de-  
 camping was the middle of the Night, and then great Confusion ensued in the Trenches.  
 The Soldiers hindered one another by their Numbers. The two *Pro-Consuls* gave and  
 repeated different Orders, which threw the different Bodies into an uncertainty what to  
 do. Some were impatient to be gone; others were dilatory; and the greatest difficulty  
 was, how to take care of the Sick. The want of Provisions had made them numerous,  
 and there were no Carriages to convey them. Nevertheless, the Generals commanded  
 the Armies to move; and when *The Eagles* were in motion, the Officers drove on the  
 Men with their Lances at their Backs. Tho' no Preparations were made for decamping,  
 no Provisions collected, no retreat secured; yet leave the Camp they must, before  
 break of Day. Then the Sick and Wounded uttered bitter Cries, and complained of  
 their being thus abandoned to the Mercy of the Barbarians, their Enemies. But every Man's  
 Thoughts were wholly taken up with providing only for his own Safety; and without  
 any regard to the Lamentations of so many unhappy Wretches, the rest began their  
 March without keeping any Ranks, or repairing to their respective *Ensigns*; and indeed  
 in little better Order, than if they had actually been disbanded.

*Diod. apud  
Vulsc.*

*Epit. Liv.*

The *Vaccæi* were vigilant Enemies; and the Flight, rather than the Decampment of  
 the *Romans*, was not unknown to them. They therefore pursued the Enemy in their  
 Retreat; attacked them sometimes in Flank, and sometimes in the Rear; and a great  
 Slaughter was made of the *Pro-Consular* Troops, which were worn out with Fatigue and  
 Hunger, and marched in great Confusion. And as for the Generals, *Brutus* was now  
 very sick of his excessive Complaisance to his Son-in-Law; *Æmilius* was so fat and un-  
 weildy that he could scarce move; and neither of them had the Honour to save the Re-  
 mains of his Army. For they disbanded themselves, and saved themselves by flight;  
 and very happy it was for them, that they were pursued no further by the *Vaccæi*, who  
 were tired with their March, and with the Slaughter. They had killed 6000 *Romans*;  
 so that this was a more shameful rout than any the *Numantini* had given them. Never-  
 theless there is reason to believe, that *Brutus* lost fewer Men than the imprudent *Æ-*  
*milius*: For we shall soon see him recovering his Credit in *The Further Province*, by  
 the most glorious Conquest; whilst his Son-in-Law, ashamed of an Enterprize at-  
 tempted contrary to the Opinion of the Senate, and now become odious to his Soldiers,  
 and the Contempt of the *Spaniards*, only waited for the coming of a Successor, who soon ar-  
 rived. The Consul *P. Furius* landed in *The Tarragonian Province* in a few Days, and  
 brought with him the unfortunate *Mancinus*, who was to be delivered up to the *Numan-*  
*tini*. *Æmilius* returned aboard the same Fleet which had brought the Consul; and when  
 he arrived at *Rome* met with a more favourable Treatment than he had deserved. The  
 People assembled in *Comitia*, only condemned him to pay a Fine. A very slight Pu-  
 nishment, if compared with that inflicted on *Mancinus*, who was more unfortunate than  
 faulty!

*Florus B. 2. c.  
18.  
Orat. B. 5. c.  
5.  
Cic. de Orat.  
B. 1.*

§. X. As the new General *Furius* was come into *Spain* only to renew the War with  
 the *Numantini*, in order to his proceeding regularly, it was first necessary, that he  
 should send their Victim to them. It was indeed an affecting Sight, to see a Consul who  
 had been very lately surrounded by *Fasces*, guarded by *Liētors*, and at the Head of a  
 flourishing Army, now deprived of all the Marks of a *Roman Citizen*, stripp'd naked to  
 the Waste, and formally committed to the Conduct of a *Fecialis*. However, this Priest  
 and Ambassador marched on, as commissioned both by the Gods and the Republick, to  
 put *Mancinus* into the Enemy's Hands, for having, as was pretended, imposed on them  
 by a false Peace, and unlawful Oaths: And the brave *Roman*, whose Gravity and Con-  
 stancy were not at all diminished, advanced, under the Conduct of his Guide, towards  
 one of the Gates of the City. But, the *Numantini*, to shew *Mancinus* and his Conduct-  
 or, that they did not think the Blood of one Man a sufficient Atonement for the Breach  
 of Engagements confirmed by the most irrevocable Oaths, had shut the Gate. They de-  
 manded



manded the Surrender of all the Soldiers whose Lives had been saved by those solemn Promises; and insisted, That they either would not have *Mancinus*, or would have all the Remains of his Army with him. So that the courageous *Roman*, who was given up by his Fellow-Citizens, and rejected by his very Enemies, and was become the Contempt of some, and abandoned by all, lay a whole Day before the Gates of *Numantia*. Till at length, when the Day was fully closed, the *Consul Furius* declared, That, as the Republick had offered the *Numantini* their Victim, and they had refused to accept it, she had sufficiently discharged all the Obligations, that either Religion, or the Law of Nations, had laid upon her. This was his Persuasion; and after he had consulted the Auguries, he brought back *Mancinus* to his Camp, received him with Tenderneſs, entertained him with Respect, and restored him to all the Rights of a *Roman Citizen*. He was likewise afterwards restored to his Place in the Senate, and took his Seat among *The Conscript Fathers*.

Indeed a *Tribune of the People*, named *Rutilius*, a Man of Moderation, but a strict Observer of the Laws, opposed *Mancinus's* Reception into the Senate. Tho' he did Justice to his Valour, was affected with his Misfortunes, and thought no Dignity too great for his Merit, yet he believed him to be, in his present State, disqualified from enjoying any. It was an established Law among the *Romans*, That when a Father had sold his Son, or the Republick had given up a *Citizen*, that Son, or that *Citizen* was ever after a Slave, and could not be restored to his Liberty. From whence *The Tribune* concluded, That *Mancinus* was incapable of sitting in the Senate; and when he took his Place there, *Rutilius* addressed himself to him, thus. *I wish, Mancinus, you had abstained from coming hither, and not obliged me, by this Usurpation, to an Act of Severity which is disagreeable to myself. You are no longer a Roman. By your Oaths and our surrender of you up to the Enemy, you are become a Foreigner. Your Country now is Numantia. By our Laws, no Man can have a Seat in this sacred Sanctuary of the Republick but a Roman Citizen; which you are not. Be advised then, to rest satisfied with leading a private Life in Rome; and don't draw down the Curses of Heaven upon the most august Assembly in the World. You are still liable to the Vengeance due for the breach of your Oaths; and if you sit here, you will bring dishonour upon us in the fight of Men, and make us responsible to the Gods for the Engagements into which you have entered. Unless therefore you willingly withdraw, I shall be obliged to order you to be taken out of the House.* The Case was new, and one of those called *Capital*. It was brought before the People assembled by *Centuries*; and by their Determination of it, they settled a Point of Law, which fixed the nature of *Donations*, or Gifts, of which *Deditions*, (or the giving up Persons to the Enemy) was one Species. It was adjudged, That since the Enemy had not accepted *Mancinus* after the Republick had delivered him up, he continued in possession of all his ancient Rights: Because a Gift, in the nature of the Thing, implies and supposes its being accepted; otherwise it is not properly a Gift. A Determination which was as equitable, as the Foundation of the present Proceedings against the *Numantini* was unjust; and the Republick kept strictly to her new Maxim, in the present Instance. *Mancinus* was afterwards advanced to the *Prætorship*. And so far was this great Man from being ashamed of the low State to which his ill Fortune had reduced him, that he transmitted the Remembrance of it to Posterity, by a Brass Statue which he ordered to be made in the same Attitude, and in the same Habit of a Slave, in which he had appeared under the Walls of *Numantia*. Thus the Affair of *Mancinus* had no other ill Consequences, than those of disgracing *Rome* in *Spain*, and of lowering young *Tiberius Gracchus*. Till after his *Prætorship*, he was as promising a *Citizen*, and as faithful a Subject, as any in the Republick. But as no body bore a greater Part in the Peace of *Numantia* than himself, he looked with great Indignation both on the Treatment given to *Mancinus*, and on the unjust Favour which had been shewn to himself. Nevertheless he kept his Resentment within his own Breast; and we shall not see it break out, till we find him chosen *Tribune of the People*, and judging himself to be thereby in a Condition signally to display it against the Senate.

In the mean time, the War with the *Numantini*, tho' already declared, was not renewed whilst *Furius* continued in *Spain*. His Office seems to have been confined to the delivering up of *Mancinus* to the *Numantini*; or perhaps he had Orders not to expose himself to the first Fury of so terrible an Enemy. At least its certain, if that were the Case, he did not go beyond his Commission. He was very cautious not to take any false Step. Before he left *Rome*, two of his Enemies, *Metellus* and *Pompey* had spread Rumours among the People to his Disadvantage. They had suggested, that *Furius's* Government

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXVII.  
P. FURIUS  
PHILUS, &  
SEX. ATTILIUS  
SERRANUS, Consuls.

Epit. Liv. B.  
56. c. 15.

Ibid. c. 18.  
Cic. de finib.  
B. 1.  
Pomponius  
Jurisc. Dig. B.  
50.  
Auth. de Vir.  
Illustr.  
Plin. B. 36.

Epit. Liv. B.  
56. c. 8.

Val. Max.  
B. 3. c. 7.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXVII.

P. FURIUS  
PHILUS, &  
SEX. ATTIL-  
LIUS SERRA-  
NUS, Consuls.

Val. Max.  
B. 6. c. 4

Jul. Obse-  
quens. c. 84.

in Spain could not but be odious to the Nation where he was going to command. Upon which, this wise *Consul*, with a Confidence worthy of his great Mind, intreated the Senate that his two Defamers might be his Lieutenant-Generals, and prevailed. Being therefore attended by two Witnesses, to whose ill Dispositions towards him he was not a Stranger, he kept a strict guard upon himself, and suffered nothing that was blameable to escape him. Perhaps indeed this Reserve was some Restraint upon him, and suppressed the Sallies of his warlike Temper. At least, we know that he undertook no Enterprize; but gave the *Numantini* time to breathe.

§. XI. This was not the Case of *Brutus*, who was again chosen *Pro-Consul* in *Further Spain*. In *Lusitania* he more than recovered the Disgrace he had suffered with his Son-in-Law among the *Vaccæi*. He carried on his Conquests to the most western Borders of the Continent; and it was very probably there that he saw, with a religious Horrour, the Sun set in the Sea; or in the Language of some Historians, the Flambeau of the World extinguished in the Bosom of the Waters. The only City, that stopped the Progress of the Conqueror, was <sup>49</sup>*Ceninia*. He summoned it to surrender, and afterwards offered to redeem it from Pillage for a Sum of Money. But the proud *Spaniards* answered, *That their Fathers had left them nothing but Iron, for their Defence; and That Ceninia would not maintain her Liberty against covetous Aggressors, with Gold.* Nevertheless, all the Country sunk so fast under the Roman Arms, that *Brutus* soon had but very few Conquests to make, in a Region into which the Roman Armies had never penetrated before: And it may be affirmed, that this was the only News the Roman Senate and People received, for this whole Year, which gave them Pleasure. The other Advices from both the East and West, were disagreeable. The first Sparks began to break out of an ignominious War with revolted Slaves, which we reserve for its proper place hereafter, that we may not interrupt here the regular Course of the History: And *Illyricum* already felt the first Motions of another approaching War. Rome was alarmed at it, and all the Success of her Generals could not remove her Fears; which the disastrous Presages, reported from all Parts, increased. It was said, That a sudden Fire, the Cause of which could not be discovered, had consumed almost the whole City of *Rhegium*; and That a Child had been born with two Heads and four Feet. Streams of hot running Water had been seen at *Puteoli*, of the Colour of Blood. The Lightning had often fallen and done Mischief. Another Child had been born of so monstrous a Figure, that the *Auspices* had ordered it to be burnt, and the Ashes thrown into the Sea. All these Prognosticks made Rome tremble. And lastly, this disastrous Year ended with the 58th *Lustrum*. In the *Census* taken by *Appius Claudius* <sup>50</sup>*Pulcher*, and *Quintus Fulvius Nobilior*, the *Censors*, they computed 323000 Citizens fit to bear Arms. After this, Rome proceeded to the Election of new *Consuls*; and to recall *Furius* from Spain. *Sex. Attilius* was appointed *Pro-Consul* <sup>51</sup> in the Country of the *Veneti* with a Commission to settle their Limits: And *Brutus*, the only Comfort of his Republick in these gloomy Times, was confirmed in his Government of *Further Spain*, for the fourth time.

§. XII. When the Season came, the People assembled in *The Field of Mars*, and conferred the *Consular Fasces* on two Men, one of whom appeared to have more Valour, the other more Wisdom. The former was *Serv. Fulvius Flaccus*, the latter *Q. Calpurnius*

<sup>49</sup> *Cenina*, called *Cinniana* in *Antoninus's Itinerary*, stood between *Bragæ* and *Guturraes*, in *Lusitania*. There are no Footsteps of it now remaining. The Place where it formerly stood is now called *Sitanina*.

<sup>50</sup> Though the Names of these two *Censors* have not been transmitted to us by the Roman Historians; some traces which remain of them in *The Capitoline Marbles*, give us good reason to believe, that one of them was *Fulvius Nobilior*, who had been *Consul* in the Year of Rome 600. And for a Collegue, *Sigonius* gives him *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, who was *Consul* in the Year 610. *Plutarch* tells us, in his *Life of Æmilius*, That *Claudius* was *Scipio Æmilianus's* Competitor for the *Censorship*; and the same Historian, (in his *Apophthegms*), and *Appian*, represent him as a very considerable Man, who after he had been honoured with the *Consulship*, *Censorship*, and the Dignity of *Prince of the Senate*, died before the Year 624. All that remains then is,

to find the exact Time of his *Censorship*; and we can find no other than the Year 617.

<sup>51</sup> An old Inscription engraven on a *Terminus*, is the only Monument we have, which proves the *Pro-Consulate* of *Sexus Attilius Serranus*. This Inscription informs us that he, by order of the Senate, put an end to the Differences which had arisen between the Inhabitants of *Est* and *Vicenza*, about their Limits. This Inscription is placed by *Pighius*, in the Year of Rome 618. We refer our Reader for an Account of the *Veneti*, now *The State of Venice*, to our Dissertation upon the Origin of these People, Vol. 2.

<sup>52</sup> *Cicero*, in his Book of *Illustrious Orators*, reckons *Servius Fulvius Flaccus*, among those who distinguished themselves by their Eloquence at the Bar. He compares him with *Servius Fabius Pictor*, and *Anulus Postumius Albinus* who was *Consul* in the Year 602; and to whose Honour a Statue was erected in *The Theatre of Corinth*, as he himself testifies in one of his Letters



*nius Piso.* Nevertheless, the Province of *Further Spain*, and the War with *Numantia*, Year of fell to the Lot of the latter, and the Government of *Italy*, a pacifick Scene, free from all *ROME.* military Functions, to the former. But Fortune soon made the brave *Flaccus* amends *DOXVIII.* for the Injustice she had done him. Before his Office expired, a new Scene opened, *SERV. FUL-* which called him to conquer, and from which he returned to triumph. Ever since the *VIUS FLAC-* Conquest of *Illyricum*, in the Time of *Gentius*, who had been engaged in the Wars with *CUS, & Q.* *Perjes*, the *Romans* had suffered the *Illyricans* to enjoy much of their Liberty. They *CALPURNI-* were only obliged to pay one third of the Taxes which their ancient Kings had laid upon *US PISO, CON-* them; and might very well have been content with such easy Treatment, if they had *suls.* understood their own Happiness. But the *Vardæi*, or *Ardæi*<sup>53</sup>, a People on the *Illyri-* *App. in Illyric.* *can* Coast, whose Neighbourhood to the Sea had enriched them, attempted to shake off the *Roman* Yoke. They joined the *Palarians*, a Nation probably situated on the same *App. in Illyric.* Coast, and entered with them into the Country called *The Roman Illyricum*; doubtless, because the *Roman* Magistrate resided there. As soon as the first Motions of these restless People were known at *Rome*, the Senate endeavoured without delay to appease them. *Rome* was already overburthened with an unfortunate War in *Spain*, and with a rising War with the Slaves in *Sicily*: And therefore Deputies were immediately dispatched to *Illyricum*. But all attempts of an amicable Accommodation were fruitless. The *Vardæi* saw that the *Romans* feared them, and they increased their Hostilities. It was therefore necessary to have recourse to Force, and a *Prætorian* Army of 10000 Foot and 600 Horse was ordered thither.

This News alarmed the *Vardæi*. They were not yet prepared for a settled War, and perhaps had hopes of making the Revolt more general. To gain time therefore, they sent Ambassadors to *Rome*, promising an entire Submission; and the Senate, who at another time would not have been so indulgent, only required of them a Sum of Money, to make Satisfaction to the private Persons whose Lands they had ravaged in their rambling Incursions. But the Decree of the Senate was not executed. The Mildness of it raised the Pride of the Rebels, who renewed their Hostilities; and the Multitude of the Revolters was so great, that *Rome* was forced to have recourse to more violent Measures. The *Consul Fulvius Flaccus* was ordered to lead a *Consular* Army to *Illyricum*; and there, by one Battle, he brought these Madmen to reason. He shut them up in narrow Passes, where they perished, partly by the Enemy's Swords, and partly by their own: After this Victory, he penetrated into the Country of the Rebels, put no stop to his Incursions till he came to the Sea-side, and then punished the Vanquished for their Insurrection. He forced them all to quit their native Country, and transplanted them into a dry inland Province which he left them to cultivate. There these seafaring Men, whom Trade and Piracies had enriched, became but bad Husbandmen; and being obliged to draw their Subsistence from an ungrateful Soil, they soon lost their Courage, which had made them so warlike. Their Fatigues lessened their Colony, and these *Ardæi*, who were formerly so formidable, became the Contempt of all *Illyricum* which they had in a manner governed. By this compleat Victory, and so wise a Transmigration of these People, the *Consul* merited the Honours of a *Triumph*; which was almost a new Sight in *Rome*. It was now a great while since the *Romans* had been entertained with any of these majestick Processions. The Glory of their Generals had been much eclipsed in *Spain*, ever since the beginning of the *Castilian* War, which was not yet ended; nor were all their Misfortunes there yet past.

§. XIII. *Calpurnius Piso* was set out for *Further Spain*, with a Commission to renew the War with the *Numantini*; but he was afraid of them. He, like his Predecessor, durst not appear before their City. Tho' his Army was numerous, he feared it might undergo the Fate of those of *Pompey* and *Mancinus*, and himself follow their Examples. And it must be allowed, that the new General had some Reason for this timorous Conduct. The Proceedings of *Rome* against *Mancinus*, might well deaden the Courage of her Generals, more than the most insuperable Resistance of the *Spaniards*. The People and the Senate severely punished their *Consuls* for being unfortunate. *Calpurnius* *App. in Iberic.*

ters to *Atticus*. This is the same *Postumius*, who wrote a *Roman* History in *Greek*, which gave occasion to *Cato's* Jest, which we have mentioned Vol. 3. p. 488. Note 101. He was, according to the *Roman* Orator, Eloquent, and a Man of Letters. As to *Fabius Pictor*, he was Eminent, for the Knowledge he had acquired in

the Study of the Law, and of Antiquity.

<sup>53</sup> The *Ardæi* inhabited a Canton of *Serusia*, next the Sea, over against *The Isle of Rhodus*. They took their Name from Mount *Ardius*, which is a Part of *The Alps Julia*, and divides *Dalmatia* in the middle.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXVIII.

SERV. FUL-  
VIUS FLAC-  
CUS, & Q.  
CALPURNI-  
US PISO, Con-  
suls.  
Oros. B. 5. c.  
3.

Plut. in Grac.  
Eutrop.  
Cic. in Brut.

Val. Max. B.  
8. c. 15.  
App. in Iber.  
Cic. de Amici-  
tia.

therefore resolved to make no attempt upon the *Numantini*, but led his Army into the Country of the *Vaccæi*. There he contented himself with living in the Enemy's Country, and with ravaging the Neighbourhood of *Palantia* without besieging the City. And after he had carried off the little Booty he could get, he retired into *Carpetania*<sup>54</sup>, where he spent the Winter in Tranquillity.

But *Brutus* discharged his Duty with great Glory. He crossed Mountains covered with Forests, and passing between inaccessible Rocks, penetrated at length into the Country of the *Callaici*<sup>55</sup>, or *Gallæci*. There he found an Army of 60000 *Spaniards*, which exposed him to all the Dangers that could be run, in a most violent and difficult War; the Particulars of which are not transmitted to us. All that we know of it is in Substance this, That he at last found means to surround this formidable Army, killed 50000 of these Barbarians, made 6000 Prisoners of War, and almost extirpated the whole Nation. From thence he had the Surname of *Callaicus*, or *The Gallician*: And he may indeed well be said to have been one of the most famous Conquerors of his Age. The Republick therefore thought it necessary that he should be continued in *Lusitania* till *Numantia* should be entirely reduced; judging him to be the only Person capable of keeping the Nations of *The Further Province* in their Duty, whilst the War should be pursued with Vigour in *The Hither*. So that *Brutus* did not return to *Rome* to triumph there, till three Years after, when *Spain* was entirely pacified. With the Spoils which he brought from his Province, he caused at least one Temple to be built, and ordered some Verses to be engraved on the Front of it, which the Poet *Attius* had made for that purpose.

When the News of these Victories of *Brutus* was brought to *Rome*, it raised the Murmurs of the People against the two last *Consuls*, who had been sent successively to *Tarragonian Spain* with great Armies, for their Inactivity. *How is it possible*, said they, *that a City defended only with an Army which never exceeded 10000 Men, can have so long exhausted the Forces of so powerful a Republick?* Hannibal scarce destroyed so many Citizens in all the Battles he fought, as have been cut off by this contemptible Town of *Numantia*. *Are we then no longer Romans, that we suffer a Spanish City to establish it self on the Ruins of Rome?* *Does Numantia, which is as weak now as Rome was when first founded, aim at being Mistress of the Universe in her turn?* *We have utterly destroyed Carthage, which boasted of being our Rival, and shall we suffer this paltry Place to dispute the Superiority with us?* These were the Thoughts of all the Roman People when they were assembled in *Comitia*, to chuse *Quæstors*. *Scipio*, surnamed *The Second Africanus*, was then just returned from his Voyage to *Asia*, where he had succeeded in all his Negotiations, and had caused even the *Parthians* to revere his Republick. His Absence had raised his Credit among the People, and he was therefore inclined to make a little Trial of his new Interest with them. One of his Nephews, named *Fabiûs Buteo*, the Son of that Brother who had been adopted from the *Æmilian* Family into the *Fabian*, was a Candidate for the *Quæstors*hip for the next Year; and *Scipio* offered to present him in Person to the assembled People. But to his great Surprise, the *Tribes* demanded to have *Scipio* for their *Consul*, and said, *That he only could destroy Numantia, who had destroyed, Carthage!* This publick Declaration, which *Æmilianus* had never sought, put him in Nomination for one of the next *Consuls*, though there was an Obstacle in his way. At the Motion of *Cato the Elder*, a Law had been made for some Years, whereby it was enacted, That the same Person should not be twice promoted to the *Consulship*. The Design of this was, to diffuse the Honour as much, and oblige as many Families with it, as possible. So that all Orders of Men in the State were interested in the Regulation, and it was scarce possible to dissuade it. And therefore *The Tribunes of the People*, in order to raise *Scipio* a second time, which the Law forbade, to a Dignity, to which it was necessary for the State to advance him, took this Method. They, with the Assent of the *Senate*, proposed to the *Comitia*, That *Scipio* should have a special Privilege given him for his Promotion, which should never after be made a Precedent. The People accepted the Proposal with joy; and the whole Republick assembled in *The Field of Mars*, nominated him *Consul* for the next

<sup>54</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 46. Note 107.

<sup>55</sup> The *Gallæci* possessed that Part of *Spain* which is now called *Gallicia*. It now has, to the East, *The Asturia's*, from which it is separated by the River *Eo*, or *Miranda*, and the Kingdom of *Leon*. To the North and West, it is bounded by the *Ocean*. And to the South, *The Minho* divides it from *Portugal*. It is

said to be about 50 Leagues long and 40 broad. But it formerly reached much further towards *The Pyrenæes*, and contained a Part of *Old Castille*. This appears by the Situation of *Old Numantia* which bordered upon *Gallicia*, tho' the Place where it stood is now further up in *Castille*.



Year; and with him *C. Fulvius Flaccus*, Cousin-German to the present *Consul* of that Name.

Then the bare Expectation of having *The Second Africanus* at the Head of an Army in *Spain*, raised the Spirits of the People, who were dejected, at the News from the East and West, and at the Presages which had lately been observed. Besides the Revolts in *Illyricum*, the <sup>56</sup> *Scordisci* were in motion, and it was necessary that the *Prætor* of *Macedon* should stop their Progress. The War of the Slaves in *Sicily* was more warmly carried on than ever. *Numantia* triumphed at the Cowardice of the *Roman Consuls*, and <sup>Epit. Liv.</sup> from their Fears of attacking her, concluded herself to be invincible. Whilst the Prognosticks foreboded nothing but Evil. An Ox was said to have uttered articulate Words. Mount *Ætna* had emitted more Flames than usual. An Owl had been heard to hoot o- <sup>Jul. Obsequ.</sup> ver *The Capitol*, and in the Neighbourhood of the City. What more then was wanting <sup>c. 85.</sup> to make the *Romans* wish for a *Consul* born under good *Auspices*?

§. XIV. Such was the Situation of Affairs, when *Scipio* and *Caius Fulvius* took possession of the *Consulate*, on the first day of *January*; and their Provinces were not chosen by Lot. The Senate ordered, That *The Second Africanus* should have this further Privilege, That he should go and command in *Hither Spain* without drawing Lots with his Collegue. The Government of *Italy* therefore was, for some time, in the Hands of *Fulvius*, who was soon after drawn into *Sicily* by the Affairs of that Island, to subdue the mutinous Slaves. But we shall for the present postpone our account of his Conduct there, in order to fix our Attention wholly on *Numantia* and *Scipio*.

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DCXIX.  
P. CORNEL.  
SCIPIO AFRICANUS, & C.  
FULVIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

Nevertheless, it ought first to be observed, that to the *Prætors* usually chosen every Year with the *Consuls*, was now added that *Furius Flaccus* who had just conquered the *Vardæi*, and whose new Province was *Illyricum*. So that he was the first who erected a *Prætorial Tribunal* in the ancient Kingdom of *Gentius*, where he kept this inconstant People in awe, and himself enjoyed the Peace he had procured.

To which I must again add, though not without blushing for *Rome*, some of those numberless Prodigies, which she scrupulously enquired after, and as scrupulously took care to expiate. It was reported, That the Sun had been seen in the Night at *Amiternum*; That it had rained Blood; That an Ox had spoken; That at *Anagnia* a Slave's Cloaths had been burnt, and no Marks of the Fire left on his Body; That a Bird had groaned like a Man, upon *The Capitol*; That a Buckler had been struck with Lightning in the Temple of *Juno*; That in the same Temple a Child had been heard to cry when the Doors were shut; That the Earth had opened at *Luna*, and a Lake gushed out at the opening; That at *Rome*, some Birds had been seen, which were unlucky, or unknown ones; and lastly, That at *Minturnæ*, a Wolf had devoured a Soldier of the Guard. In order to avert the Misfortunes foretold by all these Presages, 27 Girls were ordered to march in Procession through all the City, and appease the Wrath of the Gods, by singing Songs.

However, these popular Superstitions did not delay the departure of the brave *Scipio*. But the Senate would not raise any new Levies for him, or increase the Forces that were to serve under him. They said, There were Soldiers enough in *Spain*; and That they only wanted a good General who knew how to command them. He had likewise this difficulty, That the Republick did not pay him the Money which was necessary for the Campaign. She only assigned him Funds upon Tributes which were not yet due. But he found Means to raise the Sums the Republick delayed to pay him, among his Friends; and his greatest Complaint was, at her not suffering him to make any new Levies. The Senate adhered to their first Resolution, and would only give him leave to borrow in his own Name, as many Auxiliaries as were wanting to enlarge his Army, of the Kings and Nations in alliance with *Rome*. They were satisfied his Reputation would induce Multitudes to follow his Standards. The *Consul* therefore begun with forming a Body of Horse, of about 500 Men, which he ever after called, *The Squadron of his 57 Friends*. Then the Cities of *Italy* lent him 4000 Volunteers, whom he put under the Command

App. in Iber.  
Plut.  
Val. Max. B.  
2. c. 7.  
Epit. Livian.

<sup>56</sup> The *Scordisci* inhabited a Canton of *Rascia* and *Bosnia*.

<sup>57</sup> Of this Number probably was the Poet *Lucilius*: At least, according to *Velleius Paterculus*, he bore Arms under *Scipio Africanus* in the War with the *Numantini*, at the same time as *Marius* and *Jugurtha* did. But if so, *Eusebius* must be mistaken in fixing the Birth of *Lu-*

*cilius* to the first Year of the 158th *Olympiad*, that is, to the Year of *Rome*, 605; or at least, it must be allowed, that he was but 15 Years old, in the Year 620, when the *Romans* went to the Conquest of *Numantia*. And at this rate, *Lucilius* must have entered into the Troops before the Age of 17, the Time prescribed by the Laws for taking *The Virile Robe*, and entering into milita-



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~  
P. CORNEL.  
SCIPIO AFRI-  
CANUS, & C.  
FULVIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

Command of *Quintus Fabius Buteo* his Nephew, and his *Quæstor*. And lastly, he wrote to his Friend *Micipsa* in *Numidia*, who survived his two Brothers, and now reigned alone there, desiring him to send him some Reinforcements into *Spain*. This done, he immediately embarked, and took the shortest way to his Province, to take upon him the Command of his Army.

§. XV. When he arrived, he found that, among the *Roman Legions* which *Calpurnius Piso* delivered up to him, Idleness had produced Licentiousness, and Licentiousness introduced all sorts of Vices. He therefore revived in his Army that severe Discipline which he had kept up in *Africa*, when he went thither to reduce *Carthage*. He said now, as he had formerly done, That the first Enemy he had to subdue, was the Untractableness and Effeminacy of his *Legionaries*; That this would indeed be a more difficult Conquest than that of *Numantia*; but that the *Romans*, when once well disciplined, would again become invincible. To this end, he resolved to employ a whole Year, in bringing his Troops into good Order; and never was greater Severity used. He began with clearing his Camp of all the Traders, Sutlers, and Servants, which were very numerous, and only helped to increase the Luxury and Sloth of the Soldiers. Nor did he spare even the Bath-Keepers which followed the Camp, and seem'd very necessary to keep the Men clean. When some Mutineers asked him, *Who should rub them when they came out of the Baths?* He pleasantly replied, *Do as the Mules do; rub one another. Indeed we suffer Horses to be dressed; but it is because they have no Hands.* Scipio likewise banished from his Army, a more dangerous Plague than all these. There were 2000 Women, who lived in the Trenches, and some of them in the Tents; but he expelled them all. After this, he cleared his Camp of a very great number of Carriages and Beasts of Burden, which served either to carry the *Legionaries*, or to ease them of those heavy Burdens, which the old *Roman Soldiers* used to carry in their Marches, and the Weight of which made their Bodies the stronger. And he took care to drive out all Fortune-tellers, which were more likely to dishearten, than to encourage his Soldiers. Nay, he would not even suffer them to consult the Entrails of the Victims. *These Superstitions*, said he, *make Men fearful of the future; whereas a brave Roman ought never to fear, even a present Danger.* He likewise ordered, That no Utensils but Spits, Kettles, and

military Service. And indeed, it was not uncommon for Fathers to carry their Children to the War before the Age fixed. But be that as it will, *Lucilius* was born at *Suessa*, a City in the Country of the *Aurunci*, and not of the *Volsci*, as *Vossius* falsely pretends. The *Roman Historians* give him the Title of a *Roman Knight*; and they say he wrote 30 Books of *Satyr*s, in which he was not afraid to censure in a very severe manner, several Persons of the greatest Distinction. *Horace* and *Juvenal* say, That he attacked Vice with such Severity, that his Pen was more formidable to bad Men than his Sword. Being a Friend to Virtue only, says *Horace*, he reviewed all the Villains of his Age, and unmask'd those Hypocrites, who, under a false Appearance of Severity, concealed the most shameful Weaknesses. *Scipio* and *Lælius* were so far from blaming this Liberty, that these two great Men did him the Honour to admit him to partake of their Diversions. When retired from the hurry of Business, they laid aside that Air of Authority and Importance, which their great Employments gave them, to enjoy plain and common Pleasures with *Lucilius*. They did not disdain to condescend to the innocent Sports of their Infancy. The *Old Scholiast* of *Horace* says, That at *Scipio's* House, *Lucilius* ran after *Lælius* and beat him with a Napkin, whilst they were waiting for Supper. They both, says he, ran round about the Beds spread in the Hall, like Children, one endeavouring to strike, the other to avoid the Blow.

Of all the Works of this Poet, nothing now remains but Fragments. Some quote as his, a Comedy called *Nummularia*; and some, as *Porphyrio*, ascribe to him, *The Life of the Great Scipio Africanus*, whose Exploits were sung by *Ennius*. Perhaps he wrote it at the Request of *Scipio Æmilianus*, the Grandson of the former by Adoption. The little that remains of his Poetry, is sufficient to shew the inequalities of his Style, and to justify the Reproach, which the Criticks cast on him,

for having given himself too much up to the Rapidity of his Genius. His odd mixture of *Greek* and *Latin*, his Verbosity, his abounding in useless Circumstances, and the bad Cadence of his Verses, made *Horace* say, That his Vein was muddy. Nevertheless he had his Admirers, and some were so fond of him, that they carried Strops of Leather under their Robes, to whip such as should dare to despise his Verses. And *Quintilian* is so far from being of *Horace's* Opinion concerning him, that he ranks him among the first Satyrists. But *Cicero*, who had commended his Learning in his first and second Books *De Oratore*, refuses him the same Commendation in his first Book *De Finibus*. According to *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, he died at *Naples*, aged 46 Years. That *Horace*, by speaking of him as an old Man, implies that he lived longer. But the Argument which some Moderns draw from *The Licinian Law*, quoted by *Lucilius*, does not hold against *Eusebius*. They suppose, without any Proof, That this Law against expensive Entertainments, was published in the Year of *Rome* 656, by *Publius Licinius Crassus*, then Consul. No ancient Author fixes the Time of the Publication of this Law; which leaves us at liberty to say, That it was done in the Tribuneship of the same *Licinius*, in the Year of *Rome* 643. And upon this Supposition, the Law he quoted will have been published 6 Years before his Death, if he lived only 46 Years; and consequently, it is not strange, that he should mention it.

*Porphyrio* says, That *Lucilius* was the Brother of *Pompey's* Grandmother, and *Acron*, an ancient Commentator on *Horace* pretends, That *Lucilius* was the Father of *Lucilia* the Mother of that great General. If so, it is surprizing that this Fact should have escaped those who have written the Life of *Pompey*. *Antonius Augustinus* is inclined to believe, That *Lucilia* was the Daughter of a Brother of *Lucilius*.



Cups should be suffered in the Camp; and forbad all sorts of Victuals, but boiled Meats and roast. And as for Beds, he would not suffer one to be used; and was the first to lay without one himself. He said, a little Turf was sufficient to procure a Man a moderate Sleep. Rigours, which from a General less esteemed, would have raised Murmurs, Disobedience, and perhaps Mutinies, in the Army; but *Scipio* met with little Contradiction. The Respect and Esteem his Men had for him, made them tractable.

A stop being thus put to the Intemperance, Luxury, and Incontinence of his Troops, he proceeded next to inure them to the most rigorous, painful Fatigues. He sent them out of the Camp in Companies every Day, and ordered them to march in good order through the Fields. Sometimes he directed the Officers to lead them designedly through miry Roads, and through fordable Rivers, in their Cloaths; and when they returned to the Camp dirty, or wet, he told them, *'Twas but fit, that they should be covered with Water or Dirt, since they were not in a Condition to go and cover themselves with Blood.*

In order to inure them to labour, he made them dig Trenches and fill them up again; or raise the Ramparts of a Camp, and immediately demolish them. *Since they don't know how to handle their Swords, said he, let them learn how to use the Spade and Mattock.*

These insulting Reproaches insensibly revived some Sentiments of Honour in the Breasts of the Legionaries, who were all Citizens of Rome, and some nobly descended. Nevertheless the General did not treat them with any Ceremony. When he saw one of them polishing his Buckler with great Care, he said to him, *I am not surprized at your Work; You had rather use that, than your Sword. I order you to wear one that is heavier, and not so fine.* Nor did he spare even The Tribunes, whose Lenity had caused all these Disorders. One Day, finding in the Baggage of one of his Officers an obscene Cup, he said to him, *I know you will never do me any great Service in the Army; but the Thing most to be feared is, that you will lose your Character in the Republick!* All these Reproofs were given with a grave and serious Air; and he conversed little with his Soldiers, and was difficult of Access. He was quite another Man than formerly. His Ease and good Nature seemed now turned into Reserve and Severity. The Reason of which was, That he did not regulate his Conduct by his Inclinations, but by the present State and Necessity of Things. The Seeds of Vice were so deeply rooted in these Roman Troops in *Hither Spain*, that they seemed not to have any Remains of their ancient Probity; and this was the Cause of all the Misfortunes which they had successively brought on all their Generals. Exactness, nay Severity was become necessary to reform them; and *Scipio* neither shewed them any Favour, nor bestowed on them any military Reward.

When he encamped, he kept this Order. The advanced Guard on the March surrounded the Place where the new Camp was to be pitched. The Body of Horse which he called *His Friends*, were kept moving about at a proper distance, as if they were going to make Discoveries. Within the Line made by the advanced Guard, the rest of the Army were employed, in digging the Ditch, raising the Ramparts, and pitching the Tents; and all these Works were to be finished at a stated Hour. The General was continually in motion all over the Plain, exciting the Workmen and punishing the Slothful. No one was exempt from the common Task, which was regularly performed, either out of Fear or Duty; till at length the General found none of them refractory. If a *Legionary* had not performed his Orders, he was corrected with Vine-branches; if an Auxiliary, he was severely whipped with Rods. By this Means, the Consul established Discipline in his Army, in a few Months, and then began to have some dependance on the Valour of his Soldiers.

§. XVI. In order to prove it, he came and posted himself a little nearer to *Numantia*; but with Caution. He set no advanced Guards round his Trenches, neither did he send out any Horse upon the Scout. All his Troops continued in his Camp, without stirring. The prudent General thought it of the utmost Consequence to him, not to suffer one of his Detachments to be surprized or beaten by the Enemy. The least Disaster would have lessened his Reputation, and discouraged his Troops: And the more severe he was to them, the more necessary it was to keep up the Esteem they had for him. Besides, the *Numantini* were a crafty Enemy, and had long been accustomed to conquer. *Scipio* was therefore afraid of making any false Step in their Territories; and did not continue long in their Neighbourhood. After having shewn his Army *Numantia* at a distance; he soon retired from a Country where it was not convenient he should make a long stay. Nevertheless, he resolved to ravage the Fields before he left it. He began with those behind him, and then proceeded to those on his Right and Left. And when only those a

little

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SCIPIO AFRICANUS, & C.  
FULVIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

Florus, B. 2.  
c. 18.

App. in Iber.  
Plut. in Apoph-  
theg.

App. in Iberic.



Year of little beyond the City were to be spoiled, he summoned a Council of War; not so much  
 R O M E with a Design to abide by the Determination of his Chief Officers, as to try their Valour  
 DCXIX. and Prudence. He put the Question, Whether they should march beyond *Numantia*,  
 P. CORNEL. and compleat the Devastation of all the neighbouring Country? And then *The Tribunes*  
 SCIPIO AFRI- of his Army which had been affrighted at the Shadow of the *Numantini*, affected great  
 CANUS, & C. Courage. They replied, *Let us brave the City, march close by it, and leave it behind us*  
 FULVIUS without fear. So that the General had the Pleasure to see the Fears of his Officers a little  
 FLACCUS, diffipated. But their new Valour was degenerated into Rashness. The *Consul* therefore  
 Consuls. replied, *The Time is not yet come for braving so formidable an Enemy. Can we pass by Nu-*  
*mantia, without drawing these brave Defenders of their Country upon us? Which if we do,*  
*we must then fight at a Disadvantage, with Men who will have a ready and sure Retreat*  
*within their Walls. And if I could promise to conduct you safe to the Place desired, could I un-*  
*dertake to secure your Return? The Danger would be great, and the Advantage small.*  
*The pillaging one Field more, is not a sufficient Motive for us to hazard all. An enterpri-*  
*zing General at the Head of an Army on which he could depend, could do no more. Where-*  
*as You — Spare me the trouble of repeating the Reproaches which the Republick has had*  
*a Right to cast on you, for many Years last past.*

Thus spake *Scipio*, and drew off his Troops towards the Country of the *Vaccæi*. He had been informed, That a publick Market was kept there, to which the *Numantini* came, to furnish themselves with Provisions; and having a design to besiege the City, he would first deprive it of a Magazine which was always ready to supply it. After he had taken a large compass, the *Consul* entered this fruitful Country, and mowed all the Corn that was standing, not sparing even that which was not ripe. As much as he wanted for the Subsistence of his Camp was carried thither, and the rest thrown in Heaps, and burnt. The *Vaccæi* did not suffer their Country to be laid waste without Resistance; and *The Tribune Rutilius Rufus*, who afterwards wrote the History of this Campaign, was sent by the *Consul* to support the Reapers. He commanded a pretty considerable Body of Horse, which he led against the Enemy, and pressed them too warmly. He unfortunately fell into an Ambuscade, which the *Vaccæi* had laid for him, on an Eminence. Upon this, he stopped short, drew up his Men in close Order, and commanded them not to throw a Dart, or stir a Step, or strike a Blow, till the Enemy came within reach of their Swords. But he was at a great Disadvantage; the Enemy destroyed the *Roman* Horse with their Darts, which they threw at them from a distance. In the mean time, the *Consul*, who suspected that an excess of Valour might carry Men so often accused of Cowardice, too far, had himself kept them in his Eye, and followed them at a little distance. And when he had joined them, he managed them in a very different manner. He first ordered the Horse to divide into two Bodies, and then commanded them alternately, one to keep their Post, and the other to fall upon the Enemy. When the first returned from the Attack, the other went to it; and upon every return from it, they still gained more and more Ground towards the Plain. Till at length, the *Romans* brought themselves by degrees out of the Snare, and returned to their Camp without much Loss. Thus *Scipio* gradually hardened those Troops, which had been in so much disrepute.

At length, it became necessary for the Army to quit a ruined Country; which the *Consul* did with great Precaution. He knew the Enemy waited for him at the Pass of a River; and for fear of being obliged to fight in a marshy Ground, he chose to take a Compass, and disappoint the *Vaccæi*. During his March, he encouraged the People through whose Countries he passed. Upon the Rumour of the Approach of the *Roman* Army, the *Caucæi*<sup>58</sup> abandoned their Villages and Towns, and left their Fields to the Mercy of the Pillagers. These poor People remembered that they had formerly been given up for a Prey to *Lucullus's* Soldiers, and they feared the same Fate again. But they met with a more equitable Treatment from this more humane *Consul*. *Scipio* ordered a Declaration to be made from him, That they might return to their Houses, and gather their Harvest in Peace. This great Man did not measure his Victories by the Desolation of the Countries through which he passed. It was a Maxim with him, That it was necessary to gain the Affection of the People bordering on his Camp, in order to get Supplies from them in Time of need. Nevertheless his Army suffered much, in the long Circuits

<sup>58</sup> The *Caucæi* were so called from the City of *Cauca* or *Gaucia*, which still retains its ancient Name, and is in *New Castille*, between *Segovia* and *Valladolid*.



he took through dry Countries. Water was wanted both for the Men and Horses. They were forced every where to dig Pits, from which they often could get nothing but bitter and brackish Water. But all these Fatigues of the Soldiers were what the General had had in view. He did not regard his being obliged to remount his Cavalry with a great Number of fresh Horses, his main End was answered. This was to inure his Troops to military Labours, and rouse them out of that Languor, which had brought such Dishonour on the Republick. And indeed, when he brought his Army into the Country of the *Numantini*, to pass the Winter there, they were quite another Set of Men. Frugality, Vigilance, and a Love of Duty, had taken the Place of Effeminacy, Laziness, and Indolence. So that a whole Year was well spent, in bringing back the *Romans* to a Sense of their ancient Virtue. And, tho' *Scipio* will generally be thought to shine most, as a great Commander, in the Conquest which will soon follow; I cannot but doubt, whether he does not more deserve our Admiration, for his Conduct in this Year of his *Consulship*, which he spent wholly in reforming his Troops. Had he not made these Preparations for it, he never would have immortalized his Name by the Conquest and Reduction of *Numantia*. He might perhaps have fallen, as his Predecessors did, before this Bulwark of *Spain*; if he had not first rooted out the Vices of his Troops, before he undertook to destroy it.

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FULVIUS  
FLACCUS,  
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§. XVII. The Winter likewise, which the *Romans* spent encamped within the reach of their Enemies, sufficiently exercised their Patience. Their General increased their Labours, and would never suffer any Men to march out of the Camp, without carrying their Tools with them; or to return to it, without bringing home Stakes for Palisades. Of this some complained as an Hardship; but *Scipio* answered them, *That he would not cease to insist on their bringing Wood to fortify the Camp, till they had learnt to fortify it with their Swords.*

At this Time, the *Consul* received the Reinforcement of Cavalry, Elephants, and Slingers, which *Micipsa* sent him from *Numidia*. They were a fine Body of Men, and well mounted; but what most distinguished them, was the young Prince who commanded them. His Name was *Jugurtha*; a Name, with which the *Romans* will be but too well acquainted hereafter. After he shall have learnt the Art of War, in his earliest Youth, under the greatest *Roman* Officer of his Age, we shall see him turn his Arms against his Masters, and make himself formidable to the Republick, which had taught him to conquer. We have before observed, That *Scipio*, after the Death of his Friend *Massinissa*, had made his three Sons all joint Kings of *Numidia*, without dividing the Kingdom. And now, *Micipsa* being the only Survivor of the three, he was become, since the Deaths of *Manastabal* and *Gulussa*, sole Monarch of all *Numidia*. When *Manastabal* died, he had left behind him only one Child, who was illegitimate, being the Son of a Mistress whom he tenderly loved; and this Son was that *Jugurtha*, whose Adventures we are now beginning to relate. *Micipsa* took an Affection to him, and brought him up at Court with his own Sons *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*; but *Jugurtha* was scarce arrived at Years of Understanding, before he forgot his Situation. He was naturally proud and ambitious, and took delight in getting the better of his King's two Sons, in all Exercises both of Body and Mind. In the Chase, he even affected to surpass them in Force and Skill, and to display, without Ceremony, the superior Talents which Nature had given him. The King therefore could not but think a Youth of this Disposition a dangerous Person. He was jealous of a Man of so unpliantable a Temper, and the more Esteem he had for *Jugurtha*, the more intent he was upon getting rid of him. And a favourable Opportunity now offering, in the War *Scipio* was going to make in *Spain*, *Micipsa* put this Prince at the Head of the Succours, which the *Consul* had demanded of him. The King flattered himself that the young *Numidian*, hurried away by his great Courage, would meet his Fate before *Numantia*, where so many *Romans* had lost their Lives. But alas, how weak are the Conjectures of Men, and how vain their Expectations! *Jugurtha* was no less circumspect, than brave. He behaved himself to *Scipio's* Satisfaction throughout the whole Siege, acquired a great Reputation there, and made himself many Friends among the *Romans*.

In the *Consular* Army, the *Numidian* Prince found some Horsemen of his own Age, entered into Friendships with them, which continued ever after; and was but too attentive to the ambitious Views, with which they inspired him. It was there he became acquainted with young *Marius*, who made his first Campaigns under *Scipio*; and, by I know not what similitude of Temper, he became so strictly united to the brave Ro-

man,



Plut. in Ma-  
rio.  
Velleius Pa-  
terculus B. 2.  
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man, as to be inseparable from him; *Jugurtha* little suspecting at this Time, that *Marius* would one Day become his most cruel Enemy, and his Conqueror. At present, the like Emulation for Glory animated both, to signalize themselves in Battle. They were both, in some measure, the Favourites of the General; whose Favour was built on the Esteem he had for them, and that Esteem was very justly founded. *Marius* already discovered many valuable Qualities, and it being asked one Day at Table, who could supply the General's Place if he should fail; the *Consul*, tapping *Marius* gently on the Shoulder, replied, *My Successor is near at hand. Who could do it better than Marius?* Add to this, that the young *Roman* was very remarkable for the exceeding great Care he took of his Equipage. At Reviews, his Horse was always finest and best dressed: And his Mules were in so good a Condition, that they became proverbial. When any Mules were very fat, and very well taken care of, it was said, *They were Marian Mules.*

§. XVIII. At the return of the Winter, *Scipio's Consulship* expired. But this able General was chosen by the Republick, to continue in the Command of the *Roman Army* in *Spain*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*, till such time as *Numantia* should be reduced. The new *Consuls* chosen, were *P. Mucius*<sup>59</sup> *Scævola*, and *L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi*. The Province that fell to the latter by Lot, was *Sicily*, where he was to make War with the revolted Slaves. Whilst his Collegue continued in the Capital, to calm, if possible, that Spirit of Sedition which began to appear there. A remarkable Event, which shall be related in its turn; but we ought not, at present, to lose sight of the illustrious *Scipio*.

This *Hero* was making Preparations during the whole Winter for the Siege of *Numantia*; and the Reader will here again discover in his Conduct, the Character of the great Destroyer of *Carthage*; and will judge, whether the strongest Bulwark in *Spain* could have been reduced, by any General but himself. The *Pro-Consul* did not pique himself upon taking it by Force. His Scheme was to reduce it by Famine, and this Design procured him no less Glory, than if he had shed a great deal of *Roman Blood*, in making himself Master of it. Not that his Troops were still afraid of the Enemy. *Scipio* demonstrated, that the Courage or Pusillanimity of an Army, depends on the General who commands it. His Soldiers desired nothing so much as to engage; and this rising Valour was only the more to be feared. The *Pro-Consul* therefore took care to moderate the Ardour of his Troops; and Prudence had a greater share in the Success of his Enterprize, than Force and Blows.

As soon as the Season would permit, *Scipio* sent out large Detachments to lay waste all the Fields to the Right and Left of *Numantia*. The Grain which was in the Blade was cut up to the Roots, in all the Places which supplied the City. The whole Spring was employed in these necessary Incursions, and the Country of the *Vaccæi* was again ravaged, as well as the neighbouring Lands. It may well be imagined, that the *Numantini* made all the Efforts they could, to prevent the Devastation of their Fields; but this they chose to do by laying Ambushes, and drawing the Enemy into them, rather than by pitched Battles. They saved their Forces against a Siege, which they foresaw. Their present Aims were only to draw the *Romans* into some dangerous Passes, and then fall suddenly upon them, and surround them. This way of making War had succeeded under the preceding *Consuls*; but the Times were changed. *Scipio* would scarce ever venture the smallest Bodies of his Men to march out, without being himself within reach to relieve them. One Day, as he was marching into the Country to lay it waste, he drew near a large Town situated in a Valley, which was accessible only in one Place. It was covered on one side by a Marsh, which made it there inaccessible; and on the other, two hollow Ways led to it, one of which must be passed through, in order to reach it. Nevertheless, the *Roman General* thinking, by plundering a Place which abounded with Provisions, to rob the *Numantini* of a good Part of their Subsistence, immediately detached a *Manipulus*, to fetch the Corn and Meal from the Town. He knew not that about 1000 of the Enemy lay in Ambush in one of these hollow Ways, ready to fall on the Pillagers; and it happened, that the *Manipulus* entered the Town by the other. But

<sup>59</sup> This is the same *Publius Mucius Scævola*, whom *Cicero* extols in several Parts of his Works, as one of the most able *Civilians*, and most virtuous *Citizens*, in *Rome*. Several of the same Name have made themselves famous for their Virtue. Probity seems to have

been hereditary in this Branch of the *Mucian Family*. This may be inferred from those of this Family who have been already mentioned, and who will be mentioned hereafter.



When the *Romans* had entered the Houses, and were ready to pack up the Booty they had got; the People in ambush began to move, in order to fall on them before they were all got together. The *Roman Centinels* perceiving this, informed *Scipio* by Sound of Trumpet, of the Danger that threatened his Troops; and the *Pro-Consul* instantly dispatched 1000 Men to oppose the Enemy. Upon this, a Battle ensued between the two Parties, who were pretty equal in Strength; but it ended much to the Disadvantage of the *Numantini*. Being alarmed at the Resistance of the Enemy, they were beaten, turned their Backs, and made the best of their Way to the City; where they were but ill received by their Countrymen. The old Soldiers insulted them, for leaving the Field of Battle, to Men, who were so weak, and had been so often vanquished. But one of them replied; *They are not so weak as you imagine. You would not know them now. They are the same Flock indeed, but they have not the same Shepherd.* While *Scipio*, on the other hand, congratulated his *Legionaries* on their Victory. He said, *it was a kind of Prodigy, that the Romans should at last see the Numantini flee before them*; and from that time, he began to have some Confidence in his Men, and determined to begin the Siege without delay.

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teg.

§. XIX. The Summer began to advance apace, and the dryness of the Roads facilitated the Carriage of the Provisions and Machines which had been prepared for the Attacks, during the Winter. And now, the *Pro-Consul* assembled in his Camp as many as he could of the *Spaniards* in Alliance with *Rome*. What he chiefly demanded of them was, to send him Slingers and Archers to be employed as he should think proper; and so great a Number came, that in a few Days *Scipio* had in his Camp 60000 Soldiers who were all very confident of Victory, under the Command of so great a General. With this numerous Army, the *Pro-Consul* appeared before *Numantia*; which was small, with regard to the Number of Houses, which all stood on a Hill of difficult access. Some say, it was entirely surrounded with Walls and fortified with Towers, and others not. But be that as it will, there certainly were Fields and Meadows, on the declivity, and at the bottom of the Hill, which were on all sides encompassed with Walls, and enclosed with Ramparts, and these were in reality a Fortification to the City. This Space between the Houses and these outward Walls, was of great Use to the besieged. They could there pasture their Cattle free from Insult, and gather some Provisions for themselves. So that, taking in the whole compass, the City was full three Miles in Circumference. The Number of Men provided for its Defence, if we may believe some *Spanish* Historians who were personally interested in the Honour of their Country, was but 4000. Whereas others make them 6000; and it is more probable, that *Numantia*, including the Succours from the *Vaccæi*, contained an Army of ten or twelve Thousand Men. The *Durius* washed the Walls of the City, and was of great use, for the Conveyance of Succours and Provisions into it. But after all, it was not so much the Situation of their City, or their Ramparts that made the *Numantini* untractable, as their Bravery, their Efficaceness, and their resolute Contempt of Death, in defence of their Liberty.

Florus, & Oros.

When *Scipio* had invested the Place, he did not propose to make a Breach in the Walls with his *Rams*, or to attempt it by the murderous way of Assault. His only View was, as he expressed himself, to starve these wild Beasts, and force them by Famine to leave their Dens, and redeem their Lives at the Expence of their Liberty. And he therefore first divided his Army into two Camps; and put one half under the Command of his Brother *Q. Fabius*, and commanded the other himself. This Apparatus of two Camps within reach of their Walls, alarmed the *Numantini*, tho' it did not discourage them. They again made Proposals of Peace; but the *Pro-Consul* would hearken to nothing, till they had first surrendered up to the *Romans*, by way of Preliminary, their City, their Persons, and their Arms, to be disposed of at Pleasure. These resolute Men therefore preferred Death amidst their domestick Gods, to Slavery. As soon as returned home, they armed, marched out of their City in good order, and weak as they were, bid defiance to the *Roman* General. Nevertheless *Scipio* did not alter his Measures; tho' these Bravadoes of the Enemy, and the Dilatoriness of the *Pro-Consul* raised some Murmurs among his Troops, whose new Ardour made them desirous of fighting. These Complaints were brought to the General, who began to be more familiar with his Soldiers than formerly; and he now vouchsafed to justify his Conduct in Conversation.

Appian ibid.

*I have learnt from my Father, Paulus Æmilius, said he, That an able General ought never to hazard a pitch'd Battle, unless Necessity compels him; or such an Opportunity offers, as makes the Victory certain. To what purpose would you engage with desperate Men,*

Aulus Coll. B.  
13. c. 3. ex  
Sempronius Asel-  
lione.



Year of *whose Ruin is infallible, without your giving them the Pleasure of shedding your Blood?*  
 ROME *Depend not so much on the Fire that transports you, as on my Measures.*  
 DCXX.

*Nay, the Roman General adhered so strictly to his own Maxim, That he would not even kill any of the Enemy. He might, one Day, have easily surprized and cut off one of their foraging Parties; but he said, Let them return home, and help to consume the Provisions there: The more Mouths they have, the sooner Numantia will be undone.* With these Views, which were worthy of a great Commander, who depends more on his own Measures than any slight Advantages, *Scipio* applied himself seriously to the Business in hand; and first surrounded the Place with a wide and deep Ditch. *Numantia*, as we have observed, was three Miles round, and he made this Ditch six. Whilst it was digging, *Scipio* placed the 30000 Men of his Brother's Camp, at a proper distance from the Walls, to cover the Workmen. They were drawn up in *Manipuli* under their Colours, and made a great Circle round the City. And between every Hundred of his *Romans*, the General placed his *Spanish* Archers and Slingers; that by this Mixture, an Emulation might be raised in both, and they might be the better able effectually to repulse the besieged, if they made any Sallies. Besides, in case any Part was attacked by the Garrison, the Commanders on the Post attacked, had Orders to erect a red Standard by Day, and to light a great Fire by Night. Upon this notice, the General whose Camp was within reach, would be ready to send them Succours from thence.

*Epit. Liv. B. 57. c. 26.* §. XX. With the help of these Precautions, the first Ditch was soon finished; and without this, at a little distance, was drawn another, ten Foot broad, and twenty deep. But these were only the Beginnings of the Works, which the *Roman General* made to secure his Conquest. Behind the outermost Ditch he raised a Rampart, strengthened it with Stakes, and palisaded it, and supported it with a Wall of eight Foot broad, and ten Foot high, exclusive of the Parapet. In this Wall, at the distance of every sixscore Foot, there was a Tower raised; and in the marshy Places, the Wall built on the dry Ground was continued with others built on Piles. So that nothing now remained to compleat the Works, but to stop up the Current of the River, by which Succours of Men and Provisions might be continually brought to the Besieged; and *Scipio* had learnt at the Siege of *Carthage*, how to put Fetters on the Sea it self. In order to prevent any Communication with the City by Water, it was sufficient to throw to the bottom of it, Beams and Masts fastened to Planks armed with Spikes of Iron, longways and broadways, with Openings to let the Water pass through. This kind of wooden Wall hindered the Navigation, even of the smallest Barks, and no Man dared to swim the River, even under Water. This *Staccado* was flanked with two wooden Castles, on the two Banks, and the Walls of these Castles were moored with large Cables. *Scipio's* Design was to shut up the besieged in such a manner, that they should not be able to send any Intelligence of their State to the neighbouring Nations, or receive any Advice or Reinforcements from them.

These Proceedings of the *Pro-Consul* were extraordinary. No *Roman General* had ever before shut up a whole Army, which offered to fight a pitch'd Battle, within Walls and Ditches. But *Scipio* was not one of those who can only follow Precedents. He was born to be a Model for others. As soon as all his Works were finished, he guarded them Day and Night with his Troops. His Ramparts were lined with Soldiers, and his Towers filled with Archers and Slingers; and Men were posted all the way from the Circumvallation to his Camp, with Orders to give notice by Shouts, on which side the alarm was given. As soon as a Tower was attacked, it hung out a Colours, and the others that were near it following this Example, the *Pro-Consul* was informed by these Signals of all that passed, and sent Assistance where it was wanted. Of the 30000 Men which he kept in Reserve, twenty had nothing to do but to be ready to put themselves in motion on these Occasions; and the other ten provided for the Wants of both Camps. These Orders were every where inviolably observed; for *Scipio* had taken effectual Care to make his Troops obedient; as well knowing how necessary this was, before he could make them victorious.

§. XXI. On the other hand, the besieged omitted no Means in their Power to get over the Ditches, and break through the Barricades. They often appeared, sometimes before one Tower, and sometimes before another, to force their Way; but were always repulsed, and returned with nothing but Blows and useless Rage. The *Roman General* gave no rest to the besieged, or relaxation to his own Troops. He visited every Post every Day, and took a view of all the Parts of this vast Circumvallation. And besides the



the strict Guard which he caused to be kept in all Places, he ordered some rolling Towers full of *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ* to be advanced at proper distances towards the City; not so much with design to make any great Slaughter of the Enemy with his Darts, as to terrify and fatigue them. He was determined to conquer their Obstinacy and reduce them, by the Miseries of a Famine. And indeed, Necessaries began to be wanted in the City, and the besieged were without Hopes of Succour. There were some other Cities and Nations in Friendship and Alliance with them, but they wanted to be solicited to take up Arms in their Favour; and *Rhetogenes*, one of the bravest Officers in *Numantia*, took upon him that Work. He was not ignorant of the difficulty he should have, to elude the Vigilance of the *Romans*, and break through the Barriers which they continually set in his way; but nevertheless he undertook it, got his Attempt approved by the chief Men of the City, and chose only five Friends to go with him, who were as determined as himself in the Business, and were well qualified for stirring up the neighbouring People to a Revolt. When the Party was thus made, he provided himself with some loose Planks, so managed, that they could easily be fastened together, and with these made a portable Bridge, which was to serve for two Purposes; first, to cross the Ditches, and in the second place, to supply the Place of scaling Ladders for mounting the Ramparts of the Besiegers. Thus provided, they chose a dark Night for the Execution of their Design; mounted on Horseback, each Man carrying a Servant behind him, and arrived at the first Ditch, where they surprized and killed the Guard. Then they advanced without Noise to the second; scaled the Rampart, beat off the Guard which lined it on the outside, led their Horses over by help of the Steps of their Bridge, sent back the Servants to carry the News to *Numantia*, and every one made the best of his way to the Plain, in order to disperse themselves in different Places.

A brave Action, which might have been of ill Consequence to the *Romans*. The five *Numantini* dispersed themselves in the best Cities of the <sup>60</sup> *Arevacæ*, and there represented the deplorable Condition to which *Numantia*, till then the Glory and the Support of *Spain*, was going to be reduced. *We want nothing*, said the Supplicants, *but a small Army to take the Field and make a slight Diversion. Though surrounded by an Army 6000 strong, if we could see the Posts of the besiegers but a little thinned of their Men, we would soon make ourselves a Passage with our Swords; and should see these Cowards flee before us, who use no Arms but Idleness to destroy us.* These were affecting Considerations for *Spaniards* who adored their Liberty; but the Reputation of the General disheartened all. Every City was afraid of incurring his Anger; and all the Intreaties and Harangues of the *Numantini*, produced only a fruitless Compassion. The only City which did more than pity these unhappy People, was <sup>61</sup> *Lutia*. It was full of fiery Youths, who breathed nothing but Arms; but it was governed by wise old Men, who were more nearly touched with a Concern for their own common Safety, than with an ill judged Affection for their unfortunate Countrymen. And when the young Warriors, who were the strongest Party, were just ready to raise a Sedition, the chief Men of the City gave Advice of it to *Scipio*. The great General immediately foresaw the ill Consequences of the first Disturbance that should happen among the neighbouring People; and he flew to *Lutia* in Person without delay, taking only some light-armed Troops with him. He travelled 300 *Stadia*, the computed distance between *Numantia* and *Lutia*, in eight Hours; and his Presence struck the *Lutians* with Terrour. He, with that sovereign Authority which the *Roman* Generals assumed in all Places, demanded, That these rash young Men who had declared themselves against the Interest of *Rome*, should be delivered up to him; and the Inhabitants at first made some difficulty of it. They had hid their Youth, and pretended that they were escaped. But *Scipio* threatened the City with Pillage, and forced them to obey him. In short, they delivered up 400 of the Rebels; and he cut off their right Hands, and returned to his Camp by Sun-rising.

§. XXII. And now, Famine and Despair increased together in the besieged City. The *Pro-Consul* was more watchful than ever, in guarding against Sallies; when an Embassy from *Antiochus Sidetes*, King of *Syria*, came in search of him, even into the Heart of *Spain*. This Prince had known *Scipio* in his last Voyage into *Asia*; had conquered *Tryphon*; married the Wife of his Brother *Demetrius*, who was still a Captive among the

<sup>60</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 557. Note 46.

<sup>61</sup> There are now no Footsteps remaining of the City of *Lutia*. All we know of it is, That it stood in the Country of the *Arevacæ*. *Marina* places it no

farther than four Miles from *Numantia*; and if so, *Ap- pian* must be mistaken, when he says, it was 300 *Stadia*, that is, about 12 *French* Leagues and an half from thence.

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SCÆVOLÆ, &  
L. CALPURNIUS  
PISB,  
Consuls.

Epit. Liv. B.  
57. c. 34.



Year of  
ROME  
DCXX.

P. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA, &  
L. CALPURNIUS  
PISO,  
Consuls.

1 Mac. xvi.

*Parthians*; and wanted the Protection of the *Romans*, to settle him in the Throne. It is probable, he had been <sup>62</sup> concerned in the infamous Assassination <sup>63</sup> of *Simon* the High-Priest of the *Jews*, who was known and esteemed at *Rome*. Besides, he had just ravaged *Judæa*, and taken *Jerusalem* <sup>64</sup> by Capitulation; a City which must have been under

62 *Antiochus Sidetes*, when become Master of *Syria*, and delivered from the Fear of a Rival by the Death of *Tryphon*, signally displayed his Hatred to the *Jews*. He ordered *Cendebæus*, one of his Officers, to destroy *Judæa* with Fire and Sword. But *John* the Son of *Simon* the High-Priest, marched against him, to prevent his Incursions, fought the *Syrian* Army, put it to flight, burnt a great Number of the Enemy who fled to a Post called *Cedron*, for Refuge, and returned victorious to *Jerusalem*. This we find recorded, 1 Mac. xvi.

63 *Simon* had just married his Daughter to *Ptolomy*, one of the chief Lords of *Palestine*. He did not know, that his new Son-in-Law was a Villain, who under a plausible outside, concealed a very wicked Heart, which was capable of the blackest Treachery. Not content with the Government of *Fericho*, and the immense Riches he had gotten, he proposed nothing less, than usurping the Supreme Authority with which the *Jews* had invested his Father-in-Law. With this View, he formed the horrible Design of murdering *Simon* and all his Children, whose Birth entituled them to the Office of the High-Priesthood. He depended on the Protection of *Antiochus*, and valued not delivering up his Religion and Country to the Mercy of a faithless King, provided he could, by that Means, secure himself the Government of *Judæa*. So that this Traitor waited only for an Opportunity to put his monstrous Designs in execution; and this he found, in a Journey which *Simon* made to *Fericho*, with his two Sons *Mattathias* and *Judas*. He offered them a Lodging in the Castle of *Doch*, which stood on a Hill, which commanded all the Plain; and he chose the Time of a great Feast which he gave his Guests, for striking the fatal Blow. In the midst of all the Rejoycings, *Ptolomy*, followed by four apostate Assassines, fell on *Simon* and his two Sons, and massacred them and their Attendants without Mercy. And there is Reason to believe, that *Ptolomy* had concerted this execrable Parricide with *Antiochus*. At least, its certain, That the Murderer dispatched a Messenger to the King of *Syria* with a Letter, to inform him of this tragical Affair, and to demand Troops of him, to be used as he should find occasion, against those who should oppose his ambitious Attempts. At the same time he offered to deliver up to *Antiochus*, those Places in *Judæa* which *Simon* had recovered, and to pay him the ancient Tributes from which *Simon* had freed the *Jews*. But still there remained alive one of *Simon's* Sons, who was worthy to succeed him; and who then resided at *Gazara*. *Ptolomy* therefore immediately dispatched Assassines to murder him. But *John* was informed of the Massacre of his Brothers, and of his own Danger, by a faithful Man who reached him before the Murderers; and the Villains were prevented, and put to Death. Then the Priests and People, unanimously proclaimed the Illustrious Son of *Simon* High-Priest, and invested him with the Government of *Judæa*; and this great Man, in whom were united all the Virtues of the Children of *Mattathias*, shewed himself worthy of Succeeding the Heroes of his Race, by the Victories he gained over the Enemies of the People of God, and by his Zeal in maintaining the Religion of his Fathers. This Testimony is given to the Memory of the famous *John Maccabæus*, by the Sacred Historian; and this Account is a sufficient Confutation of the Falshood of *Josephus's* History, Of the Death of *Simon*, Of the detention of his Wife and Children, and of the Siege of the Castle of *Doch*, by *John Maccabæus*, surnamed *Hyrchanus*.

64 *Antiochus Sidetes*, upon hearing the News of the Victories of *Simon*, and of *John* his Son and Successor, was transported with great Rage; and the Desire of Revenge, and the Sollicitations of the impious *Ptolomy*, brought him into *Palestine*. He marched thither with a powerful Army, in the 5th Year of his Reign, and the first of *John's* High-Priesthood. Every thing gave way before him, and the brave *John Maccabæus* was forced to take Refuge in *Jerusalem*. *Antiochus*, after he had laid waste the Country of *Judæa*, besieged the Capital, and divided his Army into two Bodies, round the besieged City. At proper distances, the King of *Syria* raised 100 Towers of three Stories, to batter the Place on all sides; and so shut in the Inhabitants with a double Circumvallation, that it was impossible for them to have any Communication with others. Nevertheless, frequent Sallies were made, and the *Jewish* Garrison, animated by the Example of their illustrious Leader, gained signal Advantages over the Infidels. In the mean time, a want of Provisions began now to be felt by the besieged, and *John* therefore, in this Extremity, sent out of *Jerusalem* all the useless Mouths, whose Fate had been less deplorable, if they could have had the Liberty to have reached the Country. But the *Syrians*, who had shut up all the Avenues, opposed their escape; and *Antiochus*, deaf to the Prayers of these unfortunate People, saw them ramble about the Walls of *Jerusalem*, and the greatest Part of them perish with Hunger. However, this affecting Sight moved the High-Priest, and on the Day of *The Feast of Tabernacles*, he opened the Gates to the remainder of these Wretches, who were destitute of all Help and driven to Despair. And at the same time, desired the King to grant the *Jews* a Truce for seven Days, and not interrupt them in the Celebration of this great Festival. Which *Antiochus* not only complied with, but in a Fit of religious Zeal, sent to the Gates of *Jerusalem* several Bulls whose Horns he had gilded, and several Gold and Silver Vessels full of Perfumes, towards the Expence and Solemnity of the Sacrifices. From thence the *Jews* are said to have given him the Surname of *The Religious*; and *John*, in return for the Benefactions and Generosity of the King, offered to surrender up *Jerusalem* to him, but upon Terms Honourable and Advantageous to the Inhabitants. The *Syrian* accepted the Terms, contrary to the Opinion of his chief Officers, who were avowed Enemies to the *Jewish* Nation; and engaged to maintain the People of *Judæa* in the Enjoyment of their Liberties and Privileges, and in the Right of governing themselves by their own Laws. But he insisted, That the Inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, should surrender up their Arms to him, and receive a *Syrian* Garrison; and That the High-Priest should pay him the Tributes of *Joppa*, and the other Cities which had been recovered to *Judæa* during the Troubles in *Syria*. These Conditions were signed by both Parties, except that of the *Jews* receiving the Infidels into *Jerusalem*. Against this, the Elders of the People used the strongest Arguments, representing the Obligations their Religion laid them under not to intermix with Strangers; and these Representations had all the Effect with *Antiochus* that the High-Priest had expected. It was only stipulated, That the *Jews*, in Consideration of their being freed from a Yoke which they thought so heavy, should give Hostages, and among them the Brother of the High-Priest, and pay \* 500 Talents, 300 down, and 200 at the Time fixed. After this, the King of *Syria* raised the Siege, beat down the Battlements of the City Walls, and was brought into *Jerusalem* with his Army; and



der the Protection of the *Romans*, since the Treaties made with *Simon* still subsisted, under his Son and Successor in the High-Priesthood. *Sidetes* was now going to march an Army against the *Parthians*, and penetrate into the most eastern Part of his Dominions. He thought it necessary therefore, to reconcile himself to the Sovereign Republick before his Departure, and thereby give a Sanction to many Expeditions, most of which might be disagreeable to the Senate. To this end, he was desirous of obtaining *Scipio* for his Advocate, and sent his Ambassadors to him with magnificent Presents. And though others would perhaps only have given them a private Audience, and have taken to their own Use the Presents which were sent them, *Scipio* acted a more noble Part on this Occasion. He never saw the Ambassadors but in Publick; and when he had accepted of the valuable Jewels they had brought so far, he distributed them among his Men, to reward their Valour. Thus, he gained by his Bounties the Affection of his Troops; and acquired by his Disinterestedness such a Reputation in his Republick, as raised him above his Rivals.

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R O M E  
DCXX.

P. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA, &  
L. CALPURNIUS  
PISO,  
Consuls.

*Epit. Liv.*

The *Roman* Army were charmed with these new Proceedings of their General; who was not one of those narrow Minds, which can act only one Way. He altered his Measures, as the Time and Occurrences required. He had formerly made himself rather feared than loved. But now, the Affection of his Troops was greater, than the Veneration and Esteem they had all along had for him: And they were ardently desirous of completing the Reduction of *Numantia* by Force. They thought the Time come for putting an end to the Dispute by a Battle. And indeed, five Ambassadors came from the Town, with the *Pro-Consul's* leave, to intreat him, That he would grant them the Favour, either to end their Days in a general Action, or to save their Liberty by an honourable Capitulation. *Abarus*, the Chief of them, suggested to *Scipio*, That it was for his Honour, either to shew Clemency to a People who had so bravely signalized their Constancy, or at least not to destroy them, otherwise than with the Sword. But they received only this short Answer, *There is no Composition to be made, till you have absolutely surrendered up to me your Persons and your Arms, without any Reserve.* The *Pro-Consul* would neither purchase a certain Victory with an unnecessary Effusion of *Roman* Blood; nor give exasperated Men their Liberty and their Arms. Then the Fury of the Besieged first vented it self on these unfortunate Deputies, who, they said, brought them nothing but ill News; and they massacred them without Mercy. Extream Misery makes Men suspicious. The *Numantini* took it in their Heads, That their Ambassadors had betray'd them, and had sold the Lives of their Countrymen, in order to secure their own.

*App. in Iber-*

§. XXIII. By these Proceedings, which are usually the Effect of utter Despair, *Scipio* judged that the Resistance of the Besieged could not last long. He was every Day informed by Deserters of the lamentable Condition of the Place: And what confirmed him in his Suspicions, was the foolish Attempt which the Besieged made, in search of Death. A Fact, which is indeed related only by *Spanish* Historians; and they, to magnify the Courage of the *Numantini*, carry it even to a savage Wildness. The Besieged, according to them, being pressed by Want, resolved to make a last Effort, to break through the Barriers which confined them. By way of Preparation for this general Sally, they consumed good part of the few Provisions they had left, in Feasting. The common Drink of the Country was a sort of Beer, called in their Language *Celu*, which being made of a boiled and fermented Grain, was heady, inflamed those that drank it, and inspired the most cowardly with Courage. The *Numantini* drank plentifully of it, without saving any for the future; were probably very full of Bravadoes in their Cups; and when they were thoroughly warmed, promised themselves the Demolition of the Enemy's Ramparts, the Defeat and Flight of the *Romans*, and an entire Deliverance. Then they marched out by two Gates, and came and fell on the Works, like Lions; and now appeared the Use of the Signals which the *Roman* General had appointed. As soon as he saw them, he sent Troops to reinforce the Posts which were attacked; but notwithstanding the Showers of Stones and Arrows which were thrown on these furious Men, they fell on the Ramparts to make a Breach. Their fixed Resolution to die, or escape, made them insensible of their Wounds, and Necessity encreased their natural Valour. Nevertheless, they were at last forced to give way to Multitudes; and *Scipio* would

*Flor. & Oros.*

here he concluded a Treaty of Alliance with *John Maccabæus*, who engaged him to send him Succours, and accompany him in his designed Expedition against the *Parthians*. The Authors from which we have ex-

tracted all these Particulars, are *Josephus*, as founded upon the Authority of *Nicholas of Damascus*, *Diodorus of Sicily*, and *Plutarch* in his *Appophthegms*.



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not follow them in their Retreat, which they made in good Order, for they understood Discipline. But alas, their returning to the City was only changing one kind of Death for another. All the Plain, from the Enemy's Ramparts, was covered with dead and wounded; and in any other Circumstances, their natural Compassion would have induced the living, to have taken up their Bodies and buried them. But now Despair extinguished all Sentiments of Humanity. *To what purpose, said these poor unhappy Wretches, should we gather up the Bodies of our Citizens? Numantia and its Territories is nothing but one vast Tomb; and in a little time the Romans will come and offer Violence even to the Monuments of our Ancestors.* And yet, even this raving Despair, did not utterly discourage these *Numantini*.

After they had in vain tried what Force could do in procuring their Escape, they resolved to have recourse to Craft. They had doubtless observed some Places in the Works which were more open and less guarded than the rest; and imagining they should be able to break through these, by the help of their Horses, which were very lively, they accordingly prepared for flight. But the Plot was known to the Women, who were very nearly concerned to prevent the Execution of it. They therefore, both for their own and their Husbands sakes, cut the Bridles of the Horses, and joined their Tears with other Obstacles, to hinder their making their Escape. So that nothing now remained, but to resolve to suffer the terrible Miseries of a Famine. Then they first ate these very Horses, on which they had founded some Hopes; and afterwards softened their Skins with Fire, which served them for Food some little Time; till at length they came to human Flesh. As soon as a Man was dead, they cut him into very small Pieces, thereby the better to disguise this kind of Food. But in time they were cloyed with the Flesh of the Dead; and then they proceeded to kill those whom Sickness or Weakness had brought nearest to the Grave. And at last, they went on to such an extravagance of Excess, as to kill those that were most healthy, because they thought their Flesh would eat the better. Thus did these poor Citizens, who were formerly so firmly united in carrying on their common Interest, now devour one another; and make War on themselves in a much more cruel manner, than any common Enemy could have done.

However at length, amidst all these horrible Crimes, and even in this desperate State, an interval of Reason followed. After a publick Consultation, it was resolved to have recourse to the *Pro-Consul*, and consent to an absolute and entire Surrender. Nevertheless, this Resolution was not universally approved. A great Number chose rather to die, than to give up their Liberty; and shutting themselves up in their Houses, they there calmly waited for that Fate, which Hunger soon brought upon them. The rest desired an Audience of the *Roman General*. But in what Condition did they appear? Meagre and emaciated, hideous to behold, and more insupportable to smell, in tattered Habits, with long filthy Beards, long and crooked Nails, and with the Hair of some standing an end, and of others hanging down and covering their Faces. There was something inexpressibly wild in their Air, and a Savageness even in the Manner of presenting their Petition. And perhaps, the prevailing Opinion of their having eat human Flesh, might give the Spectators a still greater Abhorrence of them. However, *Scipio* desired nothing so much as to put an end to their Misery; and as soon as they mentioned the Word *Surrender*, he heard them graciously, and ordered them to bring all their Arms to a Place appointed the next Day. But these poor Wretches desired a longer Day, in order to give the most obstinate Time to choose what kind of Death they would die. It is said, That the same *Rhetogenes* who had escaped out of the City during the Siege, and was returned thither, set fire to his Part of the Town, encouraged the Inhabitants to fight two and two, then threw the vanquished into the Flames, and at last leaped into them himself. And to this, whether true or not, (for we don't see either when or how, he could return into a Place so strictly guarded) the *Spanish Historians* add, That the *Numantini* themselves reduced their City to Ashes, and all perished by different Ways; not so much as one of them remaining alive, to grace the *Pro-Consul's Triumph*. Tho' a Writer, who is neither so much interested, nor so florid as they, assures us, That two Days after the Time fixed, a good Number of these wretched People came to the Place appointed, and brought all their Arms thither; and That *Scipio* reserved 50 to adorn his *Triumph*, and sold the rest to the best Bidder. But be that as it will, thus much at least must be said in honour to these brave *Spaniards*; That never did any other People, who were so few in Number, either so long resist the *Roman Forces*, or so often defeat the *Consular Armies*, or bring so much Disgrace on both the Generals and Senate of the Sovereign Republick,



publick, or withstand with so much Constancy the greatest General in *Rome*. This Place, tho' infinitely inferiour to both *Carthage* and *Corinth*, was much more glorious in her Fall, than either of those proud Cities. Indeed *Carthage* had been taken Sword in hand; but *Scipio* did not think it possible to reduce *Numantia*, otherwise than by Famine. And with this City fell all the Hopes of the revolted *Spaniards*; so that the whole Country was that instant pacified.

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SCÆVOLE, &  
L. CÆPURI-  
NIUS PISO,  
Consuls.

§. XXIV. *Junius Brutus* kept the People of *The Further Province* in awe, whilst *Scipio* compleated the Reduction of *The Hitber*. So that there scarce remained a nook of Land to conquer, or a People to subdue, in the whole Continent of *Spain*. And now, the *Roman* Senate thought it necessary to send ten Senators to their new Conquest, as it were to take Possession of it, in the Name of the Republick, and to make lasting Regulations in it. These Works of Peace kept the two *Pro-Consuls*, who were both in the Commission, some Months longer in their respective Provinces; and under their Direction, the *Spaniards* had new Laws imposed upon them, which kept them in a forced Subjection. But these People were too restless, and too great Lovers of Liberty, to continue quiet long. We shall see them continually renewing the War at Intervals; insomuch, that no perfect Tranquillity will be established among them, till the Emperor *Augustus* shall settle the whole World in Peace.

Thus had both *Brutus* and *Scipio* well deserved the greatest military Honours; one for having extended the Frontiers of the Republick to the Coasts of the Ocean, the other for having assured *Spain* to her, by taking this single City: And we have already mentioned the Triumph of the former. That of *Scipio* was some Months after it, and by that means postponed to the next Year; and when it came, there was nothing great in it, but the high Veneration which the People paid to the triumphant Victor. Fifty *Numantini* in Chains before his Chariot, added but little to the Pomp of the Show. Besides, the Conqueror had not brought many valuable Spoils from his Province neither did he distribute much Money among his Soldiers. But on this solemn Occasion, the remembrance of the Evils the *Numantini* had brought on the Republick, was alone sufficient to heighten the Glory of him, who had delivered her from them. If the triumphant Victor had not enriched the Capital, he had at least made the Republick more powerful. Now that she was freed from a War which had lasted one and twenty Years, she was in a Condition to give Law to the whole World. And it is probable, that the *Roman* People on this Occasion, added the Surname of *Numantinus* to that of *The Second Africanus*, which *Scipio Æmilianus* had borne, ever since the Destruction of *Carthage*. The Historians, Poets, and Orators, have since often called him by that Name. Nevertheless it is not certain (whether it were Modesty or Disdain, that might cause him to neglect it) that he ever adopted this Appellation. At least, we don't see it on the ancient Marbles, on which we find the most exact, and most minute enumeration of his Offices and Titles.

And whilst *Scipio* continued to be employed in *Spain*, the malignant Remains of the *Numantian* War were felt at *Rome*. *Numantia* had brought numberless Disasters on the Republick, while it continued in Being; and still continued to be, in some Sense, fatal to her, even after its Destruction. Its Ashes, if I may so speak, stirred up in the Heart of *Rome* the first Sedition, in which *Citizens* fought with *Citizens*, and polluted the *Capitol* with *Roman* Blood. Tho' several intestine Tumults had been raised there, none had ever yet been known to end fatally. The Authority of the Law, or Negotiations, had in time appeased them all. But this was, at it were, the Prelude to those cruel civil Wars which afterwards broke out successively in the Republick, and which caused more *Roman* Blood to be spilt, than had been shed in the Conquest of the whole World. I need not say, I mean the Sedition raised by *Tib. Sempronius Gracchus*; which it may be proper to trace back up to its Source.

§. XXV. The *Sempronian* Family, from which *Tib. Gracchus* was descended, was indeed only <sup>65</sup> *Plæbeian*; but it had been so very Illustrious, that it was one of the first in Rank in the Republick. The Father of this *Gracchus* had been twice raised to the Consulate, had signalized himself by many Victories, and had been twice honoured with

Plut. in Gracc.

<sup>65</sup> *Pliny* observes, That *Scipio* before his Triumph, gave each of his Soldiers no more than seven \* *Denarii*, which make three *Liures* ten *Sols* French.

<sup>66</sup> The *Sempronian* Family was divided into several Branches; of which only that of the *Atratini* was Pa-

trician. The *Tuditanis*, *Blasii*, *Sophi*, *Longi*, *Pitronis* and *Gracchi*, were six other Branches of the same Stock, which were of great Rank among the *Plæbeians*.

s. d.  
4 6½  
Sterling.



Year of a *Triumph*; and these Distinctions, which were yet fresh in every one's Memory, reflected great Honour on his Children. By his domestick Virtues and his Probity, rather than his Reputation for Valour, he had likewise merited an Alliance with the Family of the *Scipio's*, which did him honour. After the Death of *The First Africanus*, *Sempronius* was thought by many of her Relations, the most worthy Man to marry the Daughter of the great *Scipio*, that famous *Cornelia*, who was the Pattern of her Sex, and the Prodigy of her Age. By this virtuous Lady, *Sempronius* had twelve Children, the Care of whose Education fell upon her, after the Death of her Husband: And she made it her whole Business, during her Widowhood, to form their Minds<sup>67</sup> and Hearts. But, tho' she confined herself to a strict Retirement, she was not only known and admired all over *Rome*, but her Reputation reached far beyond *Italy*. *Ptolomy Philometor* King of *Egypt*, demanded her in Marriage; but the haughty *Roman* Dame disdained to marry a King, and preferred her Solitude to a Crown. Of all her Children, only one Daughter and two Sons escaped an early Death. The Daughter, named *Sempronia*, was married to *Scipio Æmilianus* the Destroyer of *Carthage* and *Numantia*; but she did not walk in the Steps of that Virtue, which had been instilled into her, both by the Example, and the Instructions of her Mother. Her eldest Brother was that *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* whose History we are now writing; and the Younger, *Caius Sempronius Gracchus*, whose Adventures will also be related, in their Turn. The Sister and Brothers had learnt from *Cornelia* to live in perfect Friendship with each other. Tho' *Sempronia* had been married into the Family of the *Scipio's*, she still retained a greater Affection for her Brothers, than for her Husband: And happy had it been for the two *Gracchi*, if they had always persevered in those Sentiments of Honour, and that Love for their Country, which *Cornelia* had early taught them. The eldest spent the first Years of his Life with a Reserve, which did honour to his Education. In his first Campaigns, he distinguished himself by his Courage, under *The Second Africanus* his Brother-in-Law; and shared with him the Glory of his Exploits. When he returned to *Rome* he applied himself to Oratory; and by the Superiority of his Genius, soon outstripped the many other Orators who were his Rivals for publick Honours. So that being both famous for War, and for the Exercises of Peace, he was esteemed a Youth of the most promising Expectations; and his Manners corresponded with his excellent Talents of Mind, and the extraordinary Gracefulness of his Person. Great Sweetness appeared in his Countenance, and an inexpressible Air of Politeness in all his Deportment. He was both plain and frugal in his Repasts; and was so prudent an Oeconomist, that he both kept clear of that Profuseness which was so common with the young *Romans* of his Time, and of the Suspicion of a sordid and avaritious Temper.

With all these good Qualities, it is easy to judge, that the elder *Gracchus* was the most desirable Match in *Rome*. *Appius Claudius*, formerly *Consul* and *Censor*, and now *Prince of the Senate*, had therefore pitched on him for a Son-in-Law; and the Affair was concluded at a Feast which the *Augurs* made among themselves. During the Entertainment, *Appius* fixed his Eyes continually upon him, caressed him exceedingly, and at length told him, That he should die content if he could see him married to his Daughter. The Proposal was accepted; and *The Prince of the Senate* returning home, told his Wife *Antistia*, That he had found out a Husband for her *Claudia*, and That the Matter was settled. *Antistia* was surprized at the News, because her Daughter was yet very young, and answered; *Why in so great a hurry? You could have done no more, if Tiberius Gracchus had desired her in Marriage.* So that, the Joy must have been exceeding great in the *Claudian* Family, at the judicious Choice *Appius* had made for his Daughter. *Tiberius Gracchus* was now of the right Party, not having yet espoused the Interests of the People against the Senate and the Nobility. Notwithstanding the seeming Union between all Orders of Men in the Republick, some of the old Leaven of Dissension still remained between the People and the Grandees. The hidden Fire wanted only an Opportunity to break out; and *Tiberius Gracchus* persevered at present in the Sentiments

67 One Particular, which *Val. Maximus* relates upon the Authority of *Pompeius*, concerning this *Roman* Lady, is sufficient to enable us to form a Judgment of her Virtue, her Tenderness for her Children, and her zealous Care to give them an Education worthy of their Birth. A Lady of *Campania* came to *Rome* and lodged at *Cornelia's* House, with whom she was acquainted.

This Woman, through a Vanity very pardonable in her Sex, shewed *Cornelia* her richest Jewels, and entered into Conversation with her about them for some time, till her Children were returned from the publick Schools; and then *Cornelia* took up the Discourse, and pointing to her Sons, said, These are my Riches, and most valuable Ornaments.



both of his own, and of his Wife's Family; and supported the Party of the Nobles, tho' without openly attacking the popular Faction.

Such were the Dispositions, such the prudent Conduct of *Gracchus*, when he began to be admitted to the high Offices in the State. The *Quæstorship* was the first, through which he must ascend to the superiour Employments; and he stood for it, and obtained it. It was his Lot, as we have before observed, to discharge this Office in *Spain*; and he accompanied the *Consul Mancinus* thither, and shared with him the Misfortunes of his Campaign. *Gracchus*, as has been related, was the Author and Negotiator of that shameful, but necessary Peace, which drew so many Misfortunes on the General, who had sworn to maintain it. And it may be remembered, That the Senate, actuated by too refined a Policy, disannulled the Treaty made with *Numantia*, and condemned the *Consul, Quæstor*, and other Officers, who had signed it, to be delivered up to the *Numantini*. And tho' the People, out of Esteem to *Tiberius Gracchus*, had been content with sacrificing *Mancinus* only, to the Interests of the Publick; yet his *Quæstor* had Reason to complain of *The Conscript Fathers*. He was exasperated at their having passed so scandalous a Decree against his General and himself, for a Negotiation, whereby the Lives of so many *Citizens* had been saved; and the greater his Soul was, the less was he Master of his Resentments. In short, the Senate became execrable in his Eyes; and the Faction of the People gained the Ascendant in his Heart. He openly declared for the latter; and was wholly bent on revenging himself on the unjust Party that had disgraced him. In order to this, he stood to be *Tribune of the People*, and had no difficulty in succeeding. As his Family was *Plebeian*, admission into that College could not be refused a Man of his Merit.

§. XXVI. And no sooner was he in a Condition to signalize his Resentments, but he resolved to attack the Nobility, in the most tender Part. The Riches of the *Senatorial* Families were almost the only Distinction they had left. All the publick Offices, whether in the State, or in Religion, had been for some time equally divided between the *Patrician* Families and the *Plebeian*. But with regard to Lands, the Nobility still enjoyed some Usurpations which their Ancestors had made, in the first Ages, when all the Power in the Republick was in their Hands. They had enriched themselves exceedingly, by the Confiscation of the conquered Lands in the several Provinces in *Italy*. As soon as *Rome* had subdued any Country, she first took from the ancient Inhabitants the half of the Lands they possessed before their Reduction; and when she was thus become Mistress of a great Territory, she disposed of it to the Advantage of the great Men in the State, and sent thither only a small Number of the poorest *Citizens* in *Rome*. The best cultivated Lands were divided among the Nobility, who were obliged to pay the Tenth of their Harvests, and the Fifth of the Produce of the Fruit-Trees, to the publick Treasury; and the Fallow-Lands, and Pastures were given up to the People of the Country, subject only to the Payment of a slight Duty to the *Roman Exchequer*, by way of Quit-Rent. And as Covetousness has no bounds, the Rich when become Masters of a Portion of Land, soon enlarged it, either by Purchases, or by oppressing their Neighbours, whose Lands they seized. By this means, nothing became more common, than to see the great Lords of *Rome* Masters of vast Estates, which brought them in immense Sums. Nevertheless, these Possessions, exorbitant as they were, were supportable, as long as the Rich continued to employ the Allies of the *Roman* People, in the Culture of them. These Hirelings of free Condition, got a comfortable Subsistence by their Labour; and some of these Husbandmen made excellent Soldiers for the *Roman* Armies. But the Masters of these large Demesns, had found out an Expedient to get their Lands cultivated at a cheaper rate. Instead of these hired Day-Labourers of the Country, they made use of none but Slaves for their Husbandry. All their Farms were filled only with Men taken in War, who were maintained at a certain Price, without Salaries, and who were beat into the Performance of their laborious Tasks; and by this means, the Interests of private Persons turned much to the Detriment of the Republick. The Number of Freemen in the Country were diminished daily. These poor hired Husbandmen, not being able to find Work in their Country, deserted it in whole Companies: And when the Republick wanted Soldiers, the Allies were no longer in a Condition, to furnish their Contingents. A great Disorder, which required a speedy Remedy.

*Licinius Stolo* therefore, a *Tribune of the People*, had got a Law passed in or about the Year of *Rome* 380, whereby it was enacted, That no Roman Citizen should have more than 500 Acres of Land in Property, or keep more than 500 Head of small Cattle, or 100 Head

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L. CALPURNIUS  
PISO,  
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Vell. Paterc.  
B. 2.  
Cic. de Fæ-  
russp. Resp.

App. de Bell.  
Civili. B. 1.



Year of *Head of Oxen*; and *That every one should keep on his Farm a certain Number of hired Servants of the Country, to cultivate them.* But Avarice had made this wise Law useless. Some evaded it, by holding more Lands than the Law allowed, in fictitious Names. Others laughed at it, publickly kept their Farms entire as before, and in open defiance of the Law transmitted these great Estates to their Descendants, who continued to cultivate them only with Armies of Slaves which were dispersed in the Villages. This Abuse had now subsisted full 250 Years, since the passing of that Law; and several zealous *Tribunes of the People* had endeavoured, at different Times, to revive it, but in vain. It is said that *Lælius*, the Friend of *The Second Africanus*, had had Thoughts of putting it in force, in his *Tribuneship*. But after he had well considered it, he found the Wound so inveterate, that he despaired of curing it, without raising such Troubles as would be more dangerous than the Disease. Whereas the very Motive that induced the wise *Lælius* to desist from the Attempt, was what now determined *Gracchus* to undertake it. His Heart was full of Rancour, and he longed for the Pleasure of seeing the Mortifications he should hereby give to the wealthy Families which he hated. Besides, the Law he desired to revive, had an air of Justice, which gave a Sanction to his Revenge, without casting any Blemish on his Reputation.

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Plut. in Grac.

§. XXVII. But, if we may believe some Historians, Revenge was not his only Motive, to attempt the Revival of *The Licinian Law*. He loved Glory, and was desirous of signalizing his *Tribuneship* by some memorable Action. And it is pretended, that the prudent *Cornelia* herself, excited him to attempt something great, which should give him a Figure in the Republick. *Whenever People would make their court to me*, said she to him, *they call me, by way of Honour, the Mother-in-Law of The Second Africanus. Why don't they likewise call me the Mother of Gracchus? It is, because your Name is not yet so Illustrious as to reflect any honour upon me. For your own Sake then, and for your Mother's Sake, make yourself famous by some great Attempt. As for your Brother Caius, he is yet too young; but his Time will come. You are nine Years before him, and in possession of an Office, wherein you may shine to advantage.*

Not that *Tiberius* wanted these Reproaches to animate him. A favourable Opportunity now offered, for his regaining that superiour Fame for Eloquence, which he had acquired in his Youth. He had had a Rival in Oratory, *Sp. Postumius*, who had taken advantage of his Absence, and during his *Quæstorship* in *Spain*, had triumphed in *The Rostra*, without a Competitor, and gained a great Name. Eloquence was then as sure a Step to the highest Offices, as the Knowledge of military Affairs; and *Gracchus* was very ambitious of excelling in both. If then he undertook to revive a Law of so great Importance as the *Licinian*, this would give him a fair Occasion to exert his Eloquence, and recover his ascendant over this Rival. All these Reasons together, animated him to endeavour to make himself famous in his Youth, by acquiring the Affections of the Multitude, who were the sole Disposers of publick Favours.

Nevertheless, *The Tribune* would not attempt any thing, till he had consulted some Men of Understanding, and of great Reputation for their Integrity. He first took the Advice of his Father-in-Law *Appius Claudius*; who tho' *Prince of the Senate*, approved of the Design, and promised to assist him with all the Weight of his Family-Interest, and his Office. *Crassus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, entered into the Scheme from Motives of Religion and Justice. And *Mucius Scævola*, who was reputed to be the most learned *Civilian* in *Rome*, and the Oracle of the Law, and whose Opinion was of great Weight with *Gracchus*, readily declared for the revival of *The Licinian Law*. There were likewise two Foreigners, who pressed *Gracchus* more warmly than any others, to deliver the Allies of *Italy* from that Oppression which they suffered by the employing such Numbers of Slaves in Agriculture, to the Prejudice of the Freemen. One was a Rhetorician named *Diophanes*, an eloquent Man, who had been Tutor to *Gracchus*, and was a Native of <sup>68</sup> *Mitylene*, but had been driven away from his Country. The other was a Philosopher, named *Blossius*, a Native of *Cumæ*, and a professed Speculatist, who considered publick Affairs in a loose way, without looking far into the Consequences of them. 'Tis true, none could doubt but the *Licinian* was in it self a very equitable Law. Every honest disinterested Citizen must have wished to see it put in execution. This alone would have reformed that Luxury, and suppressed that Licentiousness, which began to

<sup>68</sup> *Mitylene* anciently was, and is still, the Capital of *Lesbos*, an Island in the *Aegean Sea*. *Cicero*, in his *Tenth Oration on The Agrarian Laws*, commends it for the Handsomness and Symetry of the Houses, and the Fruitfulness of its Territory.



infect Rome. But was this the proper Season for it? Or was Gracchus's Party strong enough to support him in a Work which would create him so much Odium? This was the Point which ought to have been well considered; and no Man could have given his Brother-in-Law more prudent Advice, in the present State of Affairs, than Scipio Æmilianus. But, unfortunately for Gracchus, Scipio was absent from Rome, and engaged in the Numantian Affair, in Spain.

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It must likewise be granted in his Favour, that besides his Rage against the Rich, Gracchus had a great deal of Compassion for the poor People. As he passed through *Hetruria*, when he attended *Mancinus* in his famous Expedition, he had been surprized to see the whole Country swarm with Slaves, and the Inhabitants of the Places, who were good Soldiers and faithful Allies to the Republick, destitute of Work, and reduced to the utmost Want. The Populace of Rome itself raised his Pity; and the Election of a Man of his Distinction into the College of *Tribunes*, had raised the Hopes of these unfortunate People. He could not stir out of his House, but he found Bills affixed to the Portico's, and Corners of Streets and Tombs, wherein the People called upon him for his Assistance. These Bills were to this effect, *If we have not Lands of our own now, in the Tribuneship of Gracchus, we shall never have any.* So that the Love of Revenge, the Reproaches of his Mother, the Thirst of Glory, the Authority of some great Men who had the Reputation of Wisdom, and a Compassion for the Miserable, all conspired to draw him into this most unfortunate Attempt.

§. XXVIII. His Law, as he first drew it up, was indeed full of great Temper and Moderation. It only enacted, *That all those who had more than 500 Acres of Land, should part with the overplus, and the Value of it should be paid them out of the publick Treasury. It allowed every Child of a Family, to hold 250 Acres in his own Name, over and above what was allowed to the Father. And it ordered, The overplus of these Lands which were taken from the Rich, to be divided among the poor Citizens of Rome, who should either cultivate them themselves, or get them cultivated by the Freemen who were upon the Spot.*

App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.

Nothing could be more mild than this new Edict. Gracchus might have absolutely deprived the Rich of the Lands they had unjustly retained, contrary to the Direction of a Law, which they had sworn to obey. He might likewise have made them accountable for the Profits they had received from them, during this long and unjust Possession. But he was content with obliging them to sell the Lands which did not belong to them, and take the Purchase-Money to themselves. Nay, he even softened the Severity of *The Licinian Law* it self, in favour of the Children in Families. Nevertheless he took all the Precautions that became an able Man, in order to prevail on the People to pass this new Bill. He appeared often in *The Tribune of Harangues*, and there lamented the hard Fate of the poor Inhabitants of most of the *Italian Provinces*; which was a vast Field for the display of his Eloquence. *These Italians*, said he, *whose reduction cost us so dear, are now most commonly the Instruments of our Victories. They keep pace with our Legionaries; and often leave it in doubt in great Actions, whether they, or our Citizens, deserve most of the Glory of them. If our Troops raise an Emulation in them, these brave Allies, on the other hand, keep up the Courage of our Legions. Their Cohorts are almost as formidable to our Enemies as our Manipuli. Nevertheless, the Number of these brave Men diminishes daily. Hunger, or Want, or Flight, deprives us of their Assistance, who are so necessary to the State. And with whom are our Provinces, when deserted by their old Husbandmen, repopled? Shall I say it, Romans, Or can you hear it without trembling? In the room of free and faithful Men, vicious Slaves are substituted, who cannot be made to work but by Force. Fear only will subdue their savage Spirits; and their bad Hearts give us cause to be always suspicious of them. Nevertheless they swarm in the Countries that surround us. Who then can tell what Villainies these Wretches may engage in? Their present Attempts in Sicily give us pain for the Repose of Italy? What will become of this unfortunate City, if the least Sedition should break out in it? We shall see the Slaves break their Chains, arm themselves with the Tools we put into their Hands, plunder our Barns, lay waste our Fields, and make themselves Masters of the Places of their Servitude. And if they should not, is it not wrong for us profusely to squander away among them, the Bread which we refuse to the many Mercenaries of free Condition, who are so useful to us in our Armies? Shall our Friends and our Countrymen perish with Hunger; whilst Enemies, who owe their Lives to the Compassion of those Allies whom we neglect, enjoy great Plenty?*

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These Things were frequently repeated, and represented in many different lights, in order to prepare the Minds of the People, for receiving the new Law; and at length he proposed it in the *Comitia*. The bulk of the *Citizens* were but little alarmed, the People rejoiced, and the native *Italians* dispersed in the Provinces, triumphed at it. The Rich only, especially those of the Senatorial and Equestrian Orders, who found themselves hurt, exclaimed against the Law and its Author. And as it was customary, when any new Edict was proposed to the People, to permit any *Citizen* to speak for or against it, till the Time of the great Assembly by *Tribes*, in which it was accepted or rejected by a majority of Votes; the Rich were continually mounting *The Rostra* one after another, and haranguing the People in *The Comitium*, in order to dissuade them from accepting of the Law. So that *Gracchus* was obliged to be perpetually entering the Lists of Eloquence with fresh Adversaries. But he answered their Difficulties so readily and so fully, as removed all Doubt. And with his solid Reasonings, he intermixed such Topicks as were most proper to make Impressions on the Multitude. *The wild Beasts*, said he, *find Dens and Pastures in our Forests, but the Natives of our Provinces have no retreat in their own Countries! They are driven from the poor Cottages they inhabited, and ramble about in Companies in distant Regions, seeking that Subsistence in the Compassion of Foreigners, which they used to acquire by their labour at home. Shall then the Men who are accustomed to handle the Sword and Buckler, be so debased, as to be obliged to beg their Bread?*

On the other hand, the Rich insisted on the length of their Possession, on the Debts they had contracted by purchasing these Lands, and on the Difficulty of alienating them; and particularly on the strange Confusion which such a Change would make in Families; since these Estates were settled on their Wives and Children. But *Gracchus* answered all, in such a manner as left no room for Reply: And then, confounded these covetous Men with such poignant Questions, as drew on them the Insults of the People. *Is not the Law I propose equitable? Is it not very mild? Shew us, either the Injustice or the Rigour of it. Did not these Lands originally belong to poor Husbandmen? And have not you dispossessed them? Besides, what hurt can you receive, if you are paid the Price of them? If the Republick is inclined to restore them to their first Masters, does it become you to hinder her Liberality? Have you more Regard to the Welfare of your Slaves, than to the Sufferings of so many Allies, who are banished from their domestick Gods, and from the Tombs of their Fathers? With what Truth or Justice can our Generals exhort their Soldiers to fight valiantly, in defence of their domestick Gods and their Altars, when they have neither? Have they any thing left to lose for our Sakes, but their Blood? They have not even Ground enough in their native Countries, to bury them.*

These were the real Speeches *Gracchus* made on this Occasion, and not imaginary Harangues invented *ex post Facto*. *Cicero* read them in his Time, and admired them more for the Vivacity and ingenious Turns he found in them, than for the Purity of their Language, which was not yet in its Perfection.

§. XXIX. Thus, in point both of strict Reasoning, and of Eloquence, *Gracchus* always got the better of his Adversaries, before the People; who were charmed to hear him maintain the Cause of the Unfortunate with such Success. The Rich therefore had recourse to Violence and Calumny, to destroy, or discredit, *The Tribune*. It is said, they hired Men to assassinate him: And it was perhaps from this common Report, that he took occasion to provide himself with Arms, and a numerous Guard to attend him, whenever he went from home. About 4000 Men generally accompanied him to *The Rostra*; and he himself wore thither a hollow Battoon, in which a Sword was sheathed. This at least is certain, That his Adversaries endeavoured to ruin him, by the most odious Calumnies. They reported, That he aimed at Monarchy, and published pretended and groundless Proofs of a Plot for crowning him King. But these Rumours were neither spread nor even believed by any, but such as were interested against him. The People made it their whole Business to encourage their Law-giver, who was hazarding both his Reputation and his Life to procure them Advantage.

Rome swarmed with these poor Allies, who had hitherto been undefended, and whose Case was now so very desperate, that only one Man had Courage enough to attempt to put an end to their Misery. Not but there were in the Provincial Cities likewise a great Number of Enemies to the new Law. They had their rich Men as well as Rome, who, from the same OEconomy, had taken Slaves instead of hired Servants, to cultivate their Lands: And these openly declared against *Gracchus*, defamed him, and used their utmost Efforts to prevent his Success. The Division

App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.



tion spread from *Colony* to *Colony*, and from *Municipium* to *Municipium*, and all *Italy* Year of  
was in a Flame; whilst at the same time *Rome* had but one *Consul* at the Head of Af- *ROME*  
fairs, to restrain this great Multitude, whose different Passions had put them in a Ferment. *DCXX.*

*P. Mucius Scævola* had continued in the Capital, whilst his Colleague *Calpurnius* was *P. MUCIUS*  
making War with the rebellious Slaves in *Sicily*. But what Assistance could the Republick *SCÆVOLA, &*  
expect from *Mucius*? He was a weak, unsteady, irresolute Man, whose too great *L. CALPUR-*  
Caution made him incapable of curing great Evils. *NTUS PISO,*  
*Consuls.*

Such was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, to the very Day when *Gracchus* proposed *Cic. pro Domo*  
his Law, in *Comitia* assembled on purpose to accept or reject it. This Assembly might *sua.*

justly be compared to a Camp, where some mutinous Soldiers support their Leader, *App. L. 1. de*  
against the Pretensions of the inferior Officers. The Multitude were ready to defend *Bell. Civ.*  
their *Tribune*; and the Rich were come to get the Law rejected. Then *Gracchus*, *App. L. 1. de*  
from *The Rostra*, began with haranguing this mighty Crowd (whom an Affair of such *Bell. Civ.*  
Importance had brought together, both from the City and Country) and addressed him-  
self both to the Poor, and to the Rich. But he took particular care to paint the Mife-  
ries of the former in the most lively Colours. Crowds of Children, said he, stretch out  
their Arms for Bread to their unhappy Fathers, who are not able to procure it for them by  
their Labour. The Mothers Breasts are dried, and no longer furnish Nourishment for Sol-  
diers for our Armies. Nevertheless we are here forming great Schemes of Conquests, at our  
Ease. Our Thoughts ramble beyond the Seas, and we have already subdued the most distant  
Regions of Asia in Imagination. Would I then stifle any Sparks of Glory, which a Roman  
Education may have kindled in your Breasts? No. Be as ambitious as you please; but be  
so, with Prudence and Foresight. Where will you find Men to form your victorious Ar-  
mies, except among these very Allies, whom you disperse, whom you ruin? You therefore  
frustrate the Expectations of the Publick, in order to carry on your little private Interests.  
And not only so; but you even expose the Republick to the Danger of losing what she has al-  
ready conquered. It is the Courage and Number of our Allies in Italy, that have made us  
invulnerable; and as soon as these shall be destroyed, the Nations whom you have subdued by  
Force, will no longer fear you. What then will become of Rome, or of your ambitious  
Schemes? Your Legions indeed have been able of themselves to conquer Italy; but have they  
alone been sufficient to procure you the Conquest of the whole World? No, you never  
could have been Masters of it, had you not had the Assistance of these Allies, whom you so  
violently oppress. And what is it we would have done to these rich Men, whose Conduct is  
so fatal to the Publick? Would we utterly ruin them, or entirely degrade them from their  
ancient Rank? Indeed an equality of Goods might perhaps be most proper in a well regulated  
State: But that is not our Point in view. If the Father of a Family is allowed to hold  
500 Acres for himself, and each of his Children 250 more, will not this enable any Roman  
to live in Splendour, and keep up his Quality? The Misfortune of the Times is, That O-  
pulence has introduced Luxury among us; and our Luxury will not suffer us to set any bounds  
to our Avarice.

As soon as he had done speaking, he ordered the Register to read the Law; and then  
the Scene changed. In the College of *Tribunes*, there was a young Roman, of a Fam- *Plut. in Gracc.*  
ily highly distinguished by publick Offices, if we may judge by his Name, which was  
*Marcus Octavius Cæcina*. This Man, who was unblameable in his Conduct, and had  
great natural Prudence, had contracted a Friendship with *Gracchus*; had openly decla-  
red his Approbation of the new Law, had been a professed Advocate for his Col-  
league. The Faction of the Rich had in vain solicited him to protest against his Friend's  
Enterprize; motives of Honour and Friendship had hitherto preserved him from Seduc-  
tion. But now, being by some unknown Influences perverted, he came entirely over  
to the Adversaries of his Colleague, and dealt very unhandisomly by his Friend. Instead  
of acquainting *Gracchus* with his Design to oppose the Law, before he had taken all the  
Steps necessary to get it passed; he concealed his Purpose till the Law was ordered to be read;  
and then silenced the Register, by Words, which had been ever awful in the Mouth of a  
*Tribune of the People*; *I oppose it.* It had been an invariable Custom in *Rome*, That no *App. L. 1. de*  
Edict should pass, without the unanimous Consent of the *Tribunes*. One Opponent was *Bell. Civ.*  
sufficient to set aside any Bill, and his Protest had been always accepted. *Gracchus* was  
therefore surprized at this unexpected Blow from his Friend, and complained of it to  
the Assembly; but kept his Temper. He only desired the People to assemble again in  
the same Place, the next Day; to hear their two *Tribunes*, one in Defence of, and the  
other in Opposition to, the Law proposed.



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SCÆVOLA, &  
L. CALPURNIUS  
PISO,  
Consuls.

Plut. in Gracch

§. XXX. At the Hour appointed for these Assemblies, *Gracchus* appeared in *The Comitium* well armed and well guarded. His Design was to terrify *Octavius*, and thereby give him a plausible Pretence for desisting. But the young *Roman* had Courage. He firmly stood his Ground, and was not to be intimidated. So that when *Gracchus* again ordered the Register to read the Bill, *Octavius* silenced him, by renewing his Protest: And then *The Tribune of Harangues* became a kind of Stage, on which the two Competitors, as Actors, entertained the Publick with an affecting Scene. They no longer addressed themselves to the Auditors, but carryed on the Dispute between themselves. Each maintained his own Opinion with Vivacity, and they exhausted their Subject. But during the whole Dispute, not one rash Expression, or injurious Reflection, escaped either. They both behaved themselves, as became Men of their Education and Birth; and at length, to put an end to the Contest, *Gracchus* took his Colleague aside, and addressed him thus. *Perhaps you are personally interested to oppose this Law. If so, I mean, if you have more than the 500 Acres allowed; I myself, poor as I am, will engage to pay you in Money, what you will lose in Land.* But still, whether out of Shame, or from a Principle of Honour, *Octavius* was inexorable.

*Gracchus* therefore had recourse to another Expedient, which was doubtless lawful for any *Tribune* who proposed a Law, when the passing it was prevented by Chicanry. He suspended all the Magistrates in *Rome* from the Execution of their Offices. The Senate assembled no more; the *Prætors* were ordered to hear no more Causes; and all the Offices relating to the Finances, the publick Treasury not excepted, were shut up, and Payments postponed till the Law should be passed. Nevertheless, some *Prætors* continued to go on with Business; but *Gracchus* soon made them desist, by fining them. Indeed, these were violent Methods of forcing Obedience; and all the rich Men in *Rome* therefore changed their Habits, and appeared no more in Publick, but in the deepest Mourning. But the Disguises of the Rich raised little Compassion, at least among the Multitude: And amidst this Consternation, *Gracchus* made another Attempt to succeed in his Design. All Things were got ready for putting an end to the Affair; the *Tablets* were given out, and the Baskets for collecting them put in their Places; but the Persons interested, fearing a sudden Decision, got them taken away: And then nothing was done without Violence. In order to hinder the acceptance of one Law, all the rest were broken. The *Comitium* was ready to have become a Field of Battle, in which *Gracchus* would have prevailed by Numbers. Upon which, two grave Republicans, *Manlius* and *Fulvius*, Men venerable for their Age and their Offices, both having been *Consuls*, very seasonably interposed; and threw themselves at the *Tribune's* Feet, intreating him to spare the Blood of the *Citizens*, in an Assembly where all Things ought to be transacted in a peaceable manner. *What then is to be done?* replied *Gracchus* wisely. *How can an Affair end otherwise, which is opposed by so many base Artifices? It is an Affair of such Importance,* returned the two venerable old Men, *that the Senate only is fit to determine it.* *Gracchus* was not ignorant, That this would be making the Senators Judges in their own Cause; the Senatorial Families being more concerned in Interest than others, to keep the Wealth which was going to be taken from them. Nevertheless, he consented to submit his Law to the Judgment of *The Conscrip't Fathers*: Not out of Deference to *Manlius* and *Fulvius*; but from a sincere Persuasion that the Law was so undeniably good, that the Senate it self could not reject it. But this was judging wrong of Men. Where their Interest is concerned, they will always find Pretences enough, to darken the most glaring Truths.

§. XXXI. The Senate, whether in order to cool the Heat of Men's Minds by length of Time, or for fear of drawing upon themselves the Hatred of a People fond of the Law, affected Delays, and were indeed divided among themselves. All were not so mean of Spirit, as to be always ready to sacrifice the Ease of the Distressed to their own private Interest. But *Gracchus*, who saw their Views, did not like these Procrastinations. He brought the Affair before the People, from the Senate, and took an unjust Method, say some, but a necessary one, say others, to end it; by forcibly depriving *Octavius* of his *Tribuneship*, in an unusual manner. He was the only protesting *Tribune* of the Ten; and his Deprivation was the only Means to leave the Commons at liberty to vote; which when obtained, their Law-giver could absolutely depend on a Majority. Nevertheless, before he proceeded to Deposition, he thought it his Duty to try gentle Means. As the two *Tribunes* daily met in *The Rostrum*, *Gracchus* publicly intreated his Colleague to drop his Opposition, in Compassion to the many unfortunate People for whom he interceded.

He



He urged, That *Octavius* could never do so much for these poor Freemen, as they had done for the Republick ; and That the Favour asked was the least Reward she owed them for all the Blood they had shed in her Service. And with his Intreaties, *Gracchus* joined Caresses. He put him in mind of their old Friendship, affectionately pressed him by the Hand, and often embraced him. Yet still *Octavius* thought it a point of Honour not to change. A publick Breach therefore must ensue, and Extremities be used, with a Man, who stood single in opposing the Desires of the whole Body of so great a People.

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Then *Gracchus* discovered in his Face and Manner, an Air of Melancholy and Dejection, which made him still more amiable in the Eyes of the Multitude. *As far as I can judge*, said he, *by the Words and Conduct of my Opponent, our Dispute is only to be ended by Arms and Blows. But the Gods forbid, Romans, that in order to secure you a Subsistence, I should expose you to the Hazard of your Lives! Since Octavius and myself are divided in Opinion, and the Republick suffers by our Divisions; It is the proper Province of the Tribes assembled in Comitia, to re-establish Concord among their Tribunes. Let the Case therefore be determined by your Suffrages. If the Cause I maintain be in your Opinion Unjust, or Prejudicial, I readily offer to give up my Seat in the College. Your Defender will retire to the Solitude of a private Life, and there repine in secret at his Disappointment, in having wanted Power to make his Zeal effectual. On the contrary, if you judge me worthy of being continued in your Service in this Station, deprive him of the Tribuneship who alone obstructs my good Wishes. As soon as you shall have nominated one to succeed him, the Law will pass without Opposition. Let the Tribes then enter into the Inclosure and give their Suffrages, as they shall judge proper. I give you till to morrow to consider of it; only remember, That the Security of the City, and the Happiness of Italy, depend on the Event. Thus spake Gracchus, and immediately dismissed the Assembly.*

And probably it was in this interval, that he altered his Law. He had at first drawn it up with such Qualifications, as made it tolerable. But being now sowered with the Oppositions of the Rich in general, and particularly of the Senate, and his obstinate Collegue ; and being sure that it would pass in any Form in which he should think fit to propose it ; he resolved to revive it as it was at first passed, without abating any thing of its Severity. When *Licinius* had got it passed, it absolutely forbade any Citizen whatsoever to keep more than 500 Acres of Land. There was no Exception in favour of the Children in Families ; no Reimbursement promised to those, who should part with any overplus. And now, *Gracchus* left it as severe as he found it. If he added any Clause to it, it was probably only this, That the Lands should no longer be cultivated by Slaves, but by hired Day-Labourers of the Country.

The next Day, the College of Tribunes took their Places in *The Rostra*, and among the rest, the two Competitors. The Crouds of People on this extraordinary Occasion were exceeding great. Of the five and thirty Tribes, which composed the Body of the Republick, the greatest Part of those who had a Right of Voting, had left the Country and repaired to the City. And then, in the Presence of this numerous Auditory, who were so well disposed in his Favour, *Gracchus* again made fresh Application to *Octavius*. He beseeched him to desist, if he had any Regard either for the Gods, for the common Good of his Country, or for the Interests of a great People, whom he was obliged by his Office to protect. But the Rich had bewitched him with their Discourses, and perhaps with their Promises. He did not open his Mouth, but to continue his Protest. Then turning to the People, *Judge you therefore, Romans*, said *Gracchus*, *which of us has deserved Deprivation. I call the Gods to witness, That nothing but extreme Necessity could oblige me to take a Step so little agreeable to our Customs, and so contrary to my own Inclinations.* At these Words, the Tribe, to whose Lot it fell, and whose Opinion was generally followed by the rest, or at least, was a pretty sure Indication how Affairs would end, entered into the Inclosure, and declared for the Deposition of *Octavius*. Upon which, *Gracchus* suspended the Ardour of *The Tribes*, in order to make still another Effort to bring over his Opponent. *Spare yourself*, said he to him, *the Shame of a scandalous Deprivation, and me the Grief of having cast a Blemish upon you, which neither Time, nor your Merit, will ever wipe off.* But an obstinate Roman was more so than any other Man. He piqued himself upon making his Choice wisely, and upon never receding from it, when he had once made it. This he thought a Proof of that Constancy which was the Character of the Nation. Tho' it must be confessed, That there was more Parade than Solidity, in the Inflexibility, even of the Roman Heroes.

App. L. 1. De  
Bell. Civ.



Year of *R O M E.* first. Seventeen had already declared for the Deprivation of *Octavius*, and the Eighteenth *DCXX.* was just going to determine the Affair, half a Vote Majority being sufficient. But before he would suffer it to enter the Enclosure, the Law-giver endeavoured, for the last time, to recover his Collegue. *The Danger*, said he to him, *is great, and your Hopes vain. Be persuaded, Octavius, to follow the Inclinations of the Roman People. You have yet time enough to reconcile yourself to the Commons, and gain their Affections for ever. It is not dishonourable to break our Engagements with our Friends, after we have pursued them to the last Extremity. Will they make you amends for your Loss? Harken rather to the Advice of a faithful Friend, than to a factious Cabal, who are interested to seduce you.* And these Words staggered *Octavius*. He continued motionless and musing for some time, and is said to have dropped Tears. But he unfortunately cast his Eyes on the Company of the Rich, who had followed him to the *Comitium* to encourage him; and read in their Faces Marks of Indignation and Contempt, if he should abandon them. Then recovering his former Steadiness, he said to *Gracchus*, *Go on with the good Work you have begun; and carry the Oppression as far as it will go.* At these Words, *Gracchus* made the eighteenth Tribe enter the Inclosure, and passed the Decree. *Octavius* was declared deprived of the *Tribuneship*, and the Law was passed as *Gracchus* had the last time proposed it. And in order to compleat the Number of *Tribunes*, he got *Q. Mummius*, one of his own Clients, chosen, in the Room of the deposed.

*Plut. in Gracc.*

§. XXXII. But here *Gracchus* forgot himself a little. He might have spared himself the Odium of ordering his Apparitors, who were all his own *Freed-men*, to make *Octavius* descend from *The Rostra*, in the Sight of the People. These Brutes drove him away with some sort of Violence, and thereby increased the Compassion, which his own Party at least, had for him. The common People, indeed, all hated him, and a Company of these Mutineers crowded about him to insult him; as the Officers were dragging him through *The Forum*. However, his Friends protected him; but one of his Slaves lost both his Eyes in the Fray: And *Gracchus* himself was forced at last to leave the Assembly, and come in Person to put an end to the Tumult. Inasmuch, that it was not without difficulty, that *Octavius* escaped safe to his own House.

*App. L. 1. De Bell. Civ.*

As for the new Law, it was either deemed passed by the same Suffrages which had deposed the single Opponent of it, or was again proposed and voted in Form. And in order to compleat this great Work, *Gracchus* caused the People to appoint three Commissioners, to examine what Lands any private Persons held above 500 Acres, to distribute them among the poor *Citizens*, and to direct who should cultivate them. The Persons chosen were *Gracchus* himself, and two others of his own Family and Party, *Appius Claudius* his Father-in-Law, and *Gaius Gracchus* his Brother. This Accumulation of so many Honours on one Man, created him much Envy. Besides, many were shocked at the Acclamations of the Populace, as they were conducting him back to his House after his Victory. They called him, *The Restorer of Rome, and the Avenger and Protector of Italy*. These illustrious Appellations were odious to Republicans, who were jealous even of the Shadow of Royalty. They thought this ascendant over the Minds of the Multitude a kind of Tyranny, which weakened the Authority of the Senate, and tended to make all Power center in one single Person. The Senators and Roman *Knights* looked on him as a formidable Enemy, whose Power they envied as much as feared. They complained aloud in the Senate, and other publick Assemblies; and some threatened to make him repent of his Proceedings, as soon as his *Tribuneship* should be expired. Whilst he, on the other hand, being supported by the Faction of the People, though himself above Reproaches or Threatnings, and was wholly intent on passing through all the *Italian Provinces*, with his Father-in-Law, and his Brother, in order to put their Commission in execution.

*Plut. in Gracc.*

As soon as the Affair was over, the vast Multitudes of People who came from the Provinces to *Rome*, to support their Interest, were dispersed. Every one returned to his own Village or Town, there to wait for the Execution of a Law, which would deliver all *Italy* from the Oppression of the Rich. Before the Commissioners set out, it was necessary, that the Chief of them should apply to the Senate, to demand the Privilege of a Tent in the several Encampments they should make in the Country, and to have his Appointments settled: And then, *The Conscript Fathers* made *Gracchus* sensible of their

69 In the Copies of *Plutarch*, we read, *Mucius*, instead of *Mummius*. *Phylus Onofrius* gives this new Tribune the Name of *Minucius*.



Resentments. All Commissioners appointed for the Distribution of Lands, had hitherto been honoured with a particular Tent, which was now refused to him: and the Appointment made him for his Expences, was no more than *six* <sup>70</sup> *Sesterces* a Day. It was indeed a ridiculous Decree, and had been suggested by one of his most violent Enemies, *Scipio Nasica*, the Grandson of that famous *Nasica*, whose Virtues had raised him to so great Honour in *Rome*. This Man had nothing of the Disinterestedness, or Moderation of his Grandfather. He was of a fiery Spirit, and could ill brook to see himself deprived of his Estate which he had increased beyond measure, and had usurped from the Lands of the Publick. However, notwithstanding the smallness of their Appointments, the three Commissioners began their Journey, and drew after them a great Multitude of poor People, who were full of Hopes of having some Lands for themselves. The Commissioners lodged as they could, and spent a good part of the Year, in procuring and receiving Informations.

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§. XXXIII. In the mean time, the Absence of *Gracchus* from *Rome*, neither abated the Hatred of the Rich, nor the Affections of the People, towards him; and upon his Return, the Death of one of his Friends signally discovered both. His Confidant and chief Agent in carrying on his Designs, died so suddenly, that he was suspected to be poisoned. This was sufficient to draw the Populace to the House of the Deceased; and they found some Marks of Poison on his Body. But what put them out of all Temper, were the Accidents that happened at the Funeral. The Body burst with some noise; and so much cold Water ran out of it, when it was upon the Funeral Pile, that it put out the Fire. This exasperated the People beyond measure against the Rich, by whose Means they thought the Deceased poisoned; and *Gracchus* took this Opportunity to apply himself for Refuge to his Protectors. He ran through the Streets of *Rome* in a careless Dress, and implored the Assistance of all he met, against the Violence of his Enemies. *My Life*, said he, *is in such Danger that I despair of being able to save it. But pray, Romans, take care, at least, of my Wife and Children, whom I absolutely resign up to your Guardianship and Protection.* These Complaints both raised the Compassion of the People, and increased their Affection for their Hero; and this new degree of Interest emboldened him to extend the Commission, which he had in effect given to himself. He added this Clause to it, *That the Commissioners should likewise enquire, What Lands had been usurped from the Republick*; and by this Stroke he confounded the Senators. They owed most of their Wealth to their Usurpations; there being scarce any of them, but had appropriated to themselves more or less of the Lands that belonged to the publick Treasury.

Epit. Livian.

Indeed, tho' the Quantity of Land which would be taken from the Usurpers would be great, the Number of the poor *Citizens* of *Rome* who expected them was greater. Inasmuch, that after the most strict and rigorous Enquiry, it would not be possible for *The Tribune* to find Lands enough to content all the Expectants. But an Accident which must be traced a little further back, eased *Gracchus* of this Difficulty, and enabled him to stop the Murmurs of all the Malecontents among the People.

§. XXXIV. The Kingdom of *Pergamus* in *Asia* was not a very ancient <sup>71</sup> Monarchy. It had begun about 150, or 151 Years before this Time; and the famous *Attalus*,

d.  
About 11½  
Sterling.

70 These six \* *Sesterces* were worth no more than 15 *Sols* French Money, at the Rate of 2 *Sols* and a half to each *Sesterce*. See Vol. 2.

71. The Eunuch *Philetærus*, who lived to be 69 Years old, according to *Lucian*, founded the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, as we have observed Vol. 3. p. 314. Note 7. He founded it in the 469th Year of *Rome*, and the 40th after the Death of *Alexander the Great*; and died after he had reigned 20 Years. He had two Brothers, *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the former of which had a Son named also *Eumenes*, after his Father; and this Man succeeded his Uncle, and was the second Sovereign of *Pergamus*. He vanquished *Antiochus* the Son of *Selaucus*, at the Battle of *Sardis*, and took Advantage of his Victory to enlarge his Monarchy. He reigned 22 Years, and left his Kingdom to his Cousin, the Son of *Attalus*, the other Brother of *Philetærus*. His Name also was *Attalus*, and his Mother was *Antiochis* the Daughter of *Achæus*, who had usurped Part of *Asia Minor*, to the Prejudice of his Pupil *Antiochus* the

Great. This *Attalus* cut in pieces a numerous Army of *Galatæ*, and was the first Sovereign of *Pergamus*, who took the Title of King. He is said to have reigned 43 Years; and he had by his Queen *Apollonis* the Daughter of a Citizen of *Cyzicus*, *EUMENES the Second*, who succeeded him, *Attalus*, *Philetærus*, and *Athenæus*. This is the Succession of the Kings of *Pergamus*, to *Attalus Philometor*, whom *Eumenes the Second* had by his Wife, the Daughter of *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*. We were therefore mistaken, in supposing on the Testimony of some Chronologists, Vol. 3. p. 314, That *Attalus the first* succeeded his Father *Eumenes*. We were undeceived in this Matter, by reading Page 429 of the 13th Book of *Strabo*. It is also false, That *Attalus* had a Brother *Eumenes* who succeeded him. This Mistake has escaped *Father Labbe* in his *French Chronology*, under the Year of *Rome* 512. *Diogenes Laertius* thought that *Eumenes the First* was Son, and not Nephew to *Philetærus*; but this Error is confuted by *Athenæus* and *Strabo*, and is justly censured by *Monsieur Valois*.



Year of *lus*, who had joined with the *Romans*, in their War with *Philip of Macedon*, had been the third King. This Prince, after a Reign of 43 Years, left the Crown to his Son *Eumenes*; who walked in his Father's Steps, long adhered to the Fortune of the *Romans*; and assisted them in conquering *Antiochus* and *Perses*. In his Time, the Dominions of *Pergamus* were considerably increased by the Liberality of the *Roman Senate*; and he, after a Reign of 44 Years, left behind him a Son in his Minority, named *Attalus the Second*. This young Prince continued 21 Years under the Guardianship of Prince *Attalus* his Uncle, who did not put him in Possession of the Throne, till he was of full Maturity; and this was the weak Prince, whom, as we have observed, *The Second Africanus* <sup>72</sup> had found at *Pergamus* seized with a deep Melancholy; in some gloomy Fits of which, he had spilt the Blood of all his Relations. The Reader may remember, that he loved his Mother *Stratonice*, the Daughter of the King of *Cappadocia*, to madness; and to merit his Surname of *Philometor* <sup>73</sup>, revenged her Death on all the Royal Family, whom his Jealousies made him suspect to have been concerned in it. So that being without Relations, without Friends, and even without Courtiers, he confined himself to <sup>74</sup> Solitude, in which his whole Employment was building the Tomb of his dear *Stratonice*: And whilst he was in Person pressing the Workmen to go on with this magnificent Structure, he was so struck with the heat of the Sun, that it killed him, in the 9th Year of his detested Reign. After his Death, the only surviving Prince of the Blood, who had escaped the general Massacre, was *Aristonicus*, (the natural Son of *Eumenes* by an *Ephesian* Woman) whom we shall soon see raising a new War, and defending his Claims against the *Romans*. But *Attalus Philometor* by his Will <sup>75</sup>, excluded him from all his Dominions and Effects, which he gave entire to the Republick; and the avaritious *Romans* immediately seized all his Treasures, and took care to transport them to *Rome*.

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*Valois*, in his Notes on the Fragments of *Polybius*, p. 19. The following Passage of *Athenæus* is decisive against *Diogenes Laertius*. *Eumenes*, says he, the Nephew of *Phileræus*, was the second Sovereign of *Pergamus*. He died with hard drinking, according to *Ctesicles*, in the Third Book of his History.

72. We may judge by *Cicero's* Testimony of the Esteem and Respect which *Attalus* imbibed for *Scipio*, during his stay at *Pergamus*. He supposes; as an undoubted Fact, in his Oration for King *Dejotarus*, That *Philometor* sent rich Presents from the furthest Part of *Asia Minor*, into *Spain*, to the Destroyer of *Carthage*, then busy in the Siege of *Numantia*.

73 *Attalus* had the Name of *Philometor* given him on account of his tender Affection for his Mother. *Plutarch*, by a lapse of Memory, surnames him *Philopator* in his *Life of the Gracchi*. He forgot, that he had called him *Philometor* in his *Life of Demetrius*. *Volterræan* has committed a double Blunder with regard to him. First, in pretending That *Attalus* was only called *Philometor* by way of Irony, as if he had really persecuted and murdered his Mother. And Secondly, in making use of *Justin's* Authority to support this Pretence. This Author says just the contrary of what *Volterræan* makes him say. But it must be owned, that some Historians accuse this King, who was jealous of his Uncle's Authority, of making use of Poison, to get rid of this Prince, who without the Title of Monarch, governed his Nephew's Dominions with an absolute Authority.

74 It was probably in this Solitude, that *Attalus* wrote the Books of Agriculture, which *Varro* and *Columella* ascribe to him. *Gallien* says, That this Prince understood Medicines, and studied Simples. A modern Writer of our own Times conjectures, That the Physician *Attalus*, whom *Pliny* mentions in the Index of B. 33, was the King of *Pergamus*, whom the same Author mentions in the Index of B. 8. And indeed, he does place the latter among the Authors, who had wrote of Physick.

l. s. d. 75 *Pliny the Naturalist* looks on *Attalus's* Will as the fatal Rock on which the weak Remains of the Roman Virtue were split. With the Riches of *Pergamus*, says he, Debauchery, Effeminacy, Luxury, and in a Word, all kinds of Vices came in crowds to *Rome*, and

overwhelmed this Capital of the World. Modesty and Innocence were no longer countenanced, in a City given up to all the Pleasures and Delights of *Asia*. The Citizens, dazzled with the Splendor of the rich Moveables which were shewn them, were ashamed of their ancient Simplicity. *Romans* began to value themselves on their Taste and Delicacy in the eastern Finery, and to covet, and be curious in Pictures of great Value, and Works exquisitely wrought in Gold and Silver. They gloried in knowing how to value what their Forefathers gloried in despising. They rivalled one another in the Richness and Expence of their Tables, Habits, and Apartments. *Carthage*, that famous Rival of *Rome*, no longer kept our Virtue in exercise. The Glory of *Rome*, and that ancient Reputation for Probity, which made us so much respected throughout the World, were buried in the Ruins of the African City. *Asia* when subdued, had her full Revenge on us, for the Shame of her Fetters, by bringing us under a much worse Yoke, that of Effeminacy.

*Servius*, in his Commentary on *Virgil*, appears to have been of Opinion, That Tapestry was invented at the Court of *Pergamus*, and therefore called *Aulæa*, ab aula *Attali*. He adds, That these pompous Hangings were not known at *Rome*, till those of *Attalus* were brought thither. But whatever *Servius* may say of the Etymology of the Word *Aulæa*, it is certain, the *Romans* borrowed it from the *Greeks*, who called Tapistries *αυλαῖαι*. *Pliny* tells us, B. 8, That *Attalus* was the first who introduced embroidering in Gold; and *Silius Italicus* says in effect the same thing, in the following Lines of B. 14.

.... Quæque Attalicis variata per artem  
Aulæis scribuntur acu.

It is well known that the Magnificence of *Pergamus* was so great, as to become Proverbial among the Ancients. We may judge of that of her Kings by one single Fact. One of them, according to *Pliny*, Nat. Hist. B. 33, gave 100 \* Talents, which make 100000 French Crowns for a Picture of *Aristides* of *Thebes*, one of the most famous Painters in *Greece*. And *Strabo* says, That *Eumenes the Second* founded at *Pergamus* one of the largest and best chosen Libraries in the East.

This



This Booty, which was brought by *Eudemus* the *Pergamian*, together with the Will of the late King, came very seasonably to extricate *Gracchus* out of his Difficulty. He thought these Riches, which were immensely great, would well supply his want of Land to satisfy the Desires of all the Claimants; and he resolved to have them distributed among the People. Having both the College of *Tribunes*, and the People, entirely at his Devotion, Laws cost him nothing; and he therefore drew up a new Edict, consisting of these two Articles. 1. That the Money brought from *Pergamus* should be divided among those poor Citizens to whom Lands could not be assigned. And 2dly, That the Disposal of the Revenues of the Cities in *Attalus's* Dominions, should not be in the Hands of the Senate, but of the People assembled in *Comitia*. This Law, as may well be imagined, was received and passed by the People with great Applauses. But it was a more mortifying Blow to the Senate, than all the rest. It was taking from them the Application of the Revenues of a large Country, and putting it into the Hands of the Commons; and was consequently an ample Revenge upon them, for their Appointment of only 6 *Sesterces* a Day, for the Expences of the Commission.

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§. XXXV. All *Rome* agreed, That no Man had ever humbled the Senate more than *The Tribune, Gracchus*: Nevertheless, it was his Office only that was his Protection. The *Tribunes of the People* had, from their Institution, been declared *Sacred*; that is, so far inviolable, that no Man could offer any Violence to their Persons, without being understood to do Violence to Religion it self. The Senators therefore reserved their Resentments against *Gracchus*, till he should go out of his Office; tho' they sometimes vented them in Menaces. One *Q. Pompeius* declared in open Senate, That he had a capital Accusation to bring against him, as soon as his *Tribuneship* should be expired. I am his Neighbour, said he, and by that means come at the Knowledge of many Things, of which others are ignorant. I know, that the same *Eudemus* who brought the Will of the King of *Pergamus*, has left with this Law-making Tribune, the Royal Diadem and Mantle of *Attalus*, which *Gracchus* is to make use of, when he causes himself to be proclaimed King of *Rome*. These Reports were spread from the Senate to the People, and were at length brought to *Gracchus*; which led him to conduct himself accordingly; and to be more upon his Guard for the future. But this did not lessen his Affiduity, in mounting *The Rostra* and haranguing the People, to keep up their good Opinions of him. One Day *T. Annius* the *Prætor* boasted that he would confound the Tribune in those very Assemblies, where his Eloquence had so much triumphed. Upon this, *Gracchus* challenged him; which *Annius*, with an Oath, accepted; and went so far, as to tell him the Subject on which he would confound him. I will demonstrate, said he, That you have contravened the Law, which makes The *Tribunes* inviolable. Let us hear what you have to say in your Defence.

Oros. B. 5. c.  
8.  
Plut. in Grac.

The Day was fixed, and the Report of the Challenge much increased the Assembly. Not that *Annius* was famed for Eloquence, or was even a tolerable Orator. He had the Character of a Knave, and had only one Talent for Disputation, which was that of pressing his Adversary so closely with captious Questions, as oftentimes to confound him. This passed for Subtlety in Dispute; and this was the Artifice he used to discredit *Gracchus* in Presence of the assembled People. When Silence had been made, I have but one short Question to ask you, said *Annius* to the Tribune, but answer me directly. If I had a quarrel with you, and called one of your Colleagues to my Assistance, and he came, have you a Right to get him deposed for this only? The Allusion to *Gracchus's* Proceedings against *Octavius* was plain; and this was allowed to be the least defensible Step he had taken. The People themselves, who adored him as their Benefactor, were not all satisfied, as to this Point. He had thereby given a Wound to the *Tribunate*, which might have bad Consequences. *Gracchus* himself was sensible of it; and therefore, whether for fear of irritating the People more by an imprudent Answer, or for fear of incurring the Displea-

<sup>76</sup> *Quintus Metellus*, probably *Macedonicus*, was not the least zealous, according to *Plutarch*, in defending the Interests of the Senate, against the Attempts of *Tiberius Gracchus*. Hereproached the Tribune with his being every Night attended with Flambeaux by a Mob of the vilest of the People, who were always ready to revolt; and told him, his Father *Sempronius* had behaved himself in a very different manner in his *Censorship*. He said, The *Censor*, when obliged sometimes to return late Home, after having supped with some of his Friends, ordered all the Lights to be

put out, for fear of making ill Impressions on the People who might see his Irregularity, and giving them Reason to say, that his Conduct ill became a Man in his Station.

<sup>77</sup> *Festus*, under the Word *Satura*, mentions the Speech which *Titus Annius* surnamed *Luscus*, or the one-eyed, made against *Tiberius Gracchus*; and from the little that is left of it, it is concluded, That the *Prætor* omitted nothing that could make the *Tribunate* odious, and unite the Citizens together against *The Agrarian Law*.



Year of sure of his Collegues, tho' a very bold and a very fine Speaker, he chose at present to be ROME silent. He immediately dismissed the Assembly, promising them, that he would answer DCXX. the Question when he had considered it.

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And indeed, in another Assembly of the People, Gracchus appeared in *The Rostra*, and made a studied and very beautiful Speech, which is yet in being; and thereby recovered the Credit which he had lost by *Annius's* Question. It is not, said he, so much to maintain my own Cause, that I appear here, as to justify the Proceedings of the Roman People. Did the Accusation affect me only, I would despise it. I want not Greatness of Mind enough, to bid Defiance to vain Clamours. But, ye Gods, it is the Roman People that are attacked. It is You, or rather the Authority of your Suffrages, that these People would wound, through my Sides. You have deprived Octavius from the Tribuneship. This is the Crime which is imputed to me, and which, if it be a Crime, is yours. In order to hurt me, they have the Boldness to endeavour to blacken you. What have I done, but in concurrence with you? What could I have done, if not seconded by you? Since then the Tribune was deposed by your Orders, his Deposition is not justly to be placed to my Account. This is my Justification; and yours is not difficult. The Roman People have a natural Right to withdraw that plenitude of Power which they have given, when it is abused. Octavius had received The Tribuneship from your Hands, and with it, an Obligation to support your Interests. But the Prevaricator sacrificed them, whether to the Delusions of others, or to his own Interest; it matters not, and you were sensible of it. You were yourselves Witnesses, Romans, of the many Attempts I made to bring him back to the Duties of his Office. But his Obstinacy was invincible. Your Interests suffered by his Opposition; and he, instead of being the Defender of the People, was become an Advocate for your Adversaries. No Means that could be used were sufficient to bring him to think as the rest of his Body did; and you therefore cut him off from it. These were your Proceedings, and what occasion is there for my undertaking to vindicate the Equity of them? But, who is it, that casts these Reproaches upon you? A Man of no kind of Character, or Weight, or Ability, but what he derives from an idle Subtlety, and the Suggestions of your Enemies. What, *Annius*, Is the Tribunate so fixed a State, that a Man cannot be deprived of it, for any Crime whatsoever? Suppose a Tribune should take a Pick-Axe, or Flambeaux in his Hand, and attempt to demolish the Capitol, or burn the Navy, must he be suffered to go on in his Fury, out of pure Respect to his Person? Alas, how much were our Forefathers mistaken, in former Days! The Royal Authority formerly comprehended all the Power and all the Privileges of our present Offices. Tarquin abused this unlimited Power; and Rome not only deprived him of it for ever, but gloried in doing her utmost to root out the very Memorial of his Reign. And what Comparison is there between a Tribune and a Monarch? Not that I would at all derogate from the Dignity I have the Honour to enjoy: It is allowed to be Sacred. I grant, it consecrates our Persons and makes them inviolable. But were not our Kings likewise consecrated by Religious Ceremonies? Are not our Vestals dedicated to the Ministry of the Gods? Yet have not the former been Deposed; and are not the latter subject to the Chastisements of the Pontifices? These venerable Virgins are devoted to the Worship of the Immortals, as The Tribunes are to the Service of the People. Nevertheless, when the former dishonour their Profession, they are degraded, nay, they are buried alive. Why, then, should not the latter be deprived of their Dignity, if they either forget their Character, or betray it? The Contract between the People and their Tribunes is mutual; and subsists no longer, than our Zeal in defending those, who have chosen us to protect them. It was with this View only, that the Office was instituted. If then We abandon the Interests of the People, or which is worse, oppose them; Is not this perverting the very Intent of our Office, and in effect, falling from it? But be that as it will; must it not at least be allowed, that all the Tribes united, can take away what a small Number of them can grant? This is the true Light in which the Deposition of Octavius ought to be considered. No Right makes him immoveable. How many of our Tribunes have we seen, before his Time, renounce their Dignity themselves? Was he not, tho' a Tribune, subject to be called to account, and tried by his Masters; that is, by the most august Tribunal in the World? As to his Fault, it was notorious. The whole Body of the People were Witnesses of it. What more then could be wanting to make it a just Deprivation? Forbear therefore, *Annius*, to attempt to obscure, by a single Question, an involved Case, whose Strength cannot be fully represented, without enumerating all the Circumstances of it.



§. XXXVI. Thus the Eloquence of *Tiberius Gracchus* was at length Victorious over the Subtlety of a contemptible Sophist. His Credit was the better established by it, and all disturbances about the Degradation of *Octavius*, at least among the Commons, were at an end. It was very proper for *Gracchus* to remove these Prejudices, before he entered upon the Execution of the great Schemes he had formed, for the next Year. As he was so much Master of the Suffrages of the People, he aspired at nothing less, than raising his Father-in-Law *Appius Claudius* to the *Consulate*, promoting his Brother *Caius* to the *Tribunate*, and getting himself continued in his present Office. The last was an Attempt that most nearly concerned him. In his present Situation, it seemed to be in some sort necessary, both for his own Safety, and that of his Friends. The Summer was now far advanced, and the Time for the Election of *Tribunes* drew nigh. The Candidates were very busy in making their Interest, and the Senate were as active, in endeavouring to get such only elected into the College, as were Enemies to *Gracchus* and his Faction. He therefore renewed his Application; and the most effectual Means he had to use, was that powerful Eloquence, which gave him so much the Ascendant in the Minds of the People. He appeared constantly in *The Rostra*, and never went thence without great Applauses. Every thing he proposed was in favour of the People, or against the Interest of the Senate. Sometimes he released private *Citizens* from some of their Obligations to serve in the Army: Sometimes he brought before the People, those Causes the cognizance of which the Senate had appropriated to themselves. In the Trial of Causes of a civil Nature, he made it a Rule for the future, That the Judges should be one half Senators, and the other half *Roman* <sup>78</sup> *Knights*. And lastly, he gave the *Italian* Allies great Hopes, That he would procure for them all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. It may therefore well be imagined, that he could not succeed in all these Attempts, without great Opposition; and indeed, the very Season of the Year it self, threw no small Difficulties in his way.

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PISO,  
Consuls.

App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.

It being the Time of Harvest, and of the greatest Heats, the People left the City in Crouds; and *Gracchus's* whole Dependance was on the Multitude. It was necessary therefore to act a new Part, to secure the People who continued in *Rome*. The nearer the Time of Elections drew, the more necessary it was to try all Expedients. Then

<sup>78</sup> Ever since *Romulus*, the Body of the Senators only, exclusive of all others, had been in possession of the Right of trying Causes. They were as it were, *Affessores Nati*, to the Magistrate, who was charged with the Administration of Justice. And this Custom continued inviolable to the Time of the *Gracchi*; and then *The Roman Knights* began to partake of the Right of Judicature with the Senate. So that, in every civil Cause, the *Prætor*, at the Desire of the Parties, chose a certain Number of Judges, who were partly *Senators*, and partly *Knights*, to try it: And to avoid all Suspicion of Fraud or Collusion, they were chosen by Lot; and the *Prætor*, before he proceeded to choose the Judges, took an Oath that it should be fairly and honestly done. After this, the Plaintiff and Defendant were to declare their acceptance of the Persons so chosen; and in case of a Refusal by either Party, the *Prætor* made a fresh Choice, as we have observed in our Interpretation of the 11th Law, of the First of the Twelve Tables. Vol. 1. p. 440. Note 25. And when these Commissioners for trying the Cause were accepted, they bound themselves by Oath to adhere to the Laws of Equity and Justice in determining it. *Cicero* had an Eye to this Custom, in his third Book *Of Offices*, when he says of a Judge, That his whole Application ought to be to discharge the Office he has undertaken with Integrity. He ought not, says he, to suffer any Motives of private Interest, or of Friendship, to interfere with the Obligations he has laid himself under to the Publick. He ought to have the solemn Oath he has taken continually in his Sight; and to remember, that God himself is a Witness of his Conduct. This our Ancestors had in view, when they drew up the Form they have given us, of soliciting our Law-Suits. It teaches us to pray our Judges to act by us, according to the Laws, which their Duty and Consciences prescribe to them. We have yet remaining some Foot-Steps of this ancient Form, in the Petition, wherein e-

very Suitor intreats his Judge, to determine in his Case as Justice shall require.

Among the *Senators* and *Knights* who received their Jurisdiction from the *Prætor*, there was one whom the *Romans* called *Judex Quæstionis*, who was at the Head of the Commission, and had the Right of Precedence in the Absence of the *Prætor*, or Chief-Justice. His Business was to hear the Witnesses, to make the necessary Enquiries, and to discuss the Arguments *pro* and *con*; and when he had examined all the Proceedings in the Cause, he made his Report to the Judges assembled together, and gave his Vote first. In a Word, he was among the *Romans*, much what a *Conseiller Rapporteur* is among the *French*. So that the ancient *Civilians* did not mean the *Prætor* by the *Judex Quæstionis*. We need only read *Cicero's* *Oration*s to be convinced of the contrary. He tells us, That in *Verres's* Cause, *Glabrio* was *Prætor*, at the same time that *Quintus Curius* was the *Judex Quæstionis*; and in his *Oration* for *Cluentius*, he shews us, That *Quintus Naso* was *Prætor* or President, and *Quintus Vaconius* the *Judex Quæstionis*.

We don't mention here the Tribunal of the *Centumviri*, who had the Cognisance of such civil Causes as turned upon Points of Law, because already mentioned, Vol. 3; where we have likewise taken notice of another sort of Tribunal composed of a certain Number of Persons chosen by the *Prætor*; to whom the old *Roman Code* gives the Name of *Recuperatores*. To which we shall only add, that the Decision of Affairs of the least Consequence was referred to those Judges whom *Festus* calls *Pedanei Judices*: either because they gave Judgment standing, or because they were chosen out of the young *Senators*, who gave their Votes by going to, or dividing with, that *Conscript Father* whose Opinion they followed: Whence they were also called *Pedarii Senatores*. See Vol. 3. p. 162. Note 114.

F f

Grac-



Year of *Gracchus* appeared in Publick, in a mourning Dress, as formerly; and led his Son in his Hand, to move the Pity of all he met. *In this humble State*, said he, *your Protector* *implores your Assistance. In order to procure you Estates, I have not been afraid to hazard my Life, which is still in great danger, if you don't continue me in my Office. This indeed* *will preserve both me and my Children; and will give me an Opportunity to finish my Work, to secure the Poor against the Oppression of the Rich, and to compleat the Humiliation of the Senate.* By these Discourses, *Gracchus* disposed the People to grant his Desires in the next Assembly. It was indeed an unusual Request, it having long been customary, not to continue any *Tribune* in his Office more than a Year. But the Petitioner deserved distinguishing Favours.

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Consuls.

In the mean time, the Senators displayed their Hatred to *Gracchus* with fresh Fury. Their House continually rung with fresh Invectives against the seditious *Tribune*: And invidious Constructions were put upon the most innocent Actions of his Youth. *When his Father was Censor*, said they, *this grave Magistrate whenever he supped in the City, returned home without Attendance, Flambeaux, or Noise, for fear of giving Offence. But his Son took care to have Lights to attend him, and to be guarded by some of the vilest of the People.* From whence they inferred, That he aimed at Popularity with a view to Monarchy, from that Time. Vain Imaginations indeed, both begotten and magnified by Envy! Nevertheless, the Minds of the Rich were full of these Prejudices; and they had great hopes of succeeding against him and his Friends at the next *Comitia* for the Election of *Tribunes*. The Harvest had drawn the best part of his most zealous Friends into the Country. Whereas the Senators were constantly attended by the great Numbers of Clients which depended on their Families. At length the Day appointed came, and the People were ordered to assemble in the *Capitol*, in the great *Forum*, which served for a Court to the Temple of *Jupiter*. There *Gracchus* renewed his Applications; caressed the People as they came; and at length proposed his Petition. It was this; *That in Consideration of the great Danger he had and did run, the Assembly would grant him the Favour to continue him one Year longer, in his Office of Tribune.* Immediately the *Tribunes* proceeded to give their Suffrages upon it; and the two first that entered the Enclosure, determined to grant it. Upon this the Rich made great Clamours, and some of their Faction, who were posted in different Places, cried out to the President, *Justice, Justice! These Men are going to overturn all the Laws. They forbid the giving the Office of Tribune two Years together to the same Person.* These Clamours terrified *Rubrius Varro*, a timorous and wavering Man, to whose Lot it fell to preside in the College of *Tribunes* that Day; and that *Mummius*, whom *Gracchus* had got chosen in the Room of *Octavius*, seeing *Varro* undetermined, offered to preside in his Room. *Rubrius* accepted the Offer, and resigned to his Colleague; and this raised a fresh Clamour among the *Tribunes* themselves. They pretended, that the President had no Right to dispose of his Place, which it belonged to the whole College to do, by a Majority of Votes; and the Dispute lasted a great while. At length *Gracchus* perceived it would end but ill with *Mummius* and himself; and therefore, like a wise Man, dismissed the Assembly, and ordered them to meet again the next Day, at the same Place.

§. XXXVII. But so unseasonable were the Timorousness of *Rubrius*, the precipitate Offer of *Mummius*, and the Dispute among the *Tribunes*, that they ruined the Affair. It was then in a good way; and he would infallibly have been declared *Tribune* the second Time. But the Opportunity was now lost; and he began to be under real Apprehensions for his Life. His Office would expire the next Day, and his Life would no longer be secured by the Protection of a Name which rendered him inviolable. Besides, the greatest Part of his Friends were absent when he most wanted them; whereas the Number of his Enemies was exceedingly increased. So that the melancholy Air and Dress in which he appeared in Publick all the rest of the Day, were but too just Indications of the State of his Mind. He appeared to the People like a Man sunk into real Despair; and now, for the first Time, Tears dropped from his Eyes. The People were moved at the imminent Danger of their Defender; and they comforted him, encouraged him, and in the Evening conducted him to his House. To which some add, That they came and watched at his Door, by turns. They had a just Sense of the Importance it was to them, to preserve so valuable a Head; his Death, they knew, would bring them back to their old Oppressions; and they therefore took care to guard him all Night. Before break of Day, *Gracchus* recovered his Courage, assembled his Friends together, carried them from his House, and posted one half of them in the *Comitium*, and went up to the *Capitol* himself.

Plut. in Gracch.



himself with the other. But before they parted, he agreed on the Signal which he would give to the two divided Bodies, in case he found it necessary to come to Blows.

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As soon as he appeared, his Party saluted him with Acclamations of Joy, surrounded him, and would not suffer any one whom they did not know, to come near him. In the mean time, his Adversaries, who were dispersed among the Multitude, endeavoured to slip through the Croud, to him. But his Guard stood too close round him, and were too watchful, to suffer him to be exposed to the Danger of an unlucky Blow. All was got ready for the new Election, and in all appearance *Gracchus* would succeed. *Mum-*

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SCÆVOLA, &  
L. CALPURNIUS  
PISO,  
Consuls.

*mius* had probably either maintained himself by Force in his disputed Presidentship, or had got himself elected by a majority of Votes: At least, he regulated every thing in the Assembly, and ordered the *Tribes* to enter into the Inclosure to give their Suffrages. The Croud was so great in the *Forum*, that the People bore one another up; and during their Motions, the Senate was assembled in the Temple of *Faith*, which almost touched that of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. They could from thence better observe the Agitations of the People, and the Tumults which the Election would probably make; and the Consul, *Mucius*, was there at the Head of the Senate, hearing with great Composure, the violent Speeches which the Enemies of *Gracchus* made against him. They were continually re-

peating, That this Seditious *Tribune* had nothing less in view, than a Crown and Scepter; and *Pompey's* Information, tho' utterly groundless, passed for an undeniable Proof of it. They fancied they already saw the King of *Pergamus's* Crown on the Head of *Gracchus*, and his Mantle on his Shoulders; they that were most Rich, were most enraged; and *Scipio*

App. L. 1. De  
Bell. Civ.  
Plut. in Grac.

*Nasica* set no Bounds to his Fury. They concluded, to give the Consul leave, in this tumultuous Juncture, to arm his *Legions*, treat the Factious as Enemies, stain the *Capitol*

if it were necessary, with the Blood of the *Citizens*, and turn the *Comitium* into a Field of Battle. But *Mucius* was a prudent and moderate Man; and he refused to be the In-

strument of their rash Revenge, and dishonour his *Consulate* with the Massacre of a dis-

armed People. Well then, cried the most turbulent of the *Conscript Fathers*, since even the Consul betrays the Republick, Let us do our selves Justice: Let us arm our selves, and

Clients, and immediately go and demolish this Idol of the People! But neither was this Scheme approved by all the Senators. *Gracchus* had some Friends in the Senate; and they dispatched one, named *Fulvius Flaccus*, to inform him in all haste of the Plot laid

against his Life. *Fulvius* could not press through the Croud, but he made a Signal to him from an Eminence, that he had something to say to him in private; and by Order of the President, the People gave way, and the Apparitors opened a Passage for him. As soon as he had made his Report, *Gracchus* tucked up his Robe, as it were to prepare for

a Battle; and after his Example, some of his Party seized the Staves the Apparitors carried, brake them into pieces, and divided the Truncheons among them, as it were to

serve them for defensive Weapons.

This Step could not be taken without Noise; and for fear of an approaching Battle, The *Tribunes*, who were several of them in their Hearts Enemies to *Gracchus*, left their Places, and mixed among the People; whilst the Priests, for fear of its being prophaned,

shut the Gates of the Temple of *Jupiter*. On the other hand, the Friends of *Gracchus*, who were dispersed by Parties in distant Places, cried out, We are ready: What must we do? *Gracchus*, whose Voice could not be heard so far, put his Hand to his Head;

(which was the Signal agreed on for preparing for a Battle) and then a very malicious Construction was immediately put on this Gesture. Some of his Enemies went directly to the Senators who continued sitting, and told them, That *Gracchus* had called for

the Royal Fillet to be put upon his Head. Passion is credulous, especially when animated by the Appearance of the publick Good; and upon this ambiguous Sign, and this false Report, *Scipio* 79 *Nasica* took fire, and cried out like a Mad-man, Whosoever loves

the Republick let him follow me! and immediately walked out of the Temple. A Croud of Senators followed him, and tho' all without Arms, prepared for an Attack. *Nasica*

threw his Robe over his Shoulders, covered his Head with it, and advanced with his Followers to disperse the Croud. At the Sight of so many venerable Men, the People gave way, retired, and opened them a Passage. Then the Senators were immediately joined

by a Company of their Clients and Friends, armed with Battoons, Poles, and Clubs; and

79 *Scipio Nasica* was the Great Grandson of *Cnæus Scipio*, the Uncle of *The First Africanus*, who conquered *Hannibal*; and consequently, was Cousin to the *Gracchi*, by their Mother *Cornelia*. Which led

*Velleius*, one of his Panegyrist to say, That he had the Courage to take Arms against his own Blood, in order to secure the Welfare of his Country.



Year of these beat down every thing in their way, and endeavoured to come at *Gracchus*. Many of his Party took to their Heels, and in the Tumult, the Benches which were put for Seats were overturned and broken. *Nasica* took up the Leg of one of these Benches, struck every one that stood in his way with great Violence; and at length his Enemies reached *Gracchus*. Somebody had already seized him by one of the Lappets of his Robe, but he left it in the Hands of him who seized him, and fled in his *Tunick*. And as he was running over all these broken Seats, and the Bodies of those Men who were in great Numbers thrown down, he slipped, and fell. However he instantly recovered his Feet, but at the same time received a Blow on the Head which knocked him down half dead; and a second Blow dispatched him. Some Historians pretend, That *Nasica*, with his own Hand compleated the Work, which had been begun by his Advice, and under his Conduct. Others say, That *Publius Satureius* and *Lucius Rubrius*, two of *The Tribunes*, gave him the two last Blows. But be that as it will, *Rome* was hereby delivered, according to *Cicero*, from a domestick Enemy, who was more Formidable to her than even that *Numantia*, which had given rise to his Resentments. Perhaps, no Man was ever born with greater Talents, to aggrandize himself, and to do Honour to his Country. But his great Mind, ready at Expedients, quick in apprehending and considering Things in all Lights; his manly Courage, above Fear, Menaces, or the vain Terrours of Superstition; and his lively, easy, and very powerful Eloquence, especially the latter; were in him, says the ancient Orator, like a Sword in the Hands of a Madman. *Gracchus* abused them; tho' not in supporting an unjust Cause, yet in conducting a good one with too much Violence, and pursuing it without Temper. He went so far as to make some believe, that his Views really reached farther than the Interests of the People whom he pretended to relieve; and therefore some Historians have represented him as a Tyrant, which perhaps he did not deserve. An unfortunate Resentment, which he at first vented with some sort of Moderation, but which afterwards degenerated into a kind of Fury, though always accompanied with Dexterity, was what brought him at last to his End.

§. XXXVIII. And as his Death is one of the most remarkable Events in their History, the *Pontifical Annals* have not forgotten to inform us, That it was foretold by several Presages. They say, That *Gracchus*, before he went from Home the Day he was killed, consulted the *Auspice* of the *Pullets*; That they refused the Food that was offered them; That only one came out of the Cage; and That this stood a great while upon one Foot, stretched its left Wing upwards, and then returned to the Cage without feeding. And the Affair being so far advanced that *Gracchus* had no regard to this Presage, we are told it was followed by a second and a third. As he went out of his House he struck his Foot so hard against the Threshold of the Door, that he wounded his Toe, and it bled. And as he was walking on, three Ravens upon the Wing met him, croaked round him, and threw down a Tile, on which they were going to pitch, on his Feet. But it is natural to believe, That the surest Presages he had of his Misfortunes were, That he that Day ceased to be a *Tribune*; That he had a great Number of powerful Enemies; and That the Favour of the People is very uncertain. However, as has been related, *Gracchus* went on to the *Capitol*, solicited, as 'tis said, by the Philosopher *Blosius* to neglect the *Auspice*, and pressed by his Party to hasten to the Assembly.

And now, the *Consul*, *Mucius*, who had been afraid of him in his Life-time, paid little Regard to his Memory when he was dead. Tho' the Laws forbade any *Citizen* to take away the Life of another before he had been legally condemned, *Nasica* and his other Murderers, were acquitted by the Senate. The *Consul* judged, That the Senators had justly armed their Clients, in Defence of the Republick. So that all the Cruelties committed in the *Capitol* against *Gracchus*, and his Friends, were justified by a Decree. Even the barbarous Treatment shewn their dead Bodies, was approved. Above 300 Men had been killed in the Tumult, and their Bodies had been deprived of Burial, and thrown into *The Tyber*. Nor was *Caius Gracchus* suffered to carry away the Body of his Brother, and pay his last Regards to it. An *Aedile* named *Quintus Lucretius*, caused it to be carried and thrown into the River in the Night; and from thence his Family ever after bore the odious Surname of <sup>81</sup> *Vespillo*. But this Inhumanity even to the Dead, did

<sup>80</sup> *Plutarch*, in his *Lives of The Gracchi*, calls this *Tribune*, who gave *Tiberius Gracchus* his Death's Wound, *Lucius Rufus*. But we follow *Appian*, who calls him *Lucius Rubrius*.

<sup>81</sup> We have observed, Vol. i. That by the Term

*Vespillones*, the Ancients meant, according to *Festus*, certain Persons of the meanest Rank, who were appointed to carry the Bodies of mean People to their Funeral-Piles, or Burial-Places.



to Honour to the Party of the Rich. It shewed, that their Conduct had been more founded in private Resentments, than in the true Love of their Country. Nevertheless, both Parties valued themselves upon being thus publick-spirited; tho' Self-Interest was the true Motive of this cruel Dissention. If Covetousness had not been the prevailing Principle, it would have been mighty easy to have stifled the Sedition in its Birth. The publick Tranquillity might without difficulty have been restored, either by Negotiations, Conferences, or amicable Treaties; and more certainly still, by the Nomination of a *Dictator*, as in the Time of the *Secession* of the People on *The sacred Mount*. But Avarice is a blind Passion which leaves no room for Reason. Nevertheless, the Rich lost more than the Poor in these Quarrels. For *Gracchus's* Law still subsisted, and was called *The Sempronian Law*, from the Name of his Family.

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L. CALPURNIUS  
PISO,  
Consuls.

Nay, the Senate carried their Revenge beyond the fatal Day which had stained *The Capitol* with Roman Blood. They fought for all the Friends of the late *Tribune*; and without any Form of Law, assassinated some, and forced others into Banishment. *Caius Billius*, one of the most zealous Defenders of the People, was seized by his Enemies, and shut up in a Cask with Snakes and Vipers, and there ended his Days. *Diophanes* the Rhetorician, left *Rome*, and retired to the *Levant*. But the Philosopher *Blosius* acted a Part more worthy of his Profession. Being cited to appear before the *Consul*, according to some; or else having, as others say, <sup>82</sup> addressed himself of his own accord to *Lælius*; and being asked, *Why he had engaged himself so warmly in the Party of the seditious Tribune*; He boldly answered, *Because I thought it the most just*. Then being further asked, *Why he went even so far, as to be his Agent, and to execute his Orders*; The Philosopher replied, *Because he deserved to be obeyed*. *Would you then have burnt the Capitol, if he had ordered you?* Spare his Memory, returned *Blosius*, he was not capable of carrying Things to such excess. But if he had done it, would you have obeyed him? I certainly would, replied the Philosopher with surprizing Confidence; I should have thought his ordering it a sufficient Proof, that it was necessary for the publick Good.

Cic. in *Lælio*,  
& *Plut.* in  
*Gracc.*

After this generous <sup>83</sup> Testimony paid to the *Manes* of his unfortunate Friend, he went to *Asia*, and there spent his Life in endeavouring to do all the Mischief he could to the *Romans*, whom he despised. He went over to *Aristonicus*, the Young King of *Pergamus*; assisted him with his Counsel as long as he made War with the Republick and after the Fall of his new Master, he killed himself. The Writers of the Republick, have indeed represented him as an Incendiary. But why is it not probable, That an excess of Probity misunderstood, might attach the Philosopher to *Gracchus's* Party; and That being an Eye-witness of the Decay of Virtue among the *Romans*, he might therefore be displeased at them, and for that Reason join with their Enemies.

*Plut.* in *Gracc.*

§. XXXIX. However, the People still kept Possession of the Law, which *Gracchus* had passed in their Favour; and as he had been a Commissioner, and had not been able to finish the Distribution in his Life-time, they thought it necessary to fill up his Place in the Commission, and chose to do it with one of his Relations. They nominated *P. Crassius*, whose Daughter *C.* <sup>84</sup> *Gracchus* had <sup>85</sup> married, to that Office. So that the People had not lost all, in losing the most Zealous of their Protectors. Their Interest and Power were still the same; and the Authors of the Murders in *The Capitol*, had Reason to fear their Vengeance. This the Senate plainly foresaw; and tho' they had acquitted *Nasica*, they feared what the popular Faction might do to him. He was already threatened to be brought before *The Comitia*, and there tried for his Life. All Things considered therefore, they thought it necessary to have him at a distance; and tho' in the Office

<sup>82</sup> *Lælius*, in the Treatise which bears his Name, says, That the Philosopher *Blosius*, came of his own accord to him, when he was privately deliberating with the two *Consuls*, *Popilius Lænas* and *Publius Rupilius*, on the present State of the Affairs of the Republick. So that, this Friend to *Tiberius Gracchus*, only explained himself, according to *Cicero*, in a private Conversation with *Lælius*. But *Plutarch*, in his Relation of *Blosius's* Answers, supposes that he had been judicially interrogated.

<sup>83</sup> The Intrepidity of *Blosius* surprized the Senate.

tors; and *The Consul* found Means to rescue him from their Vengeance, notwithstanding their Rage against him.

<sup>84</sup> *Tiberius Gracchus* was not full thirty Years Old, according to *Plutarch*, when he was killed; so that his Brother *Caius Gracchus*, who was nine Years younger, was then but about one and twenty.

<sup>85</sup> *Plutarch* himself confesses, That *Cornelius Nepos* had said in his Writings, That *Caius Gracchus* had not married the Daughter of *Publius Crassus*, but of *Decimus Brutus*, surnamed *Gallæus*, who had triumphed



Year of Office of *Pontifex*<sup>85</sup> *Maximus*, which required<sup>87</sup> him not to go out of *Italy*, they sent him without any apparent Necessity, on an Embassy into *Asia*. There he rambled about a great while in different Parts of the East, and at length, worn out with Trouble, died at *Pergamus*.

P. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA, &  
L. CALPURNIUS  
PISO,  
Consuls.

App. L. 1. De  
Bell. Civ.

As for the great *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*, and the Oracle of the Republick, he was not at all concerned in the late Broils at *Rome*. He was detained in *Spain* after the taking of *Numantia*, and was not present at the melancholy Death of his Brother-in-Law *Gracchus*. Nevertheless, when he heard the News, he sufficiently shewed, That he disapproved of his Proceedings. He heard his Story with great Coldness, and applied to it this Line in *Homer*. *Let him who shall dare to imitate him, perish like him*. Indeed *Scipio* had but little Affection, either for his Wife, or her Family. She was ugly, barren, and had little Complaisance, but much Dissimulation. In short, he neither loved her, nor was beloved by her; and as the little Concern he shewed at the Death of *Gracchus* did him hurt among the People, so it increased his Wife's Hatred to him. The Fury concealed her Resentment for some time in her own Breast, and at length made it fatal to him, before it was known. But her Treachery was afterwards discovered, and loaded her with all the Infamy which she deserved.

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LÆNAS, &  
P. RUPILIUS,  
Consuls.

However, the Fire of popular Sedition in *Rome*, was rather stifled than extinguished. Indeed the Rich had found Means to bring into the College of *Tribunes*, a Creature of their own, who had always shewn himself to be one of *Gracchus's* most violent Enemies; namely, that *Q. Pompeius Rufus*, who had openly boasted that he would get *Gracchus* condemned to die, as soon as his Office should expire; and the Fear of this new *Tribune*, kept the Factious in some awe. But their Hearts were full of Rancour, which was ready to shew it self upon the first Disturbance that should happen. As for *Appius Claudius*, he seems to have laid aside the Thoughts of *The Consulship*, after the Murder of his Son-in-Law: Since the Election was made without any Disturbance, in the usual Place; and the *Fasces* conferred on *Publius*<sup>88</sup> *Popilius Lænas*, and *P.<sup>89</sup> Rupilius*.

Abroad, the Tranquillity was so general, that the Republick had but one War to terminate; which tho' neither honourable nor profitable to the *Roman People*, was yet become necessary. The Slaves in *Sicily* had rebelled against their Masters, and the Progress of their Arms was so considerable, that a *Consular Army* was necessary to reduce them. This fell to the Lot of the Consul *Rupilius*; whilst his Colleague *Popilius* continued in *Italy*, his Presence there being judged necessary, to awe the *Citizens of Rome*, who

umphed on account of the *Lusitanians*; and That he was forced to leave the *Latin Author* in this Particular, to follow the generality of *Historians*.

86 Was *Publius Scipio Nasica* the *Pontifex Maximus* at *Rome*, when he killed *Tiberius Gracchus*, or not? *Appian* says it expressly, *B. 1. Of the Civil Wars*; and *Plutarch* as clearly, in his *Lives of the Gracchi*. But *Cicero* and *Velleius Paterculus* on the other hand, contradict the two *Greek Writers*. The former, who was always a zealous Advocate for the Senate against the Faction of the People, speaks thus of *Nasica*, in his *First Book Of Offices*. *Indeed we have not had a greater Man, or more excellent General, than Scipio Æmilianus. Yet it may be affirmed, That Scipio Nasica, then reduced to the Condition of a private Man, did as much Service to the Republick, in taking away the Life of Tiberius Gracchus, as The Second Africanus did, in destroying Numantia*. And *Velleius Paterculus*, in the Second Book of his History, says the same Thing in yet plainer Terms. *Scipio Nasica*, says he, *delivered Rome from the Tyranny of the first of the two Gracchi, when only a private Person: And in Gratitude for this great Service, he was, with a Mark of Distinction never before shewn to any one, promoted to the Office of Pontifex Maximus, tho' he was absent*. Indeed, *Cicero* in his *First Oration against Catiline*, acknowledges that *Nasica* was raised to that Dignity, but says, it was not conferred upon him till after the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*. In this equality of Authorities then, we have chosen to follow the *Greek*

Writers; but leave the Reader to determine for himself.

87 It may have been observed in the Course of this History, That the *Pontifex Maximus* was obliged by the Duty of his Office, not to go beyond the Frontiers of *Italy*. And his Person seems to have been secured against any Attempts of the Factious, by his Priesthood. We know, and have said, That it was his Prerogative, as *Pontifex Maximus*, not to be subject to the Jurisdiction of either Senate or People. But is any thing held Sacred by a mad Populace? It was therefore necessary to remove *Nasica* out of the Danger to which the Hatred and Insults of the Multitude daily exposed him; the Embassy to *Asia* served for a Pretence to secure his Life against the Violences of the People: And in this kind of Banishment he died, stung with Remorse at the Remembrance of the Murder he had committed, and loaded with the Curses of the People.

88 *The Capitoline Marbles* tell us, That this *Publius Popilius*, surnamed *Lænas*, was the Son of *Caius Popilius*, who was promoted to *The Consulship* the first Time, in the Year of *Rome* 581, and a second Time in the Year 595. He had acquired some Reputation at the Bar, according to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, where he commends him likewise for his Steadiness and Courage.

89 *Publius Rupilius* was descended from a poor and obscure Family, according to *Kal. Maximus*; and to supply his Necessities, spent the first Part of his Youth



who were yet in some Agitation with the Shocks of the late Storm. We will therefore Year of  
next follow *Rupilius* into *Sicily*, and take a full view of the Origin and Consequences of *R O M E*  
this Rebellion ; which begun in the Year of *Rome* 615, and did not end till this Year 621 ; DCXXI.  
and by which, that fine Island suffered more, than by all the old Hostilities of the *Car-*  
*thaginians*.

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P. POPILIUS
LÆNAS, &
P. RUPILIUS,
Consuls.

Youth in the Service of those, who, as publick Farmers, had the Care of Collecting the publick Tributes in *Sicily*. Afterwards his Virtue and Merit made him known to *Scipio Æmilianus*, and under the Patronage of this great Man, he rose to the first Dignities in the Republick. This *Cicero* testifies in his Tract Of *Friendship*.

Instead of *Rupilius*, some Annalists, as *Cassiodorus* and *Marian*, make one *Sulpicius* Collegue to *Popilius*. But this Mistake ought to be rectified, as well as that of several Copyists of *Val. Maximus* and *Cicero*, who have confounded the Consul *Rupilius*, with *Rutilius*, who will be spoken of hereafter.



T H E

Roman History.

B O O K L I.

Year of
R O M E
DCXXI.

~~~~~  
P. POPILIUS  
LÆNAS, &  
P. RUPILIUS,  
Consuls.  
Diod. Sic. in  
Eclog.  
Florus B. 3. c.  
19.

§. I. **E**VER since the Conquest of *Sicily*, the *Romans* had always looked on it as the Nursery of *Italy*, and the Refuge of *Rome* in Time of Want : And as Lands were therefore much coveted in so fruitful an Island, the Rich Men of the Country, and the *Roman Knights*, a wealthy People, who had the Management of all the Revenues of the Publick, either possessed themselves of the best Estates in the Island, or had them cultivated for the Use of the Publick. These Proprietors, and Masters, as well Islanders as *Romans*, found their Account in employing Slaves rather than hired Servants of free Condition, in the Culture of their Lands ; and multiplied these People taken in War, or brought by Violence from *Asia*, to such a degree, that they became almost as numerous as the *Sicilians* themselves. The youngest were appointed to watch the Flocks and Herds ; and the more robust employed in Tillage. And tho' they rigorously exacted hard Labours from these unfortunate People, they were so covetous, as not to allow them Necessaries for Clothes and Provisions. So that being obliged to provide for themselves as they could, they learnt to live by Rapine. The Shepherds met together in Companies, cloathed themselves with the Skins of Wolves or Bears, and arming themselves with Javelins, knotted Staves and Clubs, sometimes robbed the Travellers on the great Roads ; and sometimes, guarded by a Company of Dogs, went in Bands and attacked the Houses in the Country, and plundered them. The Husbandmen, who could not ramble so much as the Shepherds, often made Sallies from the Holes where they were shut up, in the Night, and dispersing themselves in the Villages, committed all kinds of Violence. In short, nothing was talked of in *Sicily* but Robberies and Murders.

Epit. Liv. B.  
56. c. 27.

The *Roman Republick* sent a *Prætor* every Year to govern, and administer Justice there ; and these all left *Rome* with Resolutions to reform these Abuses, punish the Malefactors, and extirpate the Assassines and Robbers. But as soon as they arrived, these fine Schemes vanished. Their Respect and Fear of the Masters, secured the Slaves from Punishment. The *Prætor* durst not correct Men, whose Protectors were in Credit at *Rome* ; for the Order of *Knights* was formidable there. Some of the Judges in Affairs of Consequence were now chosen out of this illustrious Body ; and to exasperate them, was to expose themselves to their Resentments, which they might have Cause to repent. Thus the Evil was increased by Impunity, and the fatal Effects of it were soon felt by those who had been the chief Authors of it. These Slaves, who began to set no Bounds to their Licentiousness, often met together, and discoursed among themselves of the Advantage of setting themselves at Liberty, and of the Ease wherewith they might compass it. *Are we*, said they, *of a different Nature from our Masters, that we should be enslaved to them like Beasts ? There is no difference between them and us, unless it be that they are enervated by Pleasures, whilst the Hardships we have suffered have preserved us in that strength of Body and martial Vigour, which make good Soldiers. There have been Instances of Slaves that have freed themselves from the Dominion of their Masters. Let us then get the better of our Fears, and our Courage will raise us beyond our Hopes. Every Man has a natural Right to repell Force with Force. Do our Masters do us that common Justice which is due to all Men ? It is true, we owe them our Services, but then*



*they owe us a Subsistence. Whereas they leave us without either the meanest Food, or the coarsest Cloaths, and we can have no recourse for any but to Robbery? Is not then a lawful War better than unjust Depredations, which are shocking to us even in Slavery? Let us remember, that we have borne the Buckler and wielded the Sword!*

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§. II. This Spirit of Rebellion was universally spread among the Slaves in *Sicily*; they only wanted a Head, to assume an Authority over Men of so very different Tempers, and Natives of so many different Countries; and a *Sicilian* Lord, had without his Knowledge, kept one in his Service, who was a very proper Person to appear at the Head of a Conspiracy, and to support it. The Name of the *Sicilian* was *Antigenes*, and that of his Slave *Eunus*. The latter was a Native of <sup>1</sup> *Apamea* in *Syria*, and having been taken Prisoner in War, had passed through the Hands of several Masters, till at length he was brought into *Sicily*. He was a vigilant, active Man, full of Fire, and his chief Talent was that of imposing on the Multitude, by pretended Divinations. He gave himself out for a Magician among his Comrades; and pretended to have a settled intercourse with the Gods, in Dreams by Night, and in Apparitions by Day. The better to counterfeite Inspiration, he was not only expert at Agitations of Body, and contortions of Face, but had one particular Artifice to give Weight to his Delusions. He held in his Mouth, a hollow Nut, which had two Holes in it, and was filled with Sulphur, and other burning Materials; and by this Means, Fire and Smoak came out of his Mouth, whenever he opened his Lips to speak. By these Tricks he got himself Credit, increased the Number of his Admirers, and was consulted as an Oracle. He foretold good Fortune to all that came to him; promising some their Liberty, and others a diminution of their Sufferings; and they all esteemed him for these random Predictions. As for himself, he flattered himself with nothing less than a Crown, and continually gave out that he should be a King. *Antigenes* his Master took pleasure in hearing him talk of his future Regal Authority; and when he gave Entertainments, brought him into the Hall to divert the Company with it. They examined him about the different Treatment he would shew to the Persons present, when he should be in Possession of a Throne; and upon his different Answers, some laughed at him for a Fool, and others sent him some of the Meat that stood before them, and desired his future Protection. And in process of Time the Jest was but too seriously verified. He revenged the Insults of the former, and acknowledged the Civilities of the latter, at the Head of an Army, when the pretended Prophecies of this *Syrian* Slave had been brought to pass, in the following manner.

The *Sicilians*, in general, all exercised a kind of Tyranny over their Slaves; but a Burgher, named *Damophilus*, had made himself more odious than the rest, by his Cruelties to a great Number of these poor Wretches, who cultivated his Lands. He was a Man of neither Birth, nor Letters, but was richer than the greatest Lords of the Country; and his usual Place of Residence was *Enna* <sup>2</sup>, a City in the Center of the Island. He was very intent on making the best Improvements of the vast Estates he possessed; and at the same time enjoyed his immense Wealth, in all sorts of Delights. His House was a Palace, adorned with the richest Furniture, the most stately Vases, and the most valuable Carpets; and he never appeared Abroad, but mounted on a Chariot, and attended by a Company of Parasites and young Slaves, who were the Instruments of his Luxury, and his Pleasures. These were the only Slaves to whom he shewed the least Regard; all the rest, who were very numerous, were treated with great Inhumanity. Those he kept in the Country, were all, without distinction, marked with an hot Iron in their Foreheads; shut up in close Prisons every Night; and lead out very early in the Morning to their daily Labour in the Fields, there to sustain the Heats of the Day, tho' at the same time both ill fed, and ill cloathed. On the other hand, *Megallis*, the Wife of *Damophilus*, was a great Manager, and naturally Quarrelsome and Cruel. She had the Care of the Slaves of her Sex, whose Tasks she required of them with insupportable Rigour, and often had them severely lashed, for nothing. This termagant Woman had by *Damophilus* only one Daughter, who was yet young; but of an Age sufficient to be able to see the Miseries of the Afflicted, and of good-nature enough to have Compassion for them. She was the only Refuge of the unhappy Slaves; and she often alleviated their Sufferings, appeased her furious Mother, and supplied, as far as she was able, the Wants of the Neccessitous; and we are sorry the Historians have not transmitted to us, the Name of this virtuous young Woman.

<sup>1</sup> There were several Cities of this Name in *Asia*. That here spoken of, was built by *Seleucus Nicanor*, on the Banks of the *Orontes*. See Vol. 4. p. 535. Note 126.

<sup>2</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 562. Note 72.



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Nevertheless, *Damophilus* and *Megallis* carried their Injustice and Barbarity to their Domesticks to such an Excess, that it could no longer be borne. The Women-Slaves communicated their Discontents to their Husbands, and these entered into a Plot to destroy the Authors of their Misery. In order to assure themselves of Success in it, they went to the House of *Antigenes*, to consult *Eunus* the Oracle of the Country; and the *Syrian*, who foresaw the Design of the Slaves, not only pronounced, with a solemn prophetic Tone, That the Enterprize they had in their Heads was agreeable to the Gods, and would succeed, provided they did not delay the Execution of it; but offered himself to conduct it. The Slaves therefore, on *Damophilus's* Estate only, assembled in great haste, to the Number of 400; armed themselves with Forks, Hooks, and other Instruments of Husbandry, and marched directly to *Enna*, to surprize the Burgher in his fine House. *Eunus*, at the Head of this Company, assumed the General, entertained his Soldiers with the Expectations of a signal Victory, and amused them with his usual Predictions. When they came to *Enna*, they entered it without difficulty in this surprize; and by way of Prelude to their Work, pillaged it. The Citizens were murdered; the Women dishonoured; and the Children at the Breast, dashed on the Ground, and trodden under foot. And then all the Slaves in the City joined the Plunderers, and much increased the Number of the Rebels. *Damophilus* and his Wife were both gone to take the Air with their Daughter, in a Garden near the City; and *Eunus* sent a Detachment to seize them in their Pleasures, and bring them to him bound Hand and Foot; which was done with Circumstances of great Barbarity. The Violences these Brutes offered both to the Husband and the Wife, are not to be described. But they treated the Daughter with all the Respect and Regard which were due to her Virtue, or which Gratitude could require of them. So true is it, that Good-Nature and Compassion for the Miserable, often meet with their Reward, where least expected, and command Regard from the most furious.

§. III. *Eunus*, now victorious, and Master of *Enna*, began to erect a kind of Polity there, and set up a sort of a Method for administering Justice. He assembled the Slaves he commanded, in the publick Theatre, ordered *Damophilus* and *Megallis* to be brought before him, and began their Trials in Form. Some of the Slaves were Accusers, others Witnesses, and the Multitude Judges. *Eunus* presided, and gave the Accused leave to speak in his Defence, and his present Condition was his strongest Plea. He endeavoured to raise Compassion, by representing the melancholy Change, between the Splendor in which they had seen him, and the Misery to which he was now reduced: And several of those, whose Hearts were more tender, or who had suffered least from his Cruelties, began to have some Pity for him. But is it to be conceived, That in so tumultuous an Assembly, they should be able to observe all the Forms of regular Proceedings, or even proceed to a regular Vote? On the contrary, *Hermias* and *Zeuxis*, two Slaves who were more exasperated with their Master, and at the same time more bold than the rest, came up to the Supplicants, and after casting on them many Reproaches, one stabbed the Husband with a Dart, the other gave him a great Blow on the Head with an Hatchet; and thus perished a Wretch, whose Death would have been more affecting, if he had not drawn it on himself, by his own Conduct. The Wife was reserved for another kind of Punishment: And the Daughter was kept with a Decency suitable to her Education, and with the unanimous Consent of all, safely conducted to *Catana*, and there delivered into the Hands of her Relations.

However, *Eunus* was displeased with the Precipitation of *Hermias* and *Zeuxis* in killing *Damophilus* before they had his Orders for it; and found, that he must necessarily first get himself declared King, before he could pretend to assume a perfect Authority over such untractable People. To this end, he multiplied his Divinations, counterfeited Inspiration, assured them that *The Goddesses of Syria* had told him, That he must be crowned:

3 See Vol. 2. p. 542. Note 35.

4 It is not easy to guess, what Divinity the People of the East worshipped under the Title of *The Goddess of Syria*. They called her so by way of Eminence, to distinguish her from the other inferior Goddesses of the Nation. But did they mean *Juno*, or *Venus*, or *Minerva*, or *Luna*, or *Isis*? *Lilio Giraldi*, *Selden*, *Borchart*, and *Vossius*, have endeavoured to solve this Pro-

blem. But the Result of all their Enquiries is, a vast Collection of Passages, which only serve to make the main Point in Question still more obscure. The best way therefore to spare the Reader the trouble of this sort of Discussions, is to adopt the Opinion that *Lucian* gives us, in a Treatise on this Subject. He says, he was informed by a credible Person, That *The Goddess of Syria*, was the same Divinity as the *Greeks* and *Romans* worship-



crowned: and at length, by his Intrigues, and by these Discourses, prevailed on them to proclaim him King. Not that he had more Experience in War, or more Valour, or more Regal Qualities of any kind, than his Comrades: He surpassed them in nothing but his prating and his Artifices. Only it is said, that his Name was thought an happy Omen of Success; it signifying in the *Greek Language* a Man of a good Mind and a good Heart. This was enough to induce Fanaticks, who wanted a Leader, to chuse him who had been the Author of this Rebellion; and the first Orders the new King gave were cruel, tho' his Council thought them necessary. All the Inhabitants of *Enna* having not been killed in the first Eruption of the Slaves, the Survivors were all brought into the Theatre; and there it was determined, that how much soever these miserable People might pretend to be of the Side of the Conquerors, there never could be any real Concord, between Men born Free, and Men delivered out of Slavery. And for this Reason, they were all condemned to die, and the Sentence was executed on the Spot. *Eunus* spared only those who had formerly sent him Meat from his Master's Table, as has been before related. A piece of Gratitude very worthy of such a King.

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And now *Megallis*, whose Trial had been postponed, was brought forth, amidst the shouts of the Assembly. The King himself was her Judge; and by an Act of Equity which was much applauded, his Sentence was, That she should be delivered up into the Hands of those Women-Slaves, whom she had treated without Mercy. These Furies, (whose Cruelty may easily be judged of, by that of their Husbands) spared their Mistress no Punishment which they could invent; tried all the Means they could to prolong her Life in Torments; and at last threw her down a Precipice, which put an end to it. A memorable Instance of a just Punishment on her; tho' unjust from those who had on Authority to inflict it.

§.IV. Then the King came down from his Tribunal, to put to death with his own Hands *Antigenes* and *Pithon*, who had successively been his Masters. After this, he mounted a Throne, put on the Royal Fillet and other Regalia, changed his Name, and ordered himself to be called *Antiochus*. He likewise gave the Title of Queen to his Wife, who was a *Syrian* and a Slave as well as himself; and then applied himself to settling a Form of Government among his Subjects. He chose out of the *Asiatick* Slaves, of whatever Country, some favourite Companies of Guards, which he called *His Syrians*. He appointed himself a Council of such as he thought prudent Men, well skilled in Business, and very submissive to his Will. And he gave the Command of his Troops to an *Achæan* by Birth, who had been a Soldier before his Slavery; and who was very capable both in point of Valour and Experience, to have commanded a much better Army, than such a tumultuous Assembly of Slaves.

These Regulations drew other Slaves to *Enna*, in Companies, from all Parts of *Sicily*. In less than three Days, there came above 6000, armed with such Weapons as came first to hand, as Swords, Spits, and Darts. Others, who came from the Country, brought Saws, Axes, and Poles hardened in the Fire. All that was at present consider-

worshipped as *The Mother of the Gods*, under the Name of *Rhea*, or *Cybele*. They had both the same Symbols, Priests, and Worship, and were represented in the same manner. He was an Eye-witness of what he says of the former; having himself visited her stately Temple at *Hierapolis*, one of the chief Cities of *Syria*. The chief Thing he observed there, was the Image of the Goddess; who was represented sitting in a Chariot drawn by two Lions. She held in her Hand a *Tympanum*, which was a sort of Drum; and her Head was crowned with Towers. Which is the same Representation which the ancient Pagans give us, of the *Cybele* of *Greece* and *Rome*. Besides, the most authentick Medals we have, give us a very decisive Proof in favour of *Lucian's* Opinion. On the Reverse of one, which bears the Name and Figure of the Emperor \* *Philip*, we see a Woman crowned with Towers, sitting on a Lion, and holding in one hand a sort of Scepter, the Symbol of Power: Which is exactly the Figure and Attitude which the Pagans gave to *Cybele*. Indeed, it might be easy to be mistaken in this; but the *Greek Inscription* ΘΕΑ CΥΡΙΑC ΠΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ tells us, That this Medal which was struck at *HIERAPOLIS* represents *The Goddess of Syria*, to whom that City paid a parti-

cular Worship. And lastly, we cannot but discover *Cybele*, in the Description *Lucian* gives of the Ministers dedicated to the Service of the tutelary Goddess of the *Syrians*. We there find the effeminate Priests of *The Mother of the Gods*, the same abominable Mysteries, the same Ceremonies; and in short, another *Atys*, in the Person of a young mad Fellow, who kills himself, and whose Madness *Syria* consecrates. But to avoid Repetitions, we refer the Reader to *Lucian's Historical Treatise of The Goddess of Syria*, and to our Remarks on the Worship of *Cybele*, and the Offices of the *Galli*, and *Archigalli*. Vol. 3. Supposing then, as we have proved, That the two pretended Goddesses differed only in Name, we may reciprocally take each for the other; and affirm of *The Goddess of Syria*, what we have remarked of *Cybele*, That she is *The Mother of the Gods*; \* *Pl. 4. N. 6.* and That under this Title, the Pagan Theologists described *Nature*, the common Mother of all Beings. And agreeably to this Explication, we find in both Goddesses, some Particulars in which they agree with *Juno*, *Ceres*, *Proserpine*, *Isis*, &c; whose different Attributes all unite in *Nature*, or in the different Parts of the World considered as one great *Whole*.

\* *Pl. 4. N. 6.*  
Page 60.



Year of ed was Numbers; and when he thought he had Men enough to venture to take the  
 ROME Field, *Eunus* gave Orders for his military Expeditions. They spread themselves in the  
 DCXXI. Plains, plundered Barns, burnt Villages, and surprized and sacked some Cities. The  
 Defolation was great in the Heart of the Island, and the maritime Cities feared these  
 P. POPILIUS Robbers would extend their Incurfions into their Neighbourhood. In all Places, their Fears  
 LÆNAS, & made the Inhabitants double their Precautions; and the ruined People came and im-  
 P. RUPILIUS, plored the Assistance of the *Roman Prætor*, who was the Guardian of the whole Island.  
 Consuls.

Florus, B. 3.  
 c. 19.

This Sedition began in the Year of Rome 615, when *Manilius* governed *Sicily*, with only one *Legion* under his Command; the usual Army of *Prætors*, who resided in peace-able Provinces. But the *Roman Legion* was not strong enough to suppress these audacious Mutineers. *Publius Manilius* was beaten in 616, and his Camp plundered. In 617, the same Misfortune happened to the *Prætor*, *Publius Cornelius Lentulus*; and in 618, the Republick not sending a sufficient Body of Troops to reduce *Eunus*, the *Prætor Caius Calpurnius Piso*, who attacked him in that Year, was worsted. So that the new King, now victorious over three *Roman Prætors*, threatened the whole Island; and the Revolt was no longer to be played with. The Enemy's Forces increased daily; and the *Legionaries* fled before a Multitude of Banditti and Slaves, who filled their Masters with Terrour.

Diod. Sic. in  
 Excerpt.  
 apud Vales.

§. V. And the Consternation became still greater, when *Eunus* received a considerable Reinforcement from one *Cleon*, a Native of *Cilicia*, who after many Changes in Life, had been brought in Slavery to *Sicily*. This Man followed *Eunus's* Example. He had been a Robber from his Youth; since his being a Slave, his Masters had appointed him to keep their Flocks; and his being a Shepherd did not hinder him from pursuing his old Trade. He found it easy to associate to himself in the Country a great many People of his own Stamp, and became formidable in his Neighbourhood. These Shepherds had inured themselves to Fatigues; the Multitudes of Dogs they carried with them even to their Engagements, made them very terrible Enemies; and the News *Cleon* heard of the Success of *Eunus*, emboldened him to attempt the like Expeditions. With a Body of united Shepherds and Husbandmen, he ventured to attack the City of *Agrigentum*; pillaged it, and laid waste its Territory. However, this additional Calamity gave the Governours of *Sicily* some Hopes, that the two Factions would now attack and destroy one another. But the Affair took a very different Turn. The Usurper of *Enna* pretending to be King of all the Slaves in the Country, sent to summons *Cleon* to bring his Troops to him; and the *Cilician*, with a more ready Submission than he would probably have shewn to a lawful Sovereign, immediately joined him upon the first Orders, with 5000 Men, which he had gathered together in two Months Time.

Idem. in Eclog.

This was the Situation of Affairs about the Year 619, when *L. Plautius Hypsæus* landed in *Sicily*, to take upon him that Government; and upon his Arrival, he soon found that *Rome* was very ill informed of the State of a Province which ought to be so dear to her. There were 70000 Slaves in Arms, under *Eunus's* Command, beside those in other Places; so that the whole Number of these armed Rebels in the Island, was not reckoned to be less than two hundred Thousand. Whereas *Hypsæus* had not more than 8000 Men in his Army, both *Romans* and *Latins* included. These were too inconsiderable a Body to hold out against such Numbers of the Enemy; and as soon as the little Army appeared in the Field, it was vanquished, and routed. The *Prætor's* Camp was also abandoned, and given up to be plundered, and the Enemy continued Masters of the Field. Then these Robbers committed inexpressible Devastations in this rich and fruitful Country, and seized many Cities. Among others, they, in this Campaign, first conquered *Taurominium*, a strong Place, and situated on a steep Hill; and then made it their Magazine of Arms, and their Place of Refuge.

§. VI. At length therefore, *Rome* opened her Eyes, and found it was Time to put a stop to an Evil, which could not have become a Matter of such Importance to her, but by her own Negligence. In the beginning of the Year 619, when *The Second Africanus* was chosen *Consul*, and appointed to give the finishing Stroke to *Numantia*, his Colleague *C. Fulvius* was ordered to go into *Sicily*, and suppress this Conspiracy which began now to be formidable to the Republick. The Example of the Slaves in *Sicily*, was already become contagious in all the Countries in *Italy*, and *The Levant*. In *Rome* itself, 150 of these unfortunate Wretches had been condemned to die for seditious Plots.

5 See Vol. 2. p. 473. Note 8.

6 See Vol. 2. p. 542. Note 34.



At *Sinuessa* <sup>7</sup>, about 4000 of them had been put to Death. 450 had been crucified at *Minturnæ*. 1000 of those who worked in the Mines near *Athens*, had been lately sentenced to die. Some Companies of Slaves had committed incredible Devastations in *Macedon*: And the Island of *Delos* <sup>9</sup> had been purged of a Company of these Villains, by the Diligence of their Masters. But after all, *Sicily* was the Source of all these Evils; and thither *Fulvius* came with a *Consular* Army. But whether this *Consul* gained any Advantages over the Rebels, the Historians have not informed us. He seems to have contented himself with disposing the Islanders to take up Arms in defence of their Estates; with providing the Cities with Men and Provisions; and in short, with making all the necessary Preparations to make the Victory easy to his Successors.

In the Year 620, *Sicily* fell to the Lot of the *Consul*, *Lucius* <sup>10</sup> *Calpurnius Piso*. He found the *Roman* Legions there ill-disciplined; and it was very agreeable both to his natural Temper and his usual Conduct, to reform their Disorders. He was the first of his Family who bore the Name of *Frugi*, that is, of an abstinent and frugal Man, and transmitted it to his Posterity. He brought his Soldiers to their Duty by severe Punishments. The Commander of a Troop of Horse, named *C. Titius*, suffered himself to be surrounded by a Detachment of Slaves; and to save his Life, the *Roman* Officer and his Men threw down their Arms, and returned to their Camp. This the *Consul* thought a base Act; and not only mortified these Cowards with very severe Reproaches, but ordered them to continue whole Days under Arms, in their *Tunics* only, without their Belts, and bare-foot. *Titius* himself was interdicted the publick Feasts and the Use of the Bath; and his Horsemen were dismounted, and put on a level with those poor Wretches, whose whole Business it was, to sling Stones at the Enemy, before the Battle. And as soon as *Piso* had reformed his Troops, he immediately led them to Victory. The *Syrians*, for so the Subjects of the King of *Enna* were commonly called, hated *Messana* more than any other City in the whole Island. Not one Slave had come to his Army from this City or its Neighbourhood. The *Messanians* had always treated their unfortunate Domesticks with Humanity; and the Fidelity of the Slaves had been answerable to the good Treatment they had met with from their Masters. *Eunus* therefore, followed by all his Troops, invested the City which so little favoured his Designs: And the Circumvallation was already finished, and the Attacks ready to be begun, when *Piso* came upon him with his Legions, leading his Son by his side, a Youth of great Hopes. However, *Eunus* flattered himself with conquering the *Consul*, as he had successively done four *Prætors*; and therefore refused not a Battle. But he found a great difference between those *Roman* Troops which he had conquered, and these, which were well disciplined, and under the Conduct of an able General. This formidable Army of Slaves was, for the first time, put to the rout, by Troops much inferior to them in Number, and the Siege of *Messana* was raised. 6000 *Syrians* were killed on the Spot; and all that were made Prisoners of War, were treated as Villains, and crucified.

And as the *Consul* had not spared Chastisements when wanted in his Camp, so he was now as liberal, in bestowing his Rewards, after the Victory. He distributed them to the brave who had deserved them with great shew; and on this occasion, distinguished himself for that Abstinence and Disinterestedness, which had given him the Surname of *Frugi*. His Son had signalized himself in the Battle, and all agreed, That no one had better deserved an honourable Share in the Distribution of those Rewards. The Father himself confessed his Merit, but his Scruples stopped his Hand. He thought it not agreeable to that rigid Probity which he professed, for the Father to bestow any of the Wealth of the Republick on his own Son. Nevertheless, as his Son had deserved a Crown of

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Front. in Strateg. B. 4. c. 1.  
Val. Max. B. 2. c. 7.

Val. Max. B. 4. c. 3.  
Cic. pro Fontio.

<sup>7</sup> The ancient City of *Sinuessa* stood in the Country of the *Aurunci*, a People of *Latium*. Their Territory was part of the present *Terra di Lavoro*, which reaches from *Terracina*, to the other side of *The Garigliano*. No Footsteps of it are now remaining. See Vol. 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Minturnæ* stood in *Latium*, a little above *The Garigliano*. There are now scarce any Remains of it left. See Vol. 2, or the *Index*.

<sup>9</sup> *Delos*, now *Sdili*, one of the Islands of the *Archipelago*, was famous for the fabulous Birth and Oracle of *Apollo*. See the preceding Volumes.

<sup>10</sup> This *Lucius Calpurnius Piso* is not the same who was *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 614. The *Consul* here spoken of, was *Prætor* of *Sicily* in that Year. To him Vol. V.

is ascribed the famous Law *De repetundis*, against the Avarice of Magistrates who robbed the Publick. While he was *Prætor*, there was a great Scarcity of Corn in *Rome*, and the Senate had recourse to him, and charged him to buy up a great Quantity of Corn all over *Sicily*. Which he did with such Disinterestedness, as acquired him the glorious Surname of *Frugi*, that is, *The Honest*. He remitted back to the publick Treasury a considerable Part of the Money which had been sent him for this Purpose, having managed the rest so prudently and frugally, as to make it sufficient to provide for the Wants of the People. *Cicero* relates this Fact, in his *Third Oration against Verres*.

<sup>11</sup> Now *Messina*: See Vol. 2. p. 470. Note 6.  
I i Gold,



Gold, of three Pounds Weight, it was not just to detain it from him. The *Consul* therefore found out a Medium. He only gave his Son the Honour and Title of the Crown he deserved, on the Part of the Publick; and that he might not lose any thing, assigned him such an Addition out of his own Estate, as was equivalent to the Value of it. Thus even in the decline of the *Roman* Virtue, there still was found one great Mind, formed after the Models of the first Ages of the Republick.

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*Cic. Ferr. 6.*

§. VII. But tho' *Piso* had vanquished the Rebels in *Sicily*, he had not entirely subdued them. This Honour was reserved for *P. Rupilius*, who was chosen *Consul* for the present Year 621.

The Troubles raised by *The Sempronian Law* were not yet appeased, when *Rupilius* made his Preparations for his *Sicilian Expedition*; and in these agitations of Mind, the *Sybilline Books* were consulted, and it was there found, That it was necessary to have recourse to the most ancient Temple of *Ceres* then in the World. There was a very stately one at *Rome*, but the *Roman* Superstition would be content with nothing less, than making Oblations in the Place where the Cavern was, through which the God of Hell was said to have ascended to the Earth. In short, the whole City of *Enna*, and all the charming Plains about it, were consecrated to *Ceres*, and *Libera*, that is, *Proserpine*. But it unfortunately happened, That this ancient City, whose Origine was carried up to the fabulous Times, was in the Power of *Eumus*, and the chief Place of the Rebels. Nevertheless, the Orders of the Senate to the *Consul*, were in nothing more express than this, That he should make a way with his Sword to *Enna*, and there present to *Ceres* the Offerings of the Republick.

When *Rupilius* was landed at *Messana*, and had taken upon him the Command of *Piso's* Army, he made it his first Care exactly to follow the Conduct of his Predecessor. He began with Acts of Severity, thereby to keep his *Legions* in Discipline. Being informed that *Q. Fabius* his Son-in-Law had, in a cowardly manner, delivered up the City of *Tauromenium* to the Enemy; he, immediately, without any regard to him as a Relation, drove him out of *Sicily*, and sent him to *Rome*. And from that time, all Officers and Soldiers kept strictly to their Duty, under a General, who made no difficulty of discarding even his own Relations; and the *Legions*, who were well disciplined, were desirous of finishing the War in one Campaign. The chief Point *Rupilius* had in view, was to take *Enna*; but the difficulty was how to penetrate thither, as long as *Tauromenium* furnished the *Ennates* both with Men and Provisions.

*Diod. Sic. in  
Eclog.*

The pretended *Syrian* had put strong Garrisons into many Places; and to take them all one by one, would prolong the War, and only weaken the Enemy without destroying them. *Rupilius* therefore preferred the shortest and most dangerous Way, to that which would be longer, tho' more easy. He began with the Siege of *Tauromenium*, in order to end with the taking of *Enna*. The former was a maritime City, perched like a Nest, on a high Mountain; and being difficult of access on all Sides, the *Consul* resolved to reduce it by Famine. And as Provisions might be continually brought in by Transports, at the Port, which was to the East of the Island, it was necessary to make use of a *Roman* Fleet, to invest it on the Side next the Sea. By Land, *Rupilius* surrounded the Mountain with a large Line of Circumvallation, and cut off all Communication that Way. The Garrison was numerous, and soon consumed their Magazines of Provision, tho' large ones; and then Want, added to their Obstinacy, produced many tragical Events among these brutal Slaves. They first killed their Friends, and then eat them. This Madness was universal; but as they could expect no Pardon, they still persisted in their Defence, not so much from Valour as Despair. The Governour of the City, named *Comanus*, a Slave of some Reputation, and Brother to that *Cleon*, who was second Man in the new Kingdom, endeavoured to make his escape out of the Place; but he was surprized by the Centinels, and put under a close Confinement. At length, the City, (as might well be expected from such Men) was sold to the *Romans*, by a *Syrian* Traitor named *Sarapion*; and then the Governour and his Garrison being all condemned to die, were thrown down headlong from the top of a Rock.

§. VIII. From thence, the *Consul*, to satisfy the Desires of the Senate, and in pursuit of his own Scheme, led his Army to *Enna*, which was still to be taken. And it being grown a Fashion, since the Reduction of *Numantia*, to reduce Cities by Famine, rather than take them by Assault, *Rupilius* did the same here. The pretended King with his Court, *Cleon*, and the choicest of his Troops, were all shut up in the Town; and the Multitude of the Slaves soon consumed the Provisions in it. The besieged therefore made Sallies, attempting



attempting to break their way through the Enemy; and it must be allowed, that the *Syracusans* fought like Men in despair. *Cleon* himself fell alive into the *Consul's* Hands, covered with Wounds and Blood; but did not long survive his Captivity. He soon died of his Wounds, and his empaled Body was exposed to the view of the Besieged, to increase their Terror. At length, *Enna* had the same Fate as *Tauromenium*. Among these Numbers of Slaves who are naturally perfidious, it cannot be imagined, but some might be found, who would sell the City to the *Romans*. It was very advantageously situated in a fine Country, and on an Eminence; which nevertheless was watered with several Fountains of the finest Water in the World: And the new Fortifications with which *Eunus* had been continually improving it, for six Years, made it almost Impregnable. But the *Romans* were received into it by some Cowards, who made no scruple of being guilty of Treachery, in order to save their Lives. When the Enemy approached, and were even Masters of the Walls, *Eunus* still acted up to his Character of a King. With his Guard of about 600 Men, he broke his way through the *Romans*, fled for Refuge to a steep Part of the Island, and there prepared to sell his Life dear. In the mean time, the *Legionaries* made an horrible Massacre in *Enna*. The Streets ran with Streams of Blood. It is said, that at the taking of the two Cities, above 20000 of these Rebels perished. As for the *Consul*, as soon as he was in Possession of *Enna*, he immediately<sup>12</sup> paid his Homage in the Name of the Republick, to the Goddess which was worshipped there. The Barbarians who had seized the City had spared her Temple; and the ancient Statue of *Ceres* was found as entire as ever. *Rupilius* was very religious. Before his departure, he visited the Country; rebuilt the Altars formerly erected in the Fields, in honour to *Jupiter*<sup>13</sup> *Ætnæus*, and lately destroyed by the Rebels; and walled them in; forbidding all Persons to enter within them, except the Families, which had an ancient Right to come and offer Sacrifices there.

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LÆNAS, &  
P. RUPILIUS,  
Consuls.

§. IX. As for *Eunus*, he did not long continue quiet in his Retreat. He was immediately surrounded by the *Consular* Troops: And in this imminent Danger, pulled off the Mask. He shewed, that there was more of Ostentation than true Grandeur of Spirit in his servile Soul. The Soldiers of his Guard had Courage enough to agree to kill one another. But their King hid himself in the Holes of Rocks, and several times changed his Place of Retreat; and at last, was taken alive out of a Cave, to which he had fled for Refuge with four of his Domesticks; and was delivered up alive to the *Consul*. And what shews the true Character of this pitiful King is this, That he kept with him to the last Extremity, his Cook, his Baker, his Bath-keeper, and a kind of Buffoon, who diverted him at his Meals. These unfortunate Wretches were sent in Chains to<sup>14</sup> *Murgantia*, there to be strictly guarded, till the Departure of the *Roman* Army: And *Rupilius* reserved *Eunus*, not so much to adorn his *Triumph*, as to shew the *Romans* this Chief, whom they had so much dreaded, and with so little Reason. But he had been too much enervated by Pleasures for six Years together, to be able to bear the Rigours of his Prison. He fell sick and died there, worn out with trouble, and eaten up of Vermin. An exit worthy of a miserable Slave, who like a theatrical King, had for some time acted a great Part, which ended at last in a tragical Death.

In the mean while, *Rupilius* continued some time in *Sicily*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*; and at the Head of ten Commissioners, which *Rome* sent to him, he settled the Affairs of the Province, which had been brought into great Confusion by the late Troubles. He retook the Cities which were yet in the Hands of the Rebels; restored the fugitive Slaves to their Masters; and ordered the latter to double the Weight of their Chains, and give the Renegado's less Liberty than ever. And lastly, he drew up a new<sup>15</sup> Code of Laws for *Sicily*, which made the People very happy, and were always ob-

Cic. Ver. 2.

served,

<sup>12</sup> Upon the Report which the *Decemviri* made to the Senate, after they had consulted the *Sybilline* Books, some of them were sent to *Enna*; and there they carried the Presents and Offerings of the Republick to the Temple, which the *Ennates* had consecrated to *Ceres*, the tutelar Goddess of the Country, for the Reasons beforementioned, in Vol. 2. p. 562. Note 72. [The *Epitome* of *Livy* ascribes likewise to these *Decemviri*, what is in the Text above ascribed to *Rupilius*, concerning the Altars of *Jupiter Ætnæus*. B. 59. c. 27.]

<sup>13</sup> The topical Name of *Ætnæus* was taken from a

famous Temple which the neighbouring People had built to *Jupiter* on Mount *Ætna*.

<sup>14</sup> The Name of *Murgantia* was formerly common to two Cities; one which is here spoken of in *Sicily*, the other in *Latium*. Nothing now remains of it. See Vol. 3. or the *Index*.

<sup>15</sup> By the new Code, it was regulated, That both civil and criminal Causes should be tried according to the ancient Laws of *Sicily*, provided the Parties were both Citizens of the same City. But if a Dispute arose between the Inhabitants of different Places, as for Instance, between a Burgher of *Catanea* and an Inhabitant



Year of served, to the Satisfaction of the Publick. By these Means, the whole Island was made  
 ROME very peaceable, so that there remained not the least Spark of War unextinguished; and  
 DCXXI. then *Rupilius* took his Leave of a Province, from whence he brought nothing but Esteem  
 and Affection. He was one of those noble and disinterested Men, who were worthy of  
 the first Times. The only Glory he sought in his Exploits, was that of promoting the  
 publick Good; and the only Reward he desired, was the Consciousness of having served  
 his Country. When he returned to *Rome*, he might have obtained a *Triumph* if he had  
 desired it. Both the Importance of his Expedition, and his personal Conduct spoke in  
 his Favour. But he refused to triumph; because, he was ashamed (as he confessed) to  
 have it recorded in the *Triumphal Tables*, That *He had overcome Slaves*. Nevertheless,  
 he did not refuse an *Ovation*, which probably *Rome* forced him to accept; for fear so  
 great Merit should seem to have been left destitute of any Reward.

P. POPILIUS  
 LÆNAS, &  
 P. RUPILIUS,  
 Consuls.

§. X. Thus ended the Rebellion of the Slaves in *Sicily*: And as it was the Fate of  
*Rome*, to have one War beget, or at least uninterruptedly succeed, another; an Affair of  
 great Consequence to the Republick, now called for her Arms in *Asia*. It was necessary for  
 her to defend her new Acquisitions; and support her Rights which were justly founded,  
 but hitherto much neglected by the Senate. We have already observed, That the last  
 King of *Pergamus* left his whole Kingdom to the Romans, by *Will*; and That *Attalus*  
 had thereby frustrated the Hopes which *Andronicus*, his Brother by his Father's side,  
 might have entertained of that Crown. But *Andronicus*, tho' the Son of *Eumenes*, could  
 lay no Claim to it, because illegitimate, and born of a Slave, a Native of *Ephesus*, and the  
 Daughter of a Musician. So that the *Will* of the late King, which was made in due  
 Form, gave the Romans a good Title to one of the finest Sovereignities in *Asia Minor*.  
 The Kingdom of *Pergamus* was deemed one of the most extensive<sup>16</sup> States, and most  
 fruitful Countries in all this vast Region, which reached from the *Ægean Sea* to Mount  
*Taurus*; and these very rich and fruitful Dominions well deserved the utmost Regard  
 of its new Proprietors. They had indeed a considerable Authority in *Asia*<sup>17</sup> Major,  
 which was more remote on the Continent; but it was founded only in the voluntary  
 Submissions of the People. The Roman Republick had not the Property of one City in  
 this Continent; till *Attalus* gave her a Country as large as that of *Macedon*; the Con-  
 quest of which had cost her so much Blood and Treasure.

In the two Years since the Death of *Attalus*; *Rome* had taken no other Steps to se-  
 cure her Succession, but that of sending *Scipio Nasica* thither, to take care of her Inte-  
 rests. And this *Scipio Nasica* was indeed a zealous Republican; but as far as we can  
 judge by his Conduct in *Asia*, was so much afflicted at his being removed so far from his  
 own Country, after the Massacre of *Tiberius Gracchus*, that he did nothing but ramble in  
 Discontent from Country to Country, till at last he came and ended his Days at *Perga-  
 mus*. So that *Aristonicus* had time enough to carry on his Intrigues, assemble Troops,  
 and put himself in a Condition to maintain his Pretensions. He entered into an Alliance  
 with the *Thracians*, and brought some to *Pergamus* from beyond *The*<sup>18</sup> *Bosphorus*; and he

bitant of *Palermo*, the Cognisance of it should belong  
 to the Roman *Prætor*. *Cicero* in his *Second Oration*  
*against Verres*, and his Commentator *Asconius*, prove  
 this Practice.

<sup>16</sup> The State of *Pergamus* contained at first little  
 more than the City and its Territory. King *Attalus*  
*the First*, began to extend its Territory, under the Pro-  
 tection of *Rome*. His Son, *Eumenes the Second*, the  
 most faithful Ally of the Romans, in the Wars with  
*Antiochus the Great*, got great Part of the Spoils of  
 that Monarch, from whom the Republick took the  
 richest Countries in *Asia Minor*. In return for the Ser-  
 vices he had done *Rome*, she put him in Possession of  
 the two *Mysia's*, the two *Phrygia's*, *Lydia*, *Lycaonia*,  
 and in a Word, of the greatest Part of the Provinces  
 beyond Mount *Taurus*, besides some Cities in *Thrace*,  
 and those of *Ephesus*, *Trallis*, and *Telmessa*, which  
 had been formerly subject to *Antiochus*. So that the  
 last *Attalus*, when he made the Romans Heirs to his  
 Kingdom, did little more, than return them a Coun-  
 try, which they had formerly given his Ancestors.

<sup>17</sup> Under the Name of *Asia Major*, or *Great Asia*,  
 was formerly comprehended those immense Regions,  
 which reach from North to South, to the East of Mount

*Taurus*. So that *Syria*, *Mesopotamia*, *Affyria*, *Phœ-  
 nicia*, &c. which were formerly subject to *Antiochus*,  
 made a considerable Part of that vast Continent. The  
 Provinces situated on this side Mount *Taurus* belonged  
 to *Asia Minor*, now called *Natolia*. This modern  
 Name is taken from the Greek Term *Ἀνατολή*, which  
 signifies *the East*, to shew its Eastern Situation with re-  
 spect to *Greece*, from which it is separated by *The Ar-  
 chipelago*; tho' it is, at the same time, the most West-  
 ern Country of *Asia*. It is bounded to the North, by  
*The Euxine Sea*; to the East, by the two *Armenia's*;  
 to the South, by *The Mediterranean*; and to the West,  
 by *The Ægean Sea*, or *Archipelago*, and *The Propon-  
 tis*, or *Sea of Marmora*. In length, it contains about  
 360 French Leagues, from the 51st Degree of Longi-  
 tude to the 62d; and in breadth near 200 French  
 Leagues, from the 36th Degree of Latitude to the 45th.  
*Asia Minor* therefore, in its greatest extent, contained  
 the two *Mysia's*, the two *Phrygia's*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, *Io-  
 nia*, *Æolis*, *Pisidia*, *Lycia*, *Pamphilia*, *Gallo-Græcia*,  
*Lycaonia*, *Paphlagonia*, *Cappadocia*, the Kingdom of  
*Pontus*, and *Bithynia*.

<sup>18</sup> *The Thracian Bosphorus*, is now known by the  
 Names of *The Channel of Constantinople*, *The Channel*  
 of



he took a good Number of *Phocæans* <sup>19</sup> into his Service. With these Succours, and some *Pergamian* Troops, which submitted to him, he became formidable in his own Country. Besides, the Nobility and Inhabitants of *Pergamus*, being accustomed to a Monarchical, dreaded a Republican Government; and without much scruple about the Stain in the Blood of their new Head, they preferred his Authority, to that of different foreign *Prætors*, to whose Caprices they must otherwise be subject. Then *Aristonicus*, as soon as he saw himself at the Head of a great Army, besieged the Places which were for maintaining the late King's *Will*, and the Right of the *Romans*; and took by Force the Cities of <sup>20</sup> *Samos* and *Colophon* <sup>21</sup> in *Ionia*, and that of <sup>22</sup> *Myndos* in *Caria*. The other Cities surrendered upon Terms; and being thus become Master of the Kingdom, with little Resistance, he filled his Treasury with the Revenues of the Kings his Predecessors, and was now in a Condition to maintain a War with *Rome*.

§. XI. This News came to *Italy* when the People were about chusing new *Consuls*; and among the Candidates, were two Men of very great Weight, but whose publick Employments seemed to render them incapable of making War in *Asia*. One was *P. Licinius Crassus*, on whom Fortune had bestowed all those Advantages which she rarely heaps upon one Man. In point of Birth, he was descended from a noble Family which was without dispute one of the most Illustrious in *Rome*. With regard to Wealth, he was richer than any other *Citizen*, and with the other Hereditary Surnames of his Family, bore that of *Dives*, that is, *the Rich*. And his personal good Qualities were not inferior to these Gifts of Fortune. He was a very discreet, learned, and subtle *Civilian*; and very eloquent. The Favour of the People had therefore raised him by degrees to all the Offices of Distinction in the Republick. In his *Ædileship*, his Riches had enabled him to entertain *Rome* with magnificent Shows, to the Satisfaction of all the Commons. Then, advancing gradually through all the *Curule* Dignities he was already become *Pontifex Maximus*, which gave him a general Superintendence over all the Priests of the *Roman* Religion. So that nothing being wanting to compleat his Honours, but the *Consulate*, he now stood for it, and obtained it. The most critical Observers on his Conduct could find but one Fault in this illustrious Man, which was a little too much tendency to Avarice.

His Collegue was *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, who was also devoted to the Service of the Gods, but in an inferior Rank. He was *Flamen* <sup>23</sup> *Martialis*, or in other Words, *The High-Priest* of *Mars*. They were both very desirous of leading the Armies of the Republick into *Asia*, no Commission being more profitable than that of commanding in those distant Countries, which abounded with all manner of Riches: And both made Interest to the Senate for it, and earnestly contended for Success. The Dispute was so warm, that *Crassus*, as *Pontifex Maximus*, set a <sup>24</sup> Fine on *Valerius*, who was his inferior in the Priesthood, and commanded him not to quit the Functions of his Office. On the other hand, *Valerius* pretended that *Crassus* was incapable of going into *Asia*; there having been no Instance of a *Pontifex Maximus* who had commanded an Army in foreign Countries, tho' they had sometimes done so in *Italy*. At length, as the Contest grew more violent, it was brought before the People to determine it; and then there started up a third Party, in favour of *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*. He was lately returned from *Spain* with great Glory in having taken *Numantia*, and had been honoured with a *Tri-*

of *St. George*, and *The Channel of the Black Sea*. This famous Streight divides *Asia* from *Europe*. It is said to be about 5 or 6 French Leagues long. *The Black Sea* discharges it self by this Mouth, into *The Sea of Marmora*, and from thence into *The Archipelago* by *The Hellespont*.

<sup>19</sup> The *Phocæans* inhabited the Territory of *Phocæa*, a City of *Æolis*, according to *Ptolomy*. But *Pliny* and *Mela* place it in *Ionia*; perhaps, because built by the *Ionians*, or because it bordered on that Province. It is now only a little Village, situated on the Coast of *The Gulph of Smyrna*, near the Mouth of the River *Hermus*, which is called by the Natives *The Sarabat*. It is now called *Fochia-Vechia*, or *Old Phocæa*. Two Miles from it stands a pretty populous City, fortified with a Port and Castle, which is called *Fochia-Nova*. We have already spoken of these *Phocæans*, and of their Transmigrations to the Coasts of *Provence*.

<sup>20</sup> The City of *Samos* is the capital of the Island

of that Name, near *Ionia*, from which it is separated by a little Streight. We have already mentioned it, Vol. 3. The Geographers make the Island to be about 87 Miles in Circumference. It was consecrated to *Juno*. *Strabo* speaks of an ancient Temple dedicated to that Goddess in this City. Which Temple the People of *Asia* and *Greece* looked on as an inviolable *Asylum*.

<sup>21</sup> *Colophon*, a City situated on the Coast of *Ionia*, between *Smyrna* and *Ephesus*, stood near the Place which is now called *Alto-Bosco*. See Vol. 4, p. 209. Note 30.

<sup>22</sup> *Myndos* is still in being near *Old Halicarnassus*, and is now called *Mentesé*.

<sup>23</sup> See Vol. 1. Of the Offices and Duty of the *Flamines*.

<sup>24</sup> *Valerius*, according to *Cicero*, in his *Eleventh Philippic*, was discharged by the People from the Fine which *Crassus* had set upon him,

*Eutrop. 83*  
*Florus B. 3. c.*  
*10.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXII.

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.  
*Aulus Gell. B.*  
*1. c. 13.*

*Cic. Phil. 2;*



Year of *umbr* on that Account; and some very sensible People thought no one so capable of putting a speedy end to the War in *Asia*, as this great Man. The only Objection to their Desires was, That *Scipio* was now only a private Person, not having any publick Office; and they therefore ventured to propose him in the *Comitia*, and put him in Competition with the *Consul Crassus*. But the Multitude had regard to the old Regulations; and *Scipio*, only because he was not in Office, had the Suffrages of but two Tribes. The rest voted in favour of *Crassus*; and it was determined, That he might, tho' *Pontifex Maximus*, command the *Roman* Armies in Countries beyond the Bounds of *Italy*. His Colleague was appointed to continue at *Rome* to settle Affairs there; and he was ordered to dispossess *Aristonicus* of the Kingdom he had usurped from the *Roman* People. But this extraordinary Privilege afterwards turned to the Disadvantage of the Republick, and likewise of *Crassus* himself.

In the mean time, the popular Factions, since the bloody Tumult on the *Capitol*, were not yet appeased. The Death of *Tiberius Gracchus* was deeply engraven on the Minds of many. The Senate indeed endeavoured to calm the People; and it seems to have been in order to soften them, that they suffered them to usurp another Privilege, not heard of till this Time. For these 220 Years last past, it had been an invariable Custom in *Rome*, to choose one of the *Censors* out of the *Patricians*, and the other out of the *Plebeians*. But now, *The Conscrip Fathers* carried their Complaisance so far, as to suffer *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* surnamed *Macedonicus*, and *Q. Pompeius*, both *Plebeians*, to be promoted to the *Censorship* together; which nothing but the Necessity of the Times could have extorted from them. In the *Census* which these two *Plebeians* took of the Citizens of *Rome*, and which was reckoned the 59th from their Institution, they found 317823 Citizens in a Condition to bear Arms; and their *Censorship* was famous for a Law, which *Augustus* afterwards revived. *Metellus*, in a laboured Speech, which was in being after the Destruction of the Republick, persuaded the People that it was necessary to rectify the Abuses of *Celibacy*. The Love of Debauchery, and unlawful Intrigues, diverted many *Romans* from Marriage: And it being thought necessary both for the Reformation of Manners, and the Preservation of noble Families, many of which were become extinct by this Licentiousness; a Decree was passed, That at a certain Age, all then should be obliged to marry.

§. XII. Nevertheless, the Commotions about the Distribution of Lands, according to *The Sempronian Law*, were not yet at an end. In the Execution of this Law, the Rich by their Chicaneries, were continually throwing fresh Obstructions in the Way of the most just Pretensions of the Poor; and this brought continual Complaints from the Commissioners chosen by the People, to take care of the Distribution. *C. Gracchus*, the Brother of the murdered *Tribune*, was one of the most zealous in maintaining the Rights of the Populace against the Injustice of the great Men; and this Injustice furnished him with an inexhaustible Fund for Invectives. He was continually sounding it in the Ears of the People in the *Comitium*; and thereby both signalized his Zeal for their Interests, and vented his own Hatred, against the Authors of the Murder of his Brother. And in this, he was admirably well seconded by a *Tribune of the People*, named *Caius Papirius Carbo*. This *Tribune* was one of the most violent Men in *Rome*, and most like to *Tiberius Gracchus*. *Carbo* made him his Pattern; seemed to have inherited his factious Spirit; and his Speeches were always full of him. He exaggerated the Benefits the Commons had received from him. He magnified his Constancy, in withstanding the Efforts of the Rich and Senate, tho' at the Hazard of his Life. He sometimes invoked the *Manes* of *Gracchus*; returned him the most humble Thanks for his Services, in the Name of the *Roman People*; and asked his Pardon, in the Name of the whole Republick, for the unworthy Treatment with which those Services had been repaid. And one Day, when the furious *Tribune* was grown warmer than usual, as he was painting the Death of *Gracchus* in the most lively Colours, with all its Circumstances, a sudden kind of Enthusiasm seized him; and he ordered *The Second Africanus*, the Hero who was the Admiration and the Delight of *Rome*, to be brought into the Assembly.

*Carbo* did not doubt, but *Scipio*, who was so nearly related to the Family of the *Gracchi*, would speak in Favour of his Brother-in-Law, and at least condemn the Cause and the Authors of his Death. But the *Tribune* knew little either of the true Character of the brave *Roman*, or of his private Disagreement with his Wife. He therefore publicly asked him, what he thought of the Murder of his Brother-in-Law; imagining, that the Answer he must receive would be such, as would well nigh bring the People to an

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

Epit. Livian.

Suetonius, in  
Vit. Augusti.

Cic. de Leg.  
B. 3.



an Insurrection against his Murderers. But, to his great Surprise, *Scipio's* Answer was, *That if Gracchus had endeavoured to sow Discord in the Republick, he thought him lawfully put to Death.* Upon this unexpected Reply, the Tribune <sup>35</sup> stirred up the People to insult the most venerable Man in Rome; and a Murmur was heard among them, which sufficiently discovered their Indignation. *Scipio* was shocked at it, and assuming that Ascendant over the Multitude, which a long Command of Armies gives an old General, he replied, *Be silent, ye untractable People! Does it become you to treat Italy as if she was your Step-Mother, and rigorously extort all her Effects from her? Or think ye, that I am afraid of your Murmurs, who have so often been unconcerned at the Fury of our Enemies?* At this, the common People only increased their Hissings; and then, *Scipio*, who could contain no longer, thought himself obliged to exalt his Voice. *Miserable Wretches as you are,* said he, *What would have become of you, had it not been for my Father Paulus Æmilius, and myself? You would have been enslaved, or at least, subjected to our Enemies; and must have spent your Lives in a State of Dependence. And is this the Respect you owe your Deliverers?* At which Words there followed a deep Silence in the Assembly which looked like Consternation. These fierce Romans seemed to have forgotten at once, even that they were free. The Voice of one single Man made them tremble like Slaves. The *Comitia* were immediately dissolved, and every one returned home with more Esteem, but less Affection, for the great *Scipio*. And it is thought, that the illustrious Roman chose this turbulent Time, to retire to one of his Country-Houses, at *Cajeta* or *Laurentum*, with his dear *Lælius*. There these two grave Friends, who had filled the highest Offices with Dignity, and been indefatigable at the Head of Armies, condescended to amuse themselves with the same innocent little Pleasures which had diverted them when Children. They walked by the Sea-side, entertained themselves with picking up smooth flat Stones, and throwing them on the Surface of the Water; and enjoyed more Pleasure in this sweet Retirement, than in the Glory they had acquired, by serving an ungrateful People.

§. XIII. In the mean time, *Carbo* was more active than ever, both in supporting the Interests of the People, and in promoting his own. He was resolved to imitate *Gracchus* in all his Steps, and now proposed like him, to get himself continued in his Office another Year. And in order to succeed the better, he at first kept within Bounds. The Law he first proposed in the *Comitia* was tolerable; it enacting only, That when the People accepted or rejected the Edicts proposed by their *Tribunes*, they should not give their Suffrages *viva voce*, but in Writing; and it passed without Contradiction. It was indeed only a repeated Establishment of the Custom of voting only by *Tablets* or *Tickets*. However, this Success made *Carbo* more enterprising. He drew up, and proposed a second Law, which was, That the same Persons should be continued *Tribunes*, during the Pleasure of the People, without coming to an annual Election. This was a direct Attack on the Nobles, who always found their Account in the continual Changes of these Officers. The Effect of the frequency of those Elections was, that the most seditious *Tribune* had but his Year to torment them in; and they often found Means to prevail on the Successors, to remedy the Evils done them by their Predecessors. The Flower of the Senate therefore, and the most distinguished of the Nobility, vehemently opposed the new Law; and pretended, That it was no more lawful for the People to prolong the *Tribunate*, than for the whole Republick to confer the *Consulship* two Years successively on the same Person. Among the rest, *Scipio* and *Lælius*, upon the Report of this new Storm, hastened to Rome, where the Affair was brought into the *Comitia*, and there disputed with much Warmth. *Carbo* and *C. Gracchus* joined together in promoting it; and whilst the former applied himself to Sollicitations, and all the Arts of Flattery and Insinuation; the latter adhered chiefly to the Strength of his Reasoning, and spoke thus.

*The present Question, Romans, is not concerning what you ought to do; but your very Power of Acting is disputed. The Nobles don't at present offer you their Advice, they dispute your Right. Shall then the Senate be able to rob you of a Privilege which you have pur-*

<sup>25</sup> What most Historians ascribe to *Caius Carbo*, *Plutarch*, in his *Apophthegms*, imputes to *Caius Gracchus*; and adds, That the latter cried out in his Fury, That *Scipio* was a Tyrant, and deserved to be put to Death. To these Clamours he replied with a noble Pride, which struck the most enterprising with Awe and Reverence. *Men,* said he, *who are sworn Enemies to the Republick, have Reason to attempt my Life. It nearly concerns them that I should die, in order to their succeeding in their pernicious Designs. They know That on my Life depends the happy Destiny of Rome; and That Scipio will not survive the Ruin of his Country.*

chased

Year of  
ROME.  
DCXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.  
Vell. Paterc.  
Cic. pro Milo-  
ne & B. 2.  
de Orat.  
Val. Max.  
B. 6. c. 2.  
Author. de Vir.  
Illustr.  
Plut. in Apoph-  
theg.

Cic. de Orat.  
B. 1.

Cic. in Eruto,



Year of  
R O M E.  
DCXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

*chased with so many Labours? Remember the sacred Mount, and the famous Secession which delivered you from Slavery. The Fruit your Forefathers reaped from it was, the Power of choosing your own Defenders, who should be watchful of your Interests, preserve you from Oppression, preside in your Assemblies, and protect your Lives and Estates from the Artifices and Attempts of the Nobility. You then insisted on the Right of choosing Tribunes, that is Protectors, to whom you might always have recourse in Time of Need. But did you then limit the Time, which these your Magistrates should continue in Office? Had the Power which you gave them, any other Bounds, in point of Duration, than their Faithfulness in serving you, and the good Will and Pleasure of your Assemblies? In these first Ages, the Tribunes were continued in their Offices, for several Years, without so much as a Murmur from the Patricians. Shall then the rich Men in our Days, abolish what the Camilli, the Carii, and the Cossi, established in theirs? Carbo's Law is no Innovation. All that is new in this Affair is, their disputing your Right, which is as Ancient as it is just; and to rob you of it, is to strike at the very Foundation of all your Security. To limit the unbounded Power you now enjoy, of continuing the Tribunes you like in their Offices, during your Pleasure, is in effect lessening your Strength, and encroaching on the free Liberty of your Elections. Of what Weight is a College of Magistrates, whose Authority expires in a Year after their Creation? What Success can they promise themselves in Enterprizes which require Time to put them in Execution? Such Designs must necessarily prove abortive, almost the instant they have been contrived. Of this your Adversaries are very sensible by Experience; the Ascendant they have gained over you, was originally founded in the continual Changes of your Defenders. Of what uncommon Abilities must they be Masters, who are able to support you against the Plots of a formidable Senate, whose chief Concern is to weaken you? An Age does scarce produce one Man, who is equal to the Burden of so difficult an Office. How many, and how great are the Talents necessary to enable a Man to appear with Credit in so delicate a Situation? He ought to have a Genius so extensive, as to be able to know what is past, to penetrate into what is to come, and to provide Remedies for all present Evils: He ought to have a Courage and Intrepidity, above both Menaces and Dangers; a Disinterestedness, proof against Promises and Expectations; a Penetration, sufficient to see through all false Lights, to discover in Matters of the greatest Intricacy, where your true Interest lies, and to prefer solid Advantages to Appearances: And he ought to have such a lively and easy Eloquence, as to be able to persuade, without leaving any ill Impression on the Mind, and effectually to gain upon the Affections, without appearing to govern them. Such a Man is indeed a great Treasure; a Blessing which Heaven very seldom grants to the World. And when you have it, you cannot take too much care to preserve it. But it often happens, that the most able Men are succeeded by others of little Abilities; and the latter abolish in an instant, Schemes which the former laid, and entered upon with difficulty. By this Means, the greatest Designs come to nought; and your Rivals triumph at it. However, your Tribunes would, at least, have less Cause to complain of the short Continuance of their Offices, if you knew how to defend them, or avenge the Injuries they suffer in your Service. O ye great Gods, can I forget the Fate of my Brother Tiberius! The Tears will flow, and interrupt me, at the sad Remembrance! Romans, You had in him one of those Tribunes of uncommon Merit, who had nothing in view but your Grandeur; no Interest at Heart, but that of enriching you, at the Expence of his own Fortune. He died as it were in the Arms of our Gods; an innocent Victim, who freely fell a Sacrifice to the Fury of your Enemies, to preserve you from it. His Blood was spilt on the Capitol; his Body thrown a Prey to Fish, was denied the Honour of a Burial; and, if I may be permitted to say it, these Outrages, to your Shame, are still unpunished. Grant then ye Heavens, that such of your Tribunes as shall equal him in Merit, may meet with a more happy Fate, and a more adequate Reward!*

*This Speech would have made Impressions on the Minds of the People, if The Second Africanus, and the wise Lælius, had not opposed it, both with their Authority, and their Eloquence. But they remonstrated to the Commons, That nothing was more dangerous in a Republican State, than to continue Men long in Office, whose Power fell little short of that of Sovereigns: And they represented those sudden Commotions, which seditious Tribunes had too often raised, in a very odious Light. What would have become of Rome, said they, if these Tyrants of a Year, had been perpetual! We should long since have seen the Tarquinian Age revived, and the publick Liberty swallowed up, by their sacred and inviolable Authority. The more powerful you have made these Presidents of your Assemblies, the more formidable they ought to appear, even to yourselves.*



perpetuated, they would soon turn this delegated Power against their Benefactors, and make themselves independent. You grant it as Matter of Favour; they preserve it by Flattery; and will soon maintain themselves in it by Violence. The Tribunate, short as it is, has already raised but too many Storms in the State: And will you suffer it to advance those to be Kings, whom you have invested with it? Go then, and offer yourselves the Royal Fillet to these inferior Magistrates whom you have chosen. They want nothing in order to reign, but to be perpetuated in their Employments; and if they can by Artifice and Address persuade you to grant them repeated Prolongations, they will hereafter extort the rest. And indeed these Fears were not without Foundation: And therefore the Speeches of Scipio and Lælius prevailed. The Law proposed by Papirius Carbo, tho' a very popular one in itself, and supported with the Eloquence of young Gracchus, was rejected by the Suffrages of the People themselves. Scipio gained the Glory of this memorable Event; but he thereby incurred the Displeasure of the Family to which he was allied, and much increased the Hatred of his Wife.

Year of  
ROME.  
DCXXII.  
P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

§. XIV. However, these intestine Broils did not detain the Consul Licinius Crassus at Rome. Tho' Pontifex Maximus, he marched out of Italy, with the full Consent of the People. The War in Asia became daily more and more difficult, as Aristonicus was continually increasing his Conquests in the Kingdom of Pergamus. Nevertheless, the Historians have not informed us, that Crassus carried with him to The Levant a Consular Army, which consisted of two Legions, and at least an equal Number of other Troops raised in Italy; neither do they so much as mention the Preparations usually made for such Expeditions in Countries beyond the Seas. Not a Word is said of any Fleet, or Embarkation, or Provisions sent from Africa, or elsewhere, for the Support of such Armies. And we therefore think it probable, that the Consul only took with him a few Friends, and some chosen Troops. He took it for granted, that the Eastern Kings, and Nations in Alliance with Rome, would furnish him with sufficient Forces upon the Spot, to drive out the Ufurper. In his Voyage, the Consul visited all the Nations of the East, which either were subject to the Roman People, or in Alliance with them. He was a learned Man, and spoke Greek fluently; and before his departure, had perfected himself in that Language. That he might be able to converse with the more People, he learned the five Dialects, then in use, on the Coasts of Europe and Asia, and far on the Continent; and was thereby qualified to negotiate Business himself, in all the Places where he should touch.

Val. Max. L.  
8. c. 7.

Upon his Arrival in the East, he found the Nations little altered with regard to their Affection for his Republick. They were all faithful in their Attachments to her, and cultivated her Friendship; but were not all in a Condition to assist her against Aristonicus. In Syria, the two Brothers, Antiochus Sidetes, and Demetrius<sup>25</sup> Nicanor, had given themselves the Title of King; tho' the latter, who had long been detained Prisoner among the Parthians was only nominally such; whilst Antiochus ruled alone in Syria. And after the latter had distressed the Jews with the cruel War before-mentioned, and had suddenly struck up an Alliance with their High-Priest; he had then turned his Arms against the Parthians, in order to recover some Territories formerly belonging to the Kings of Syria, from Phraates, the Son and Successor of Arsaces. This was the Expedition in which he had engaged the High-Priest of the Jews to follow him; and from which John afterwards took the Surname of Hyrcanus, because it is said, he had penetrated as far as to Hyrcania. In the mean time, Effeminacy and Pleasure had weakened the<sup>27</sup> Army of Antiochus; and the impious Prince, to have a Pretence for Plundering the

Justin, B. 18  
Joseph. B. 13

<sup>26</sup> Demetrius Nicanor, tho' a Prisoner in Parthia, had all the Honours paid him due to a crown'd Head. He had married Rhodogune, the Sister of the King of the Parthians; and seemed to live very happily with his Princess, surrounded with Wealth and Pleasures. Nevertheless, the Happiness he enjoyed, and the great Civilities of a fine Court which was attentive to please him, did not make him amend for the Loss of a Throne. In the midst of all this Pomp and Show, he still considered himself as a Captive and deprived King; and in his melancholly Hours, he several Times attempted to escape, but always without Success. He was pursued, brought back, and more narrowly confined: and Phraates began to make him feel all the Shame of his Captivity. See the 39th Book of Justin.

<sup>27</sup> Justin tells us, That the Army of Antiochus consisted of 80000 Men; Orosius, of 100000. According to the latter, and Athenæus, the King of Syria had 300000 People in his Train, including Servants, Suters, Players, Buffoons, Cooks, and others of this Sort, whose Business was not so much to supply the Wants of the Troops, as to promote Luxury and Effeminacy. Fortune favoured him in his first Enterprizes. Upon the Report of his March, the People of Assyria came to meet him, and acknowledged him for their lawful Sovereign. Having been accustomed to live under the Government of the Successors of Alexander the Great, their first King, they bore the Yoke of a foreign Governor with Impatience. The King of Syria had already defeated the Army of Indates, the Parthian General,



Year of the Temple of the Goddesses<sup>28</sup> which the *Parthians* worshipped, declared that he would marry her. He demanded the Treasures in the rich Temple built in Honour to *Nanea*, for her Portion; and entered it, in order to take Possession of them. But the Priests of the Goddesses killed him with Stones thrown from the Roof<sup>29</sup>, cut his Body in pieces, and threw them out of the Temple which he had profaned. So that *Demetrius*, who had been so generously delivered out of Captivity<sup>30</sup> by *Phraates* himself, and sent back into *Syria*, to dispute the Crown with his Brother, was now become the sole Possessor of it. But neither *Demetrius*, nor the High-Priest of the *Jews*, tho' both in Alliance with the *Romans*, could assist *Crassus* with their Forces. The former was scarce settled in the Throne; and the latter was not yet returned from *Media*, whither the unfortunate *Antiochus* had drawn him after him.

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

2 Mac.

Justin, B. 28.  
Ept. Liv.

*Egypt* was more embroiled than *Syria*. *Euergetes* had dishonoured that Throne with the most monstrous Incest. After he had married *Cleopatra*, his Brother's Widow, as has been before observed, he had offered Violence to her Daughter and his own Niece, divorced *Cleopatra*, and married the young Princess whom he had dishonoured. This infamous Conduct filled the *Alexandrians* with Horrour; and they took up Arms, set fire to the ancient Palace of their Kings, forced *Ptolomy* to flee to *Cyprus* for Refuge, and put the Crown on *Cleopatra's* Head. Then the dethroned King, fearing lest the Queen should recall the Son he had had by her from *Cyrenaica*, and cause him to be crowned, prevented her, and ordered him to be brought to the Island of *Cyprus*. In the meantime, the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* being exceedingly incensed against the Fugitive, exercised their Revenge upon his Statues, since they could not reach his Person. They broke them down, trod them under foot, and beat them in pieces. But *Ptolomy* ascribed all these Insults to *Cleopatra*; and in the Heat of his Rage against her, he repeated the Crime of *Thyestes*. He cut his unfortunate Son, whom he had by her, in pieces, shut up his Limbs in a strong Box, and found Means to have it presented to *Cleopatra* when she was at Table, as a Present sent from far, in Compliment to her Birth-Day.

on the Banks of *The Lycus*. Two other Victories likewise, which were followed by the taking of *Babylon*, had paved the Way for new Conquests, when his Death put an end to these promising Hopes.

28 According to *St. Thomas* and *De Lyra*, *Diana* was the Goddess which the *Medes* and *Persians* called in their Language *Nanea*; and *Luther* and *Melancthon* were so fully persuaded of the Truth of this, that they put *Diana* instead of *Nanea*, in their Version of the Bible, which they published, in the 16th Century. But may it not be said, that *Venus*, or the Goddess of Pleasure, was the *Nanea* of the *Pagans*? At least, *Athenæus*, B. 13. mentions several times a debauched Woman, whose Name was *Nannium*, and another named *Nanno*. *Strabo*, B. 11, 12, and 15, says, That the *Armenians* worshipped a Goddess, named *Nais*, or *Anaitis*, whom *Clemens Alexandrinus* makes to be the same as *Venus*. This Father says, That *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Ochus*, first erected Statues to this Goddess, in the City of *Babylon*, in *Persia*, in *Bactriana*, at *Damascus*, and at *Sardis*. And what *Strabo* adds of the indecent Ceremonies used in the Temple of *Nais*, can only agree with *Venus*. Besides, the Similitude of the Names, *Nanea*, *Nannium*, *Nanno* and *Nais*, seem to favour this Conjecture; which nevertheless is submitted to the Judgment of the Reader.

29 The prophane Historians neither agree among themselves, nor with the Text of *The Maccabees*, concerning the Cause of the Death of *Antiochus Sidetes*. According to *Josephus* and *Justin*, he was slain in a Battle with the King of the *Parthians*. According to *Athenæus*, *Phraates* ordered funeral Honours to be paid him, with all the Pomp that was due to a King, but would have the Pleasure of seeing the dead Body of his conquered Enemy; which, says the Historian, was to insult his Memory, by tacitly reproaching him with his Rashness and his Debaucheries. And then *Phraates* being much smitten with the Beauty of a Daughter of *Demetrius Nicanor*, married this Princess, who had attended her Uncle, in his Expe-

dition against the *Parthians*. *Appian*, in his *History of the Syrian Wars*, says, That *Antiochus*, after the Loss of the Battle, killed himself in Despair. *Eusebius* pretends, That *Phraates* had himself stabbed *Antiochus* in the Heat of the Battle. And if we believe *Ælian*, This unfortunate Prince, being overwhelmed with Grief, threw himself headlong from the top of an high Place, that he might not survive his Misfortunes. Without regarding therefore such inconsistent Authorities, we have discovered the Truth of a Fact of which the prophane Historians were ignorant, from the purest Sources of History. Nevertheless, it must be confessed, That some Commentators on the Holy Scripture have applied to *Antiochus the Great*, or *Antiochus Epiphanes*, what we have related of the Death of *Sidetes*, on the Authority of the Book of *Maccabees*. But besides that, we have followed the greatest Number of Interpreters, the bare reading of the sacred Text is sufficient to shew, that neither the Time, nor the Circumstances, nor the manner of this Death, can agree with either of the former. And what we have said of the unfortunate end of those two Princes, after the sacred Historians, in Vol. 4. is an indisputable Proof of our Opinion. Of all the *Antiochus's* that reigned in *Syria*, *Sidetes* is the only one, to whom the Series of Events mentioned in the first Chapter of the 2d Book of *Maccabees*, can reasonably be applied. But as this Dispute is foreign to the History of *Rome*, we refer the Reader to the Commentaries of *Serrarius*, *Mariana*, *Menoch*, and *Tirrin*.

30 When he received the News of the melancholy Death of *Antiochus Sidetes*, *Phraates* repented of having given *Demetrius Nicanor* his Liberty. This Prince was lately set out from *Parthia* for his own Dominions; and the King of the *Parthians* sent some Detachments of Horse, who took different Roads, to bring him back. But they were too late. The King of *Syria*, fearing *Phraates* might change his Mind, made very long Marches, till he came to the Frontiers of his own Kingdom.

The



The Queen shewed the People the mangled Body of her dear Son, and having lost in Year of  
him all Hopes of Posterity, she had recourse to *Demetrius* King of *Syria*, and promised R O M E  
him the Succession to the Crown of *Egypt*, if he would revenge her Quarrel upon *Pto-* DCXXII.  
*lomy*. This was the Situation of Affairs in that Kingdom, when *Crassus* was preparing  
to begin the War in *Pergamus*; and consequently, neither *Ptolomy* nor *Cleopatra* could  
well be in a Condition to furnish him with Succours. So that the two most powerful  
Monarchies in the East, *Egypt* and *Syria*, not to mention *Judæa*, could do the Consul  
no manner of Service, in his new Expedition.

§. XV. *Crassus* therefore turned his Negotiations elsewhere. *Pontus* <sup>31</sup> in *Asia*, was a  
large Kingdom, bordering on *The Euxine Sea*, between *Bithynia* and *Paphlagonia*  
<sup>32</sup>; and the present King was *Mithridates* <sup>33</sup>, Son of the illustrious Prince of that  
Name. This *Mithridates* very readily complied with the Desires of the Consul <sup>34</sup>, and  
shewed himself to be as sincere in his Friendship to *Rome*, as his Son was afterwards  
implacable in his Hatred to her. He gave the Consul leave to raise what Troops he plea-  
sed in *Pontus*, and lead them into *Pergamus*. And <sup>35</sup> *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia* <sup>36</sup>  
did more. He marched in Person at the Head of an Army to assist the Republick, not  
disdaining to follow the Standards of a Consul; and he lost his Life in the Battles he  
fought for the Service of *Rome*. *Nicomedes* also, the Pupil of the Romans, who  
governed *Bithynia* since the Death of *Prusias* his Father, and *Pylæmenes* <sup>37</sup> King of *Pa-*  
*pflagonia*, both complied with the Consul's Desires. So that he advanced at the Head of  
a nu-

<sup>31</sup> *Pontus*, a Country of *Asia*, lay along the South  
Coast of *The Pontus Euxinus*, or *Euxine Sea*, from  
which it took its Name. *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* make it  
the same Province as *Cappadocia*. *Strabo*, with more  
Reason, takes them to be two different Countries, di-  
vided by high Mountains, and governed each by its own  
King. The Ancients comprehended under the Name  
of *Pontus*, that Part of *Lower Mæsia* which is bound-  
ed on one Side by the Mouths of the *Danube*, and on  
the other, by Mount *Hæmus*, which is in *Europe*.  
*Tomos*, so well known by *Ovid's Elegies*, was the Ca-  
pital of this Province.

<sup>32</sup> *Paphlagonia* lay between *The Euxine Sea* and  
*Galatia*, from the River *Parthenius* now *The Parthe-*  
*ni*, or *Dolap*, according to *Noir*, to the River *Halys*.  
In *Ptolomy's* Time, this Province was divided into two  
Parts, one of which was joined to *Galatia*, the other to  
*Bithynia*. *Strabo* confines it within very narrow bounds.  
It had lost much of its Extent, after the Conquests of  
*Mithridates*, who had usurped a considerable Part of  
this Province. In *Paphlagonia* was contained the  
Country of the *Old Heneti*, whom some ancient Au-  
thors have brought from *Asia Minor*. to the Coasts of  
*The Adriatick Sea*, and made the Founders of the Ci-  
ty of *Venice*. *Constantinus Porphyrogenites* says of the  
*Paphlagonians*, That They were infamous for their Wick-  
edness and Filthiness, and were the Refuse of Man-  
kind.

<sup>33</sup> This *Mithridates*, surnamed *Euergetes*, or *The*  
*Beneficent*, continued long to be one of the most faith-  
ful Allies of the Roman Republick. According to *Ap-*  
*ian*, he had signalized his Zeal for the Interests of  
*Rome*, in the Year 606, by sending Succours and Gal-  
lies to *Scipio Aemilianus*, against the *Carthaginians*.

<sup>34</sup> What all the Historians say here, of the Assist-  
ance which *Crassus* obtained of *Mithridates*, *Eutro-*  
*pius* falsely ascribes to his Son and Successor, *Mithrida-*  
*tes the Great*, who became so famous for the Wars he  
maintained with the Romans. The latter did not mount  
the Throne, till about the Year 631, after his Father  
had been killed by the Treachery of those who had the  
greatest Share of his Confidence; according to *Strabo*,  
in his 10th Book.

<sup>35</sup> This *Ariarathes* was the sixth of the Name. His  
Affection for his Father procured him the Name of  
*Philopator*. From the beginning of his Reign, he de-  
clared zealously for the Romans. He sent Ambassa-  
dors to *Rome*, to renew the Alliance his Father had en-  
tered into with the Republick. He was a Lover of po-

lite Learning and Philosophy; and drew a great many  
learned Men into *Cappadocia*. We have spoken of his  
Disputes with *Orofernes*, Vol. 4.

<sup>36</sup> *Cappadocia* is that Province of *Asia Minor* which  
is surrounded by *Cilicia*, *Armenia*, *Colchis*, *Paphlago-*  
*nia*, and *Galatia*. *Strabo* says, That the *Persians* di-  
vided it into two *Satrapies*; and that the same Division  
subsisted under the Empire of the *Macedonians*. These  
two Governments became afterwards two Kingdoms,  
that of *Pontus* or *Cappadocia Pontica*; and that simply  
called *Cappadocia*, or *Great Cappadocia*. The latter  
was governed successively by the *Ariarathes's*, till it  
was reduced to be a Roman Province, after the Death  
of *Archelaus*, the last King of this Country. The Peo-  
ple who inhabited it, were called *Syrians*, and *Leuco-*  
*Syrians* according to *Herodotus*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*.  
This Name was given them in the most early Times.

<sup>37</sup> The little the Historians have transmitted to us  
of the Kingdom and Kings of *Paphlagonia*, is involved  
in so much Darkness, that it is impossible to discover  
the Origin and Succession of the Sovereigns that go-  
vern'd this Province of *Asia Minor*, before the Time  
of this *Pylæmenes*, who offered his Troops to *Crassus*,  
against *Aristonicus*. Nevertheless, amidst all this Ob-  
scurity, *Homer* mentions in the Second Book of the  
*Iliad*, a Leader of the *Paphlagonians* named *Pylæme-*  
*nes*, who signalized his Valour at the famous Siege of  
*Troy*.

Παφλαγονίαν δ' ἡγήσατο ΠΥΛΑΙΜΕΝΕΟΣ Λάσιον κῆρ.

*The intrepid Pylæmenes commanded the Paphlagonians*;  
and in his fifth Book, the Poet makes him die by the  
Hands of *Menelaus*. It was therefore, doubtless, on *Ho-*  
*mer's* Authority, that *Strabo* and *Livy* say, That he was  
originally one of the *Heneti*, a People of *Paphlagonia*,  
and that he died in a Battle with the *Trojans*. *Diety*  
of *Crete* gives him the Title of King; and supposes him  
to have been of the Race of *Agenor*, whose Daughter  
named *Analixó*, had married *Dardanius*. And conse-  
quently he was related by Blood to the House of *Priam*.  
And lastly, *Diety* puts him among those who were kil-  
led by *Achilles*, under the Walls of *Troy*. But tho'  
Time; or the Silence of Authors; have robbed us of  
the Names of most of the *Paphlagonian* Kings; yet  
*Justin* informs us of one remarkable Particular con-  
cerning them. He says, That *Nicomedes* King of *Bithynia*  
would have his Son called *Pylæmenes*, as the Kings of  
*Paphlagonia* were. Whence, it is natural to conclude,  
That



Year of a numerous Army, or rather of four Armies, towards the Frontiers of the Kingdom  
 ROME which he was going to take from the Usurper: And it being now grown customary,  
 DCXXII. for the Roman Generals to begin their Enterprizes with some exemplary Punishment,  
 thereby to keep their Officers and Soldiers in strict Obedience, *Crassus* resolved to do the  
 P. LICINIUS same. He was making Preparations for the Siege of <sup>38</sup> *Leuca*, a City of *Ionia*, which  
 CRASSUS, & L. VALERIUS had surrendered to *Aristonicus*, and which it was necessary to recover; and when he  
 FLACCUS, came to give Orders for the building of a Ram of an extraordinary Strength for batter-  
 Consuls. ing down a very thick Wall, he remembered that he had seen at *Elea* <sup>39</sup>, in his Passage,  
 Aul. Gell. B. two Pieces of Timber, both of a considerable length and bigness, tho' not of the same. He  
 I. therefore sent Orders to the Engineer of the Place, to send him immediately to his Camp  
 Justin, B. 38. the largest of the two. But the Man, who well understood his Art, knowing the other  
 Epit. Liv. to be sufficient for the Purpose, was willing to save the Expence of transporting the hea-  
 viest. And indeed the Engineer was right, and the Consul was sensible of it; but he was  
 resolved to make him an Example. He sent for him, reprimanded him for not having  
 exactly followed his Orders, and condemned him to be scourged. It might therefore  
 from thence be concluded, that a General who understood so well how to enforce Obe-  
 dience to his Commands, would surely finish the War in one Campaign. But his pr-  
 dominant Passion ruined the Consul himself, and gave great Uneasiness to his Repub-  
 lick.

*Aristonicus* had already settled himself on the Throne, by Exploits worthy of a more  
 lawful King. Indeed *Ephesus* <sup>40</sup>, the most considerable City in *Asia*, had fitted out a  
 Fleet in favour of the Romans, attacked that of *Aristonicus*, and defeated it. But the  
 young Prince had recovered this Loss, and penetrated into the *Ephesian* Territory, sur-  
 prized *Thyatira* <sup>41</sup>; conquered *Apollonia* <sup>42</sup>; and now appeared before the Gates of the  
 Capital. He was at the Head of a very numerous Army, which partly consisted of  
 Slaves, whom he had set at Liberty. The Philosopher *Blepius* never left him; and that  
 Defserter from the Roman Cause, was worth a whole Army to him. The Consul, in the  
 mean time, made it his chief Care to plunder the Kingdom he came to conquer; and  
 Epit. Liv. B. when his Year was almost at an end, he began to retire from *Leuca* towards *Italy*, and  
 59. c. 48. was much intent on preserving those Spoils, which he thought more valuable than Victo-  
 ry. But as the Season was advanced, and the Roads, at all Times difficult, were now

That this Name was common to all the Sovereigns of  
 this Country, from the first *Pylæmenes* whose Praise is  
 sung by *Homer*, to him here spoken of. Thus the  
 Names of *Ariarathes*, *Mithridates*, *Ptolomy*, *Arfaces*,  
*Abgarus*, &c. were given by the People of *Cappado-*  
*cia*, *Pontus*, *Egypt*, *Parthia*, and *Osroene*, to all their  
 respective Monarchs.

*Pliny* confirms this Testimony of *Justin*, when he  
 says, That *Paphlagonia* was anciently called *Pylæmenia*.  
 Nevertheless, it must be owned, That *Xenophon* and  
*Plutarch* have preserved the Memory of some *Paphla-*  
*gonian* Kings, under other Names. The former, rela-  
 ting the Expedition of young *Cyrus*, speaks of one *Cot-*  
*ylas*, who governed *Paphlagonia*, and of one *Otys*, a  
 King of that Country. *Plutarch* calls the latter *Cotys*,  
 in his *Life of Agesilaus*. But it may be said, that this  
 Province of *Asia Minor*, was then divided between  
 several Masters; or that *Cotys* and *Cotylas* were proper  
 Names added to that of *Pylæmenes*. At least, its cer-  
 tain, That among the *Parthians*, the Kings *Orades*,  
*Eucorus*, *Phraates*, &c. all retained the Name of *Ar-*  
*faces*, the Founder of their Empire. In a Word, it  
 seems evident, That *Pylæmenes* was always the most  
 common Name of the Kings of *Paphlagonia*. Per-  
 haps they preserved it, in Memory of the first, whose  
 heroic Actions *Homer* so much extols, as to compare  
 him with the God of War. We find on a Medal\*, a King  
*Pylæmenes* surnamed *Euergetes*; but cannot guess who  
 was the particular Person designed to be here represented  
 by him, that struck it. The *Caduceus*, the Symbol of  
 Peace, as we have before observed, gives room for the  
 Conjecture, That the Reign of this Prince was a quiet  
 and peaceable one. The Ox's Head, on the other side  
 of the Medal, may perhaps, be designed to point out  
 the Worship, which the Egyptians paid to *Isis*, the Io  
 of the *Phallics*, under this Figure of an Eleifer, as ap-

pears both by History and ancient Monuments. By  
 this, the *Pylæmenes* probably signified, that they came  
 originally from *Egypt*, under the Conduct of a Son of  
*Agenor* a King of *Phœnicia*, named *Phineus*, who led  
 a Colony of Egyptians into *Paphlagonia*. *Constantinus*  
*Porphyrogenites* and *Stephen of Byzantium* are our Au-  
 thorities for this Fact. To which they add, That *Pa-*  
*phlagon*, the Son of *Phineus*, gave his Name to the  
 Province. *Josephus* had said before them, That the  
*Paphlagonians* carried up their Origin to *Riphus*, the  
 Son of *Gomer*; and That then uniting with a Colony of  
 Egyptians, they and the New-comers made but one  
 People. We shall have frequent occasion to mention  
 the Kings of *Paphlagonia* in the course of this Hi-  
 story.

38 *Pliny* and *Mela* place the City of *Leuca* near  
 The Gulph of *Smyrna*, on the Banks of the River *Her-*  
*mus*, now called *The Sarabat*.

39 *Elea* was formerly situated between *Æolis*, and  
*Great Mysia*, so that it might be said to belong to ei-  
 ther of those Provinces. According to *Strabo*, it was  
 watered by the River *Caicus*, which some now call  
*Castro*, others *Girmasti*, and several *Chiay*.

40 See what we have said of the City of *Ephesus*,  
 Vol. 4. p. 96. Note 39. We shall have occasion,  
 in the Course of this History, to give a full Account  
 of the Temple built in this City, in honour to *Di-*  
*ana*.

41 *Thyatira* was formerly one of the most conside-  
 rable Cities of *Lydia*. See Vol. 4. p. 215. Note 37.

42 *Apollonia*, formerly a City of *Asia Minor*, was  
 in *Great Mysia*, on the Banks of the River *Rhindacus*.  
 It is thought to have stood in the same Place where we  
 now find *Lupadi*, a Town or Village of *Natolia*, near  
 a River of the same Name.

\* See Pl. 4.  
 No. 7. Page  
 60.



become almost impassible; the Army could advance but slowly. Besides, the great Number of the Waggon's loaded with the Riches of *Pergamus* retarded their March still more; and *Aristonicus* therefore lay in Ambush for the Roman Army, near *Leuca*, and surprized it in a narrow Passage between steep Hills, where the *Consul* did not expect him. Yet after all, *Crassus* might have recovered this false Step, if his Avarice had not governed him. But he thinned his Lines, in order to put the stronger Guard on his Baggage and Treasures; and by that Means, the Allies, when they came to be briskly attacked, were entirely routed. In his flight, the *Consul* himself was taken Prisoner between *Elea* and *Myrina*<sup>43</sup>, by a Squadron of *Thracians*; and they were carrying him in Triumph towards the Conqueror's Camp. Then *Crassus* was struck with Shame at the Thoughts of this unexpected Adventure: he considered the Reproach it would cast both on himself, and on his Republick, for a *Consul*, and a *Pontifex Maximus*, to become a Slave to the despicable *Aristonicus*: and if he had not been disarmed, the proud *Roman* would have killed himself. But he had only a Rod in his Hand, for guiding the Horse on which he was mounted; and in a Fit of Rage, he struck the Soldier who was nearest him so violently with it, that he beat out one of his Eyes. The *Thracian* finding himself wounded, drew his Sword, and without further deliberation, stabbed the *Consul*, and left him dead on the Place. By this Means, the pretended King of *Pergamus* was deprived of the Pleasure of having an illustrious *Roman* in his Power, who must have paid dear for his Redemption; and only the Head of the *Consul* was carried to the Enemy's Camp; his Body was honourably buried at *Myrina*.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXXII.

P. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

Epit. Liv.  
Ibid. c. 49.

Front Stratag.

L. 4. c. 5.

Justin. L. 36.

Florus L. 2.

c. 20.

Val. Max. L.

3. c. 2.

§. XVI. When the News of the Defeat of the Romans was brought to Italy, The Tribes promoted two Persons to the *Consulate*, who were very unequal in Rank. The first was one *C. Claudius Pulcher*, a Man of an illustrious Family; the other one *M. Perperna*, a Soldier of Fortune, who is said not to have been so much as a *Roman Citizen*. What induced the *Comitia* to overlook the Laws, and in the Language of an ancient Writer, thus to prostitute the *Consulship*, is not known; but it is certain, that the Republick found a great deal of difference between *Perperna*, and that *Terentius Varro*, a Butcher's Son, whom she formerly sent against *Hannibal*, at the Battle of *Cannæ*, and had now no Reason to repent of her Choice. As to the Provinces of the two *Consuls*, they probably were not chosen by Lot; it seems more likely, that *Rome* raised *Perperna* to the *Consulate*, on purpose to send a Man of no Birth, to oppose the Conqueror of one of the most noble and most dignified *Citizens*, and to put an End to the War in *Pergamus*. At least, it is past doubt, that *Perperna* went to *Asia*, where he found a large Field of Glory opened for him; and *Claudius Pulcher* was confined to *Italy*, which was disturbed with those Commotions which The Tribunes of the People had now, for many Years, continued to raise there.

Val. Max. L.  
3. c. 4.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXXIII.

C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, &  
M. PERPER-  
NA, Consuls.

As soon as it was determined that he should succeed *Crassus*, whose Death had brought Dishonour on the Republick, the former embarked without delay: But it is not said that he took with him two *Legions*, or a *Consular Army*. Without doubt therefore he contented himself with the same Troops of the Allies in *The Levant*, of which his Predecessor had made so bad an Use. The *Syrians*, *Egyptians*, and *Jews*, gave him no more Assistance than they had given *Crassus*. *Egypt* and *Syria* were still in great Confusion. King *Demetrius*<sup>45</sup> was gone from *Syria* to revenge the cruel Insults *Cleopatra* had

43 The City of *Myrina* belonged to *Æolis*. Modern Geographers say it was the same Place, as the present *Gircona*, or *Martiani*, in *Natolia*. But *Davity* pretends, That this City is well known by its Trade, and is now called *Sebastopoli*.

44 The *Greek Tables* make one *Lentulus* Colleague to *Perperna*. *Cuspinian* displaces both these *Consuls*, to put in their Room *Lentulus* and *Nepos*. *Marianus*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Julius Obsequens* agree as to the *Consulship* of *Claudius*, but give him the Forename of *Appianus*. But we have the Authority of *Cicero* against these Annalists. In his *Third Book of Laws*, and his *Oration for Plancus*, he mentions no other *Consuls* for this Year, but *Caius Claudius Pulcher*, and *Marcus Perperna*. The Family of the latter must have been very obscure, since his proper Name is not transmitted to us. He is here distinguished only by his Surname, which was common to all of the same Family. *Claudius* and *Perperna* had

*Lucius Rupilius*, the Brother of *Publius*, one of the *Consuls* for the Year 621, for their Competitor; and *Cicero* tells us, That The *Comitia* would not chuse him. *Scipio*, says he, in his *Treatise of Friendship*, had Interest enough to procure the *Consulship* for *Publius Rupilius*; but the People had no regard to his Recommendations, when he presented to them *Lucius*, the Brother of *Rupilius*, in hopes of obtaining the *Consular Dignity* for him.

45 *Demetrius* had besieged *Polusum*, a City situated near the Mouth of the *Nile*. The Inhabitants of *Antioch* and *Apamea*, took Advantage of his Absence, and joined in an Insurrection against their lawful Sovereign. Upon the News of this Rebellion, the King raised the Siege which he had begun, and returned, by long Marches, to his Dominions. So that *Cleopatra*, being deprived of all Assistance, was forced to abandon *Egypt*. After she had put on Board her Ships the Treas-



Year of  
ROMÆ  
DCXXIII.  
C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, &  
M. PERPER-  
NA, Consuls.  
Justin. B. 39.  
Joseph. B. 13.  
c. 16.

had received from her Brother and her Husband. On the other hand, *Ptolomy* had sent a Merchant's Son, named *Protarchus* <sup>45</sup>, into *Syria*, to make a Diversion there. The young *Egyptian* Impostor had taken the Name of *Alexander Zebina*, called himself the adopted Son of *Antiochus* who was killed in *Media*, as he was plundering the Temple of *Nanea*, and already had brought over to his Interest a great many Cities in *Syria*. And as for the *Jews*, they were busy in reconquering the Places which the last *Antiochus* had taken from them. With the free Consent of the *Romans*, *John Hyrcanus* <sup>47</sup> retook *Joppa* and *Gaza* <sup>48</sup>, which the *Syrian* had forced the *Jews* to give up to him, before his unfortunate Expedition against the *Parthians*. So that the Kings of *Pontus*, *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Paphlagonia*, were again the only *Asiatick* Princes who lent the *Roman* Consul Forces; tho' it is to be presumed, that he had likewise some *Roman* Cohorts, and some Troops from the *Grecian* States in *Europe*, which were subject to the Dominions of the Republick.

The sudden Arrival of the new Consul surprized *Aristonicus*, who was wholly intent on enjoying the Fruits of his Victory. Feasts and Entertainments, after the *Asiatick* Fashion, took up all his Thoughts and Time; but he was soon roused out of this Lethargy, by the surprizing Expedition of the Consul. The *Roman* owed all the Advantages he reaped in the Campaign, to his unexpected Marches, and sudden Attacks. Without amusing himself with pillaging, he was continually at the Heels of his Enemy, often made him change his Post, and at length vanquished him in a pitch'd Battle. This forced the Usurper to take Refuge in *Stratonica* <sup>49</sup>; where he had no sooner imprudently shut himself up, than the Conqueror was before the Place; and besieged it in the manner now in use among the *Roman* Generals. They would not expose Thousands of Men to the Dangers of an Assault, or in the Attack of a Breach, whereby the Besiegers often suffered a greater Loss, than the taking of the Place would repair. The Siege of *Strato-*

sure and richest Spoils of the Palace of the *Ptolomies*, she embarked for *Syria*, where she found a Retreat from her Brother's Fury, with her Daughter *Cleopatra*.

46 The Insurrection of the *Syrians* was become general. The People tired out with the Tyranny of a Prince, whom a nine-Years Captivity had made still more wild and cruel, applied themselves again for Protection to *Ptolomy Physcon*; and desired him to give them another King of the Race of the *Seleucidae*. The King of *Egypt* seized this fine Opportunity to revenge the Injuries he had received from *Demetrius*, his declared Enemy; and sent *Alexander Zebina* into *Syria* with a formidable Army. This General, to conceal the Meanness of his Extraction, which was expressed in his Surname of *Zebina*, persuaded the People, That *Antiochus Sidetes* had adopted him, and that by virtue of this Adoption, he had an unquestionable Title to the Crown. *Ptolomy* himself spread this gross Fable; and it passed for a certain Truth among the Rebels, who only wanted a Pretence to authorize their Revolt.

Whilst all Things seemed to conspire to favour the new King, the Body of *Antiochus*, inclosed in a Silver Coffin, was brought to *Antioch*, by Order of *Phraates*; and the Grief *Alexander* expressed, and the artful Tears he shed, at this mournful Sight, confirmed the People in their Belief of his pretended Adoption. And then all the Cities went over to the Usurper. However, *Demetrius*, tho' deserted by most of his Subjects, still supported himself with a little Army. At length the two Rivals came to a Battle; and *Alexander* was victorious. The vanquished King fled with a small Number of faithful Servants, and made the best of his way to *Ptolomis*, where his Wife *Cleopatra* then was. But this Princess had been exceedingly exasperated at the News of *Rodogune* being become her Rival, and married to *Demetrius*; and in her Resentment, she ordered the Gates to be shut against the fugitive King. He had therefore now no Resource in his Misfortunes; but *Tyre*, where was a Temple which his Brother *Antiochus* had made a Place of Sanctuary. There he thought, that under the Protection of a Place sanctified by Religion, he might wait for a Turn of Fortune. But he was carelessly landed, says *Justin*, under the Walls of *Tyre*,

when the Traitor, to whom he had committed the chief Government of that City, gave him a mortal Blow, of which he instantly died. *Porphry* makes him die in sight of *Ptolomis*. *Josephus* says, That he fell alive into his Enemy's Hands; and That after he had undergone the most unworthy Treatment, he ended his Life in a tragical manner. *Livy* and *Appian* pretend, That *Cleopatra* herself had him sacrificed to her Resentments, the fourth Year after his Return from *Parthia*.

*Alexander*, when sole Possessor of the Kingdom of *Syria*, gained the Affections of his Subjects by the mildness of his Government, during a Reign of a few Years. One of his Medals \* shews, That the *Syrians* acknowledged him to be their King, in the 184th Year of the *Greek* Empire. This Date is set down in the *Greek* Characters ΠΙΔ. On the Reverse is a *Bacchus*, holding a Bowl in his Right Hand, and a *Thyrus*, in his Left. The second Book of *Maccabees* informs us, That the God of Wine was one of the favourite Gods of *Syria*.

47 *John Hyrcanus* took Advantage of the Troubles in *Syria*, to reconquer a great Number of Cities, which the Kings *Demetrius* and *Antiochus* had taken by Force from *Judaea*.

48 *Gaza* a City situated at a little distance from *Joppa*, near to the Sea, was the Boundary of the Country of the *Philistines* towards the North. We have spoken of *Joppa* elsewhere.

49 The ancient Geographers mention three Cities in *Asia* called *Stratonica*. The first which is here spoken of, stood in *Caria*. *Strabo* says it was originally a Colony of *Syro-Macedonians*. According to *Stephen* of *Byzantium*, it took its Name from *Stratonice* the Wife of *Antiochus Soter*. The Kings of *Syria* displayed their Magnificence in the fine Buildings, with which this City was adorned. The Emperor *Adrian*, who was the Restorer of it, would have it called *Adrianopolis*. But in the ancient *Nubia*, it has retained its old Name. *Strabo* speaks of another *Stratonica* near Mount *Taurus*, without fixing its Situation. And *Ptolomy* speaks of a third City of this Name, which he places in *Mesopotamia*.

\* See Pl. 4.  
No. 8. Page  
60.



*nica* was carried on more slowly, but more surely. *Perferna* reduced it by Famine: Year of  
 And *Aristonicus* was like the other *Asiatick* Princes, who seldom had Courage enough R O M E  
 to dispatch themselves, even in the most calamitous Circumstances. After the Surrender DCXXIII.  
 of the City, he suffered his Philosopher *Blofius*, to fall by his own Hands; but surren- C. CLAUDIUS  
 dered himself at Discretion to the *Consul*, who kept him to grace his *Triumph*. He had PULCHER, &  
 doubtless deserved that military Honour, and the Republick, notwithstanding his Birth, M. PERPER-  
 would not have refused it him <sup>50</sup>, tho' the greatest: But he had unfortunately exhaust- NA, Consul.  
 ed himself with Fatigue, in hurrying through all the Cities of his new Conquest, in order Val. Max. B.  
 to reduce it to the State of a *Roman Province*; and he died at *Pergamus*. An illustrious 3. c. 4.  
*Consul*! who shewed the Republick, that there were great Men in the World, who were  
 not *Roman Citizens*. But his Virtue and his Services were very ill rewarded after his  
 Death. His Father was yet alive; and being a *Sabine* by Birth, his District claimed  
 him, and forced him to leave *Rome*, and enroll himself among his Country-men. The  
*Roman People* were base enough to sacrifice him to them; and to deny even the Right of  
*Citizenship*, to a Man whose Son had just conquered a Kingdom for them. As for *Ari-* Orosius & En-  
*stonicus*, he was carried to *Rome*, and reserved for the *Triumph* of the *Consul*, who should trop.  
 compleat the Reduction of the *Pergamian State*.

§. XVII. In the mean time, the Disturbances were still carried on at *Rome*, from  
*Tribune* to *Tribune*; and these Protectors of the popular Faction, carried their Violences  
 to the greatest Excess. They had, by their Abuses of their Authority, made themselves  
 insupportable to the Nobility in general, and even to the greatest Magistrates. One  
*Caius Atinius Labeo*, was now at the Head of the *Tribunate*, (for the College had their  
 Head, who was usually either the first chosen, or he that was most eloquent, and could  
 best harangue the People) and he was no sooner in Authority, but he abused it, to re-  
 venge his personal Quarrels. The *Censor*, *Cæcilius Metellus*, had struck his Name out of Plin. L. 7. c.  
 the List of Senators, or at least, had refused to give him a Place in it; and the *Tribune* 44.  
 took his Opportunity to vent his Rage against one of the most considerable Magistrates in  
*Rome*, next the *Consul*. He waited in *The Forum*, for *Metellus's* return out of the  
 Country, at Noon-day; which was the most favourable Time for the *Tribune's* Designs.  
 In the Heat of Summer, the *Citizens* all retired to their Houses, in the middle of the  
 Day, so that the Streets were as empty as in the dead of the Night. As soon as *Metellus*  
 appeared, *Labeo* ordered his Attendants to seize him, immediately pronounced Sentence  
 of Death upon him, and commanded them, to go and throw him headlong from *The*  
*Tarpeian Rock*. The Officers caught the *Censor* by the Throat, and almost choaked  
 him. The Blood flew out at his Nose and Ears, when a Slave who followed him, ran  
 to inform his Relations of the Violence offered to his Master. They all came, and found  
 the *Censor* almost lifeless: but they durst not take even a Relation, or a Father, by Force,  
 out of the Hands of a *Tribune*; whose Authority was Sacred, and his Person Inviolable.  
 But they ran in all haste, and brought one of *Labeo's* Collegues, who opposed the unjust  
 Sentence the *Tribune* had pronounced; and without this Assistance, which came time  
 enough to save the Remains of *Metellus's* Life, this old *Consul*, this triumphant Victor,  
 this Conqueror of *Macedon*, who was therefore honoured with the Name of *Macedonius*,  
 must have died the Death of a State-Criminal. Acts these of such excessive Violence, as  
 must sufficiently shew to discerning Men, the approaching Ruin of the publick Li-  
 berty.

Nothing could more strongly prove the despotick Power the *Tribunes* had usurped,  
 during their Office, than the Impunity of *Labeo*, after this cruel Insult on *Metellus*. So  
 far was this seditious Man from being punished, that he had Interest enough to get a Law  
 passed, whereby it was enacted, That for the future, *The Tribunes of the People* should  
 all have Votes in the Senate. So that, notwithstanding the Mark of Infamy set on him Aul. Gall. B.  
 by the *Censor*, *Labeo* took his Place in the Senate-House in spite of *Metellus*, and not 14. c. 8.  
 content with this, carried his Violences yet farther. Since he could not take away the  
*Censor's* Life, he ordered his Estate to be confiscated. He went in State to the *Forum*, Cicer. pro Do-  
 when the Market was at highest, and then and there ordered, by sound of Trumpet, mo sua.  
 That his Effects should be sold to the best Bidder, and the Produce appropriated to the  
*Temple of Ceres*. All these Attempts of the *Tribunes*, which were unknown till these  
 latter Times, were plainly the Forerunners, and Presages of those Civil Wars, which

<sup>50</sup> *Valerius Maximus* is the only Historian who says, That *Marcus Perperna* received the Honours of a  
*Triumph*.



not long after broke out. The Dissentions between the People and the Nobility were at last carried to so great Excess, that *Rome* was in a manner, forced to have recourse to one single Master, to preserve any Government in it.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXXIV.

C. SEMPRO-  
NIUS TUDI-  
TANUS, & M.  
AQUILLIUS,  
Consuls.

§. XVIII. The Election of new *Consuls* did not at all abate these domestick Broils. *C. Sempronius* <sup>51</sup> *Tuditonus*, and *M. Aquilius* were promoted to the *Consulate*; and both, as was usual, had their Provinces allotted them in foreign Countries. *Sempronius* was ordered to *Japidia* <sup>52</sup>, where some Disturbances had been raised; and *Aquilius* <sup>53</sup> to *Asia*, there to finish the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, settle it in Peace, and reduce it to the State of a *Roman Province* governed by the *Roman Laws*. Accordingly the latter set out immediately for his Province; but his Collegue continued some time in *Rome*, there to be a Witness of the fresh Troubles which the new *Tribunes* would raise.

The Law *Tiberius Gracchus* had passed for the Distribution of Lands, was an inexhaustible Source of Disputes. Of the three Commissioners formerly named by the People, to direct that Distribution, and to judge of all Disputes that should arise upon it, there was only *C. Gracchus* now left. *Tiberius* his Brother had been murdered on the *Capitol*, and a Fit of Sickness had carried off *Appius Claudius*; and in the room of these, the People had chosen two Men of the same Character; at least, full as factious. One was this *C. Papirius Carbo*, whose *Tribuneship* was a Mixture of Broils and Chicaneries; and the other, one *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, a fiery *Plebeian*, who had imbibed the true Spirit of his Collegues. And these three Firebrands of civil Discord, were ever raising Combustions in the State, with the Help of the College of *Tribunes*, who were ever ready to foment them. Complaints were brought from all Quarters, either of the Resistance of the Rich when they came to be disseised, or of their Artifices to evade the Law, or of the Inequality of the Distributions made among the poor *Citizens* of *Rome* and the Inhabitants of the associated *Provinces*, especially *Latium*. All *Italy* was full of the Violences, Frauds, and Murmurs of those, who either pretended that they were injured, or else that they were entirely forgotten in the Distribution.

App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.  
Epit. Liv.

Sometimes Complaints were made of the Violence used by the Rich, who kept themselves in Possession of their ancient Estates by Force; sometimes of their Artifices, in altering the Nature of their Lands, and turning arable Fields into Ponds, or Pastures; sometimes of their Injustice, in extending the Boundaries of their Territories, without regard to the Laws of Equity or Religion; and sometimes of their designedly mixing and confounding together the Lands of the Publick and of private Persons. But what caused still greater Clamours, was the Inequality of the Distribution between the People of the Provinces and the Inhabitants of *Rome*. It may well be imagined, that the Distributors were most favourable to those whose Votes might be of Service to them; and the poor Country-People therefore, being deprived of their just Claims, sought for some great Man to be their Protector, and thought they found one in *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*. He was the Light of the Republick, the Oracle of the Senate, the Defender of

<sup>51</sup> *Caius Sempronius Tuditonus* had been *Prætor* in the Year 621, in the *Consulship* of *Publius Rupilius* and *Publius Popilius*. This *Cicero* says expressly, in the 32d Letter of the 13th Book of his *Epistles to Atticus*; and adds at the same time, That we must not confound this Magistrate with another *Caius Tuditonus*, who was one of the ten Commissioners sent to *Mummius* after the taking of *Corinth*. The Person here spoken of, had improved his Mind with the Study of History and Eloquence. He wrote some *Commentaries*, or *Annals*, of which *Pliny* and *Aulus Gellius* quote the 13th Book. The latter, *Asconius*, and *Macrobius*, have collected some Fragments of this Work. The third Book related to the Magistracies of *Rome*. *Cicero* speaks honourably of this *Consul* in his Treatise of *Famous Orators*. He says, That he joined Politeness of Manners with Elegance and Gracefulness of Style. The Surname of *Tuditonus*, which was perpetuated in this Branch of the Family, was a Nick-name, which according to *Festus*, was taken from the Latin Word *Tudes*. One of this *Consul's* Ancestors had this Surname first given him, because his Head was shaped like a Mallet. *Sempronius* had a Daughter named *Sempronia*, who was the Mother of *Fulvia*, the Wife of the famous *Publius*

*Clodius*, *Tully's* sworn Enemy.

<sup>52</sup> *Japidia*, or *Japodia*, is one of the Western Countries of *Illyricum*. *Strabo* gives it four Cities, and makes it a separate Canton in *Liburnia*, between *The Gulph of Trieste* and *Mount Alpius*, a Part of *The Alps* on the Side of *Istria*. The same Geographer pretends, That the *Japydes* anciently possessed near 1000 *Stadia*, or about 45 *French Leagues*, on the Sea-Coast. They were, according to him, Warriours, and lived on little, having scarce any other Food, but Millet. See Vol. 4. p. 401. Note 42. The *Japydia* of the Ancients, is now called *Croatia*, and is a Part of *Istria* and *Vindifmarck*.

<sup>53</sup> *Cicero* says, in his *First Oration against Verres*, That *Marcus Aquilius* was accused by one *Publius Lentulus*, a *Prince of the Senate*; but we know neither the Year, nor the Subject-matter, of his Accusation. Nevertheless, there is Reason to believe, that he accused him of being corrupted by *Mithridates's* Money, and of having ruined the People of *Pergamus* by his crying Oppressions. At least, *Ascanius*, and *Appian*, B. 1. Of the *Civil Wars*, reckon him among the famous Extortioners. The latter adds, That *Aquilius*, tho' guilty, found Favour with his Judges.

the



the afflicted, and the Refuge of the defenceless. And he spoke very warmly in the Senate, in favour of these poor Allies, whose Valour had been of such Use to him in the Wars of *Spain* and *Africa*. His Point in view was only to obtain more Justice for them, and to prevent their being deprived of the Advantages they might reap from the *Sempronian Law*; and therefore he did not so much as propose the Abrogation of it. He only desired, That the Execution of it might be transferred from the present, into other Hands; and he at length prevailed to have the *Consul Sempronius* nominated, to be the Distributor of the Lands, and the Judge of the Controversies that might arise upon it.

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A *Consul* was the properest Person that could be chosen, to induce the three Commissioners to resign up their Office without Murmurs; and perhaps Peace would have been hereby restored, if *Sempronius* would have complied with the Desires of *Scipio* and the Senate. But it unfortunately happened, that the *Consul* dreaded the Confusion of civil Broils at home, as much as he loved the Glory of Arms abroad: And as it had fallen to his Lot to command a *Roman Army* in *Japidia*, he put on the General's Mantle in the Temple of *Jupiter*, departed without delay, and thereby avoided the Storm which he both foresaw and feared. So that *Scipio* was left alone to bear all the Odium of the Populace, and the Resentments of the three turbulent Commissioners; who left no Means unattempted to discredit him, both in the Senate, and among the Commons. They represented him as an Enemy to the People; an Incendiary, who was endeavouring to disannul *Gracchus's Law*, in order to cause Insurrections; and so very ambitious, as to labour to raise a Contention between the Nobility and People, in order to oblige *Rome* to make him *Dictator*.

§. XIX. And indeed, whatever bad Designs might perversly, and without Reason, be imputed to *Scipio*; it is at least very probable, that he had some Inclinations for the *Dictatorship*. This was the only Distinction he could desire, in order to compleat the Honours he had merited by his Virtues. Having been twice *Consul*, and twice honoured with a *Triumph*, he wanted nothing but to be promoted to this temporary Sovereignty; which no Man would more faithfully employ in reconciling the People to the Nobility, and restraining the Licentiousness of the *Tribunes*. And if there was some Ambition blended with his Desire of settling Peace in the Republick, what Stain is this upon his Honour? One of the most famous Writers among the Ancients, who has not been sparing of this Hero's Praises, makes *The First Africanus* foretell, of his adoptive Grandson in a Dream, *That he should be Dictator, if he could avoid the Snares of his Relations*. By which the great Orator, who wrote after the Death of *The Second Scipio*, can perhaps mean nothing less, than that the *Dictatorship* would have been agreeable to *Scipio*, and that he aspired at it, towards the end of his Days. But whatever his Aims might be, *Gracchus* and his two Collegues declared open Enmity with him. His seditious Brother-in-Law told him to his Face, that *He ought to be put to death for a Tyrant*. To which the illustrious *Consul* only coldly replied; *There is scarce any Man who is not an Enemy to his Country, that desires it*. In short, the three Commissioners, who had perhaps penetrated into his Designs, made it their Business to report every where, That *Scipio* aimed at the *Dictatorship*: But these Discourses did not hinder him from pursuing his Point. He pressed the Senate to deprive *Gracchus* and his Collegues of their Commission; appearing not even to know, that he was suspected of desiring to be put into their Room, with the Authority of *Dictator*: And both the Senators and the People were ready to concur in giving him that independent Power, in order to settle Peace in the Country, and Tranquillity in the City, and to take Care that the Lands should be equally distributed. This was the only Expedient that could reconcile Men's Minds, and put an End to those Divisions, which were spread all over *Italy*.

Cic. in Somnio  
Scipionis.

However, the Care of publick Affairs was for a time suspended, by the Application of the People to religious Ceremonies. An extraordinary Storm of Hail had fallen, which had spoiled the Corn, uncovered the Temples of the Gods, damaged the Roofs of the Houses in the City, and killed some Men in the Country. It was therefore thought necessary to appease the Wrath of Heaven, by publick Devotions. The Senate ordered, That all the Temples should be opened for nine Days, That Sacrifices of Expiation should be offered up in them, and That all the Courts of Justice should be shut up. And this Interval of Leisure *Scipio* chose, to entertain himself with Philosophy, with *Laelius* and some other Friends. A Garden was their *Lyceum*; and there *Scipio* made excellent Discourses, on the present State of Affairs at *Rome*, and the want of a Reformation in the Republick; and after having long discoursed on several Points of Morality, he came

Idem in Frag-  
men. L. 6. de  
Rep.

Idem in Laelio,  
& Somnio Sci-  
pionis.



Year of at length to the Immortality of the Soul. His Sentiments on this Subject were pretty  
 R O M E. found for a Pagan; and the Remorses of his own Conscience gave him no Reason to  
 DCXXXIV. wish, that the whole Man perished with the Body. He contended, That the Souls of Men  
 C. SEMPRO- are Particles<sup>54</sup> of the Divinity; and That after Death the most virtuous Souls were reunited  
 NIUS TUDI- to *The Whole* from which they had been separated, and were purified and made Per-  
 TANUS, & M. fect in the Bosom of God himself. On these Principles he reasoned; and talked like a  
 AQUILLIUS, Man inspired, on the Subject of Death.  
 Consuls.

As soon as the Sittings of the Senate were renewed, the Disputes grew more warm; and Scipio renewed his Complaints against the *Triumviri* nominated for the Distribution of the Lands. *Their Employment*, said he, *is both Gainful and Honourable; and to maintain them in it, is to entertain a perpetual Source of Divisions in the Republick.* The Consuls change; The Tribunes have only a transient Power: Why then should we suffer these new Commissioners to prolong their Authority without limit; and to foment endless Law-Suits, in order to maintain themselves in a Jurisdiction, which does them Honour? They have been made the Dispensers of the Estates, and Arbiters of the Fortunes of the Populace, who already adore them, on purpose that they might ingratiate themselves with them. And indeed, they very liberally offer them something, which, if I may so speak, is more than incense. All our illustrious Romans vanish before these Idols. The People flock about them in such Multitudes, that the Houses of our greatest Magistrates are deserted. Men naturally apply there only, where they have the greatest Hopes; and from thence it is, that the Courts of Sovereign Princes are less crowded, than those of these three Men, whose Granæur is wholly founded in the Covetousness of the Vulgar. Where will the Disorders end, which they raise both in the City and the Provinces? Shall we see the Citizens of Rome take up Arms against their Allies, and all Italy swim in Blood? These unfortunate Provincials have applied themselves to me, and I now present their Supplications, Conscript Fathers, to you. Procure them, at least, the Advantages which the Sempronian Law gives them;

54 Scipio here plainly follows the Doctrine of the Stoicks, concerning the Existence of a God. He had been prepossessed in favour of this Opinion by his Master Panætius, a zealous Stoick. According to these Philosophers, there is nothing that exists, but is a Part of that immense WHOLE, which is called the Universe. And because, among the different Beings that compose this WHOLE, some are endowed with Thought, Reason, and Wisdom; they from thence conclude, That Intelligence, being the most noble Faculty, must therefore be the superior and governing Part of the World. But if you ask them, what is the Source or Cause of these intelligent Beings, and of the Wisdom that so eminently appears in all the Parts of the Universe; they answer, That it is *Æther*, that is, the most refined and subtle Part of that Matter, or Celestial Fire, which passes through, and vivifies all Nature, and frugally distributes to every Part of it, such a Degree of Motion as it wants. This is what the Stoicks call *The Soul of the World*, the Principle or rather Source, and as it were, the Ocean of Souls. Such is the God, or rather, that Phantom of a Deity, which the Stoicks acknowledge. And in Consequence of this impious Doctrine, they looked upon the Soul of each individual Man to be, as it were, a Spark, or Emanation, or Particle, of this Universal Soul, to which they impiously gave the Title of Supreme Being. So that, they who embraced this strange System were forced to say, That when the Souls of Men were disengaged from the Body by Death, they were again united to *the Soul of the World*, to *Æther*, in a Word, to the Divine Substance, as the Particles of Matter adhere to their Center. They compared animated Beings to Vials full of Water, swimming in the Sea, which are no sooner broken, but the Water they contain mixes and incorporates it self with that of the Ocean.

According to these Principles, *Æther*, or this intelligent and active Fire, was the God of the Stoicks; and as the World itself is penetrated with this Flame, it partakes of the most noble Attributes of the Divinity: And *a fortiori*, therefore, the Stars and all those Substances, in which the Activity and Operations of this

*Æther* do more sensibly appear, must, with more Justice claim the Title and Præeminence of the Deity. Which may be admitting the Existence of a God in Terms; but it is, in reality, denying that there is any such Being.

Pythagoras, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Plato, first vented this Scheme of Theology, and were in this Particular before Zeno, the Head and Founder of the Stoick School. Virgil has given us this System in a clear Light in his 6th *Æneid*; and expresses it yet more accurately, in his 4th *Georgick*. Some have thought, says he, that the Souls of Bees, were Parts of God himself, and an Emanation from on high. They were of Opinion, That the Divinity is spread through all the Earth, the Seas, and the Heavens; and That Men and Animals of all sorts, derive their Motion and their Life from the Divine Substance within them. And when their Souls, as he goes on, are disentangled from Matter, by the Dissolution of the Body, they take their flight to Heaven, and are there incorporated with God, and make one WHOLE with him.

*Esse apibus partem divinæ mentis, & haustus  
 Æthereos dixere: Deum namque ire per omnes  
 Terrasque, tractusque maris, cælumque profundum.  
 Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,  
 Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas,  
 Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri  
 Omnia: nec morti esse locum; sed viva volare  
 Sideris in numerum, atque alto succedere Cælo.*

Amulri and David of Dinant his Disciple about the end of the twelfth Century, and Cesalpin in the beginning of the Seventeenth, revived this pernicious Doctrine. And lastly, Spinoza has, in our Days, made it as it were the Basis, and Foundation of his monstrous Hypothesis concerning the Existence of a God: with this difference, That the Stoicks did not destroy the Wisdom and Providence of a God, as this Atheist does; who allows him only a partial, successive, and very narrow kind of Knowledge.

and



and remove these unjust Distributors who occasion their Murmurs, from their Employment.

§. XX. At this Motion, *Marcus Fulvius Flaccus*, one of the *Triumviri*, who besides his being involved in the same common Invectives with his Collegues, was *Scipio's* personal Enemy, was highly exasperated; and he very liberally cast the most bitter Reflections that Rage could suggest, upon the least blamable of the *Romans*. He censured both his publick and private Conduct, represented his Virtues in bad Lights, diminished the Merit of his Valour, and even depreciated the Conquests of *Carthage* and *Numantia*. But he enlarged most on the pretended Ambition of his Adversary, who according to him, had been twice promoted to the *Consulate* irregularly. He warmly insisted, That the *Dictatorship* was his Point in view, and That he desired it only, in order to usurp a perpetual Tyranny; and in the same Speech called him all the reproachful Names, that a heated Mind could suggest. This was indeed the Custom of these Harangues at *Rome*; insomuch that, if the Terms they used in their Invectives, were then understood to have all that Energy, which we now ascribe to them, these *Romans* must be thought the most unpolite People in the World. In short, *Flaccus* omitted nothing, to decry the Rival who was for displacing him; and *Scipio* was not so great a Philosopher as to be able to conceal his Resentment. The whole day was spent in the Dispute between him and his Adversaries; and the Night came on, before any Decree was passed.

Nevertheless, both Senate and People seemed all to incline to favour *Scipio's* Motion; and abundant amends was presently made him, for the Reproaches cast upon him by this angry Declaimer. The Honours he received at the Time when the greatest Efforts were made to discredit him, were greater than those of his most magnificent Triumph. All the Senators in a Body attended him to his House; and the *Roman Citizens* and the *Allies* of the *Provinces* followed him, in Crouds. In short, all *Rome* seemed determined to nominate him *Dictator*, the next Day.

This therefore could not but give great Uneasiness to the *Triumviri*; and they plotted together, and took private Measures to destroy this formidable Adversary before the rising of the Sun. However, *Scipio* retired to his Apartments; and there put his Tables in order, for taking Minutes the next Morning of what he intended to say in the Senate-House. But when the Morning came, his Servants found him dead in his Bed: And great was the Surprise, many the Suspicions, which were raised by this fatal and sudden Accident. The *Romans*, generally speaking, wept for him, as for a Father; and all shewed their Esteem and Friendship for him, in the Honours they did his Memory, at his Obsequies. As soon as *Metellus* heard the News of his Death, he said to his two Sons, Go, attend the Funeral of the greatest Man *Rome* has ever bred. You will never see the Death of his Equal<sup>55</sup>. Yet this *Metellus* had been, all his Life-time, his Rival for Glory. But his Death put an end to the Competition between these two great Generals. Nay, the rest of those who were jealous of him, lamented it; and all were sensible, when it was too late, of what mighty Service it would have been to the State, to have made him *Dictator*. The *Allies* would never have revolted against *Rome*, if this illustrious Man had been invested with the sovereign Authority, and had had Time to have appeased the Discontents of the *Italian Provinces*. He would, doubtless, have prevented those civil Broils which ensued; and have saved the Republick from being torn to pieces, by intestine Wars.

§. XXI. However, all Preparations were now making for his funeral Pomp; and those who viewed his Body most narrowly, found the Marks of a violent Death in his Neck. He seemed to have been strangled. There were likewise some livid Spots upon his Lips; and for this Reason, it is said, that his Face was covered, when he was carried to the Funeral-Pile. His Bones were deposited in the common Sepulchre of the *Scipio's*, without the Gate *Capena*. And after the first general Concern, which his tragical End had raised, all gave free scope to their Suspicions. Some charged his Death on *Cornelia*, the Mother of the *Gracchi*. But this was an unjust Suspicion, which the Virtues of this Heroine, and her Absence from *Rome*, made incredible. Others, upon better Grounds, imputed it to *Sempronia*, the Sister of *C. Gracchus*, and the Wife of the Deceased. And lastly; others thought the *Triumviri* the Authors of this Assassination, because they were

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Bell. Civ.  
Cic. in Lælio,  
pro Muræna,  
& alibi.  
Plut. in Romu-  
lo, & in Grac-  
cho, B. 5.  
Epit. Livian.  
Vell. Patere.  
A thors. de vi-  
ris Illustr.  
Diod. Sic.  
Val. Max.

<sup>55</sup> According to *Plutarch*, in his *Opuscula*, *Me- tellus* added, that The Gods could not make *Rome* a more valuable Present, than they had done by chusing to give her a *Scipio*, preferably to any other Nation in the World.



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the Persons most nearly concerned in Interest to desire it. It was reported, That the Slaves of *Papirius Carbo* had, upon the Torture, deposed, That their Master, and *Gracchus* and *Fulvius Flaccus*, had all been Accomplices in the Crime, and had all been present, if not acting, in the Commission of it. And what seems to us most probable is, That *Sempronia* was in the Plot; That she opened the Door to the Murderers; and That *Carbo* murdered, whilst his two Collegues held, him. However, the Authors of the Crime took great Pains to spread a Report, That *Scipio* despairing of obtaining for the *Allies*, the Advantages he had promised them, had laid violent Hands upon himself. And it is surprizing, that the People, when they heard this Report, should neither have cited any Body to appear before them, nor made any Enquires after the Criminals. But the Commons loved *C. Gracchus*; and it was probably their Fears of finding him concerned in the Affair, that made them resolve not to search it to the Bottom.

Thus died, in the 56th Year of his Age, one of the most illustrious Heroes *Rome* had ever bred. He was little inferiour to the *First Africanus*, to whom he was Grandson by adoption; and not at all so, to *Paulus Æmilius* his own Father. Nevertheless, to his immortal Honour, he died possessed of very little else, but the Glory of his Exploits. He left his Heir, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, (for he had no Children) scarce 32 Pounds Weight of Silver, and 2 Pound and a half of Gold. Surprizing Poverty! for a General, who might have enriched himself with the Spoils of *Carthage*! Agreeably to the settled Custom at *Rome*, for the nearest Relation of the Deceased to make his funeral Oration, *Lælius* wrote *Scipio's*, and *Quintus Ælius Tubero*<sup>56</sup> spoke it. The former had been his inseparable Friend, and was esteemed a Man of as fine a *Genius* as any of his Age. The latter was his Brother, but had no Talent for Oratory. Nevertheless, there was one Turn in the Speech he spoke which struck the whole Assembly. After he had returned Thanks to the Gods, both for giving the *Roman* Republick such vast Dominions, and for blessing her with *The Second Africanus*, he added; *For it was meet, That the City which should give Birth to Scipio, should be the Mistress of the World; and That Scipio should not any where be born, but in the Capital of the Universe.* Praises not very extravagant, and

<sup>56</sup> This *Quintus Ælius Tubero* was Nephew, by the Mother's Side, to *Scipio*; and Grandson to *Paulus Æmilius*; and being descended from a Family, in which Virtue supplied the Place of Riches, and educated under the Care of a virtuous Father, he lived in the midst of a luxurious and licentious People, with all the Simplicity of one of the first *Romans*. He learnt the Austerity which he openly professed, from the *Stoick* Philosophers, and the Examples of his Ancestors. No Consideration could prevail on him to change his manner of Life; no regard to Decency, good Manners, or Custom, induce him on any Occasion to lessen his Severity. And therefore *Cicero* says of him, That Virtue in him was stripped of all her Charms, and appeared cloathed in a forbidding Sourness and Rigour. And this gloomy and savage Temper discovered it self in all his Conversation. He was so obstinately inflexible, as to be past shewing any Civility or Regard to any Person whatsoever. He had so little deference for his Uncle *Scipio*, as flatly to contradict him, in a Matter of no manner of Moment, concerning the Prerogatives annexed to the *Censorial* Dignity; and this unfociable Temper, according to *Cicero* in his *Brutus*, excluded him from publick Honours. Nevertheless, *Pomponius* affirms, That *Tubero* was promoted to the *Consulate*; but if he was, his Name has escaped the ancient *Annalists*. Tho', he might perhaps have been one of those *Consuls*, who were called *Suffecti*, because chosen in the Course of the Year, to supply Vacancies which happened by Death, Deposition, or some other unforeseen Accident.

It was a received Custom at *Rome*, for the Relations of the Deceased to close their Obsequies with a pompous Feast. This *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, who was surnamed *Allobrogicus*, and Nephew to *Scipio*, did, and prepared a most elegant Entertainment for the People. And then *Tubero*, at the Persuasion, and after the Example of his Cousin, gave one of these funeral

Feasts. But his Provisions were too mean to suit the Taste of the Multitude, who were greedy of richer Fare. His Meats were too coarse to quicken the Appetite. He made use of none but earthen Vessels. The Beds prepared for the Guests were covered only with plain Goat-Skins. And the People thought this Appearance of Negligence and Poverty an Insult upon them. They ascribed his Frugality to a Sordidness of Temper, or a Philosophical Pride which ostentatiously affected to shew a misplaced Abstinence. Is this his way, said the People, of honouring the Memory of an Hero, who ought to have been so dear to him, and whose great Qualities advanced him to so many Marks of Distinction? Surely this pitiful Entertainment was designed to celebrate the Funeral of that Wretch *Digenes*, the morose Philosopher, whom he seems to have taken for his Pattern. And it was not long ere the People who were thus offended at him, gave him Proofs of their Resentment. The assembled *Tribes* refused to give him the *Prætorship* for which he stood Candidate. Nevertheless, *Cicero* confesses, That tho' he had his Faults, he was one of the gravest Citizens in *Rome*, and inherited all the Virtues of his Ancestors. *Pomponius* ranks him among the most famous *Civilians*; and he made himself no less famous for his Firmness in all the Disturbances the *Gracchi* raised in the Republick, through the whole Process of their Affairs. He opposed the Attempts of *Tiberius Gracchus* with Courage; and was not afraid openly to attack this formidable *Tribune*, in an Harangue which he spoke against him, and which was extant in *Cicero's* Time. *Tubero* contracted an intimate Friendship with *Panætius*; and it is said this Philosopher dedicated to him a Treatise on *Constancy in Affliction*, which he wrote on occasion of *Scipio's* Death. The Authorities from whence we have extracted these Particulars, are *Cicero*, *Seneca*, and *Valerius Maximus*.



received with Applause. Rome herself could not easily determine, which *Africanus* was superiour in Merit.

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Indeed the *First* was a Pattern for the *Second*; but the Copy was so exact, and the Imitation so just, that scarce a Feature was wanting. They were both, without all doubt, the most illustrious Warriours of their Times. They both made their first Campaigns at the Age of seventeen, and both signalized themselves thus early in Life; the former against *Hannibal* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, the latter against *Perſes* in *Macedon*. The one took up his Father who was fallen from his Horse in Battle; the other pursued the Enemy so far, that his Father thought him lost. Such were their first Essays in War! And at an Age, when others are only capable of obeying, *Cornelius Scipio* was sent to command in *Spain*, and *Scipio Æmilianus*, tho' only a Subaltern in the same Province, eclipsed the Glory of his General. They both obtained the *Consulship* before the Age prescribed; were both nominated to their Provinces by way of Preference, without drawing Lots with their Collegues; and both had the same Scenes of Action, for the display of their Valour. They both merited in *Africa* the Surname of *Africanus*; the latter by destroying *Carthage*; the former by conquering *Hannibal*; and humbling the *African Republick*. *Cornelius* conquered *Spain* by the Reduction of *New Carthage*; *Æmilianus* settled Peace there, by the Destruction of *Numantia*. And both Heroes had also equal Abilities for Negotiation. One attached *Massinissa* for ever to the *Roman Party*; the other cultivated his Friendship, and disposed of his Dominions after his Death. Both were victorious in all their Enterprizes; and each was honoured with two *Triumphs*. Each had his *Lælius*, for his Friend, his Confident, and his Companion, in his Exploits. Both made a Voyage to the East; one to assist his Brother in conquering *Antiochus*, the other to visit *Asia*, *Syria*, and *Egypt*. The Virtues and mental Endowments of both were equally great; but their Tempers somewhat different. *The first Africanus* was liberal, even to some degree of Profuseness; *The Second* was so, but with more Reserve. The latter applied himself more to Philosophy <sup>57</sup> than to Eloquence. The former was a Philosopher only in Practice, and preferred the Love of polite Learning <sup>58</sup>

C. SEMPROMIUS TUDITANUS, & M. AQUILLIUS, Consuls.

to

<sup>57</sup> Cicero says, *De Offic. L. 1.* That *Scipio Æmilianus* acquired by the Study of Philosophy, that Equanimity and Modesty which sits so gracefully on great Men, when surrounded with Honours and Distinctions. He was never elated with the Splendor of his Glory, or the Pomp of his *Triumphs*. He used to say, That some Men were intoxicated with Grandeur, as some Horses are with the Noise of Arms, which makes them return from the Battle more fiery than they went to it. And that as these Horses are put into the Hands of those who understand the Art of turning them, to make them tractable; so those Men, who are swelled with Haughtiness, and a presumptuous Confidence on their Success, ought to be put under the Discipline of Reason and Morality, which will restrain the impetuous Sallies of their Pride. This, said he, will recover them from their Intoxication, and shew them the Uncertainty of human Affairs, and the Inconstancy of Fortune. These were the noble Sentiments *Scipio* always entertained, in the height of his Prosperity; and which were the Effects of much Reading, and just Reflection. The *Cyrus of Xenophon* was his favourite Book. He there found the Model of a perfect Hero, and those Principles of Wisdom by which he conducted himself through the whole Course of his Life. Nevertheless, if we may believe *Plutarch*, in his *Opuscula*, *Scipio* was naturally proud. And in Proof of it, the Historian says, That he did not shew that Respect to *Quintus Mummius* the Destroyer of *Corinth*, which was due to a Man of his Rank, and who had been advanced to the *Consular Dignity*. He would not vouchsafe to invite him to a magnificent Feast which he made for his Friends and the great Men of *Rome*, after he had dedicated a Temple of *Hercules*. This *Mummius* then could not be the same with that *Mummius*, who is said by *Cicero* to have enjoyed the Friendship of *Scipio*. But if it be true, that Pride was the Fault which was laid to the Charge of this great Man, with what Truth can *Cicero* say of him, That he never assumed an Air of

Superiority, either over his most intimate Acquaintance, or any of his Equals? He charmed all People, continues that Author, by his affable and engaging Behaviour. This is not the Conduct of a proud Man.

<sup>58</sup> *Scipio* joined the Entertainments of polite Learning with the Study of Philosophy. It is well known, that he honoured Men of Letters with his Protection and Friendship. At least, it's certain, that *Terence* received great Favours from him and *Lælius*. It was taken for granted in his Time, that these two great Men had assisted him in giving his Pieces that Politeness and graceful Simplicity, which we still admire in them. *Valgius* and *Memmius* expressly say, That *Scipio* published some Plays which himself wrote, under *Terence's* Name. *Cornelius Nepos* insinuates, That *Lælius* had a considerable Hand in the *Heautontimorumenos*. Nevertheless, *Santra* could not be persuaded, that the Poet borrowed any Assistance from *Scipio* and *Lælius*, in conducting or perfecting his *Drama's*. He says, That they were then too young, and could not yet have passed through the *Curule Offices*. Whereas, *Terence* himself says, in the Preface to *The Adelphi*, That the Persons who had greatly assisted him in his dramatick Performances, were Men come to Maturity of Age, and who had done the Republick important Services, both in War and Peace.

And this mention of *Terence* gives us an Opportunity to give up a Conjecture, which we offered as such, Vol. 3. p. 571. Being deceived by the Authority of some Writers, we thought that *Terence* was one of the Captive *Africans* which appeared in the first *Triumph* of *Scipio*, the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. But, all things considered, we are forced to submit to the Authority of *Fenestella*, who is one of the most exact Historians, and best acquainted with the *Roman Antiquities*. He unanswerably proves, That *Terence* was born after the *Second Punic War*, and died at *Rome*, in the Year 594. Now in the Year 552 ended the *Second War with Carthage*; and in 603, the *Third* began: And consequently,

O O

Terence



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AQUILLIUS,  
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to moral Speculations. They were both good Relations, constant Friends, and faithful Patrons. But the one discharged the Duties of civil Life, with an air of Grandeur and Majesty; the other, with some sort of Constraint and Diffidence. The latter was Just, but with some Severity. In the former, Clemency almost always prevailed over rigid Justice. There was I know not what Air of Confidence and Magnanimity, which shined throughout the whole Conduct of the Conqueror of *Hannibal*. But in the Destroyer of *Carthage*, appeared more Slowness and Circumspection. The former seemed more proper to govern a Kingdom with an unlimited Authority: The latter chose the reserved Deportment of a wise Republican. Upon the whole, the more free Behaviour of the first *Scipio* made him more amiable; and the more abstruse Character of the second was perhaps more agreeable to the Time in which he lived. And lastly, both these great Men died, one with Mortification in a kind of Exile, the other a violent Death in his Bed. Such are the Rewards of a Life spent with Glory, in a Republican State!

§. XXII. Whilst *Rome* was thus agitated with Tempests, and these very tragical Things were acted there, the two *Consuls* were absent; *Sempronius Tuditanus* making War in *Japidia*; and *M. Aquilius* finishing the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*. *Japidia*, a Country bordering on the *Adriatic Sea*, was peopled partly by *Illyrians*, and partly by *Gauls*. It reached on the Continent, cross a mountainous Country, from the Springs of the *Timavus*<sup>60</sup> to *Illyricum*; its Capital was *Metulum*<sup>61</sup>, situated on the eastern Extremity of the *Alpes*; and all this Country had likewise the Name of *Istria*. What was the Cause of this War which the *Romans* were obliged to make with the *Istrian*s, who were so near to *Italy*, we are not told; and all we can conjecture is, that the first Disturbances the *Allies* of *Rome* raised on account of the Distribution of Lands, were made by this mutinous Nation, among whom the *Gauls* had the Ascendant, and who fought after the *Gallic* manner. But be that as it will, it is certain, That the Sedition of the *Japydes* was so considerable, as to draw a *Consular* Army thither; and That *Tuditanus* carried with him for his Lieutenant General, the famous *D. Junius*<sup>62</sup> *Brutus*, who, by his Conquests in *Spain* had merited the Surname of *Galicius*, and the Honours of a *Triumph*. The Country they entered was rough, and the People brave even to Ferocity. And as it had been common for the *Roman* Generals, to suffer some Disadvantages at first from a new Enemy, to whose way of fighting they were Strangers; *Tuditanus* was beaten and routed in the first Action. But *Brutus* kept up his Spirits, and by his Means, the *Consul* obtained so compleat a Victory<sup>63</sup>, that he immediately erected a Statue upon

Epit. Liv.  
App. in Iberic.  
Vell. Pat.

Plin. B. 3. c.  
19.  
Fast. Capitol.

*Terence* must have been born and died, within those two Terms. Besides, it's certain, that he died at 35 Years of Age; and consequently, if we reckon that Number of Years back from the Year 594 in which he died, it will appear, that the Year 560 was the Year of his Birth.

<sup>59</sup> There is one Passage which the Historians have preserved of the Life of *Scipio Æmilianus*, which is a very strong Proof of his constant Affection for his Relations. His Mother *Papiria*, the Daughter of *Gaius Papirius Mæso*, *Consul* in the Year 522, had been divorced by *Paulus Æmilius*. But *Scipio*, tho' affected with the Disgrace, only took occasion from thence, to be the more sedulous in shewing her all Marks of Respect and Affection. A great Estate in Lands, Goods, Money, and Slaves, fell to him, upon the Death of *Æmilia*, the Widow of *The First Africanus*, and Mother to him who had adopted him. But he took no Part of so considerable an Inheritance to himself. He conveyed all his Right to *Papiria*, and freely gave her the whole Estate: And this enabled her to support her Rank with Dignity. Which was such an Act of Generosity, as never had been done before in *Rome*. The *Romans*, says *Polybius*, were not fond of giving away their Effects, even to their Relations.

After this, *Scipio's* Sisters likewise experienced his generous Temper. He gave them all the Estate which by Law descended to him upon the Death of *Papiria*. To which *Polybius* adds, That the Splendor in which they lived, proclaimed the Beneficence of their magnanimous Brother, and put the World in Mind of his Virtues. Nor was he less respected and esteemed by good Men, for the Respect and Deterence which he

always paid to *Fabius* his elder Brother.

<sup>60</sup> The *Timavus* rises in the Territory of *Aquileia*, at the Foot of a Mountain, near the Town of *Saint-Cazan*. There it buries itself, and runs the Space of 14 Miles under Ground to *St. Jean de Duino*. Near this Place, it leaves its subterraneous Channels, and breaks out in seven Mouths, according to *Polybius*, and *Strabo*; but *Virgil*, *Mela*, and some other ancient Authors, make them nine. All these Streams uniting in one Bed, at a little distance from the *Adriatick Sea*, make a River which was formerly Navigable, and falls into *The Gulph of Trieste*, after it has watered a very small Tract of Ground. We say nothing of some of those Fountains which are said to be salt, or of the hot Waters which rise in several little Islands near the Mouth of the *Timavus*. The Reader may consult *Strabo*, *Pliny the Naturalist*, and *Cluver's Italy*.

<sup>61</sup> *Metulum*, now known by the Name of *Melling*, stands on the Banks of the River *Colapis*, which the Natives now call *Kulp*.

<sup>62</sup> This was the same *D. Junius Brutus*, who was *Consul* in the Year 615. *Cornelius Nepos* was mistaken, according to *Plutarch* in his *Life of the Gracchi*, in thinking that this *Consul* had given his Daughter in Marriage to *Gaius Gracchus*, the Brother of *Tiberius*.

<sup>63</sup> *Appian*, in his *History of The Illyrican Wars*, divides the Honour of the Victory gained over the *Japydes*, between *Sempronius Tuditanus*, and one *Tiberius Parnusius*. But the latter seems to have been unknown to the other *Roman* Historians: at least, they say not one Word of him.



the Place, and engraved on the Base <sup>64</sup> of it, the Extent of the Country he had conquered: After which he returned to *Rome*, and triumphed.

In the mean time, *Aquillius*, his Colleague, recovered the Cities which had submitted to the Usurper *Aristonicus*. It may perhaps seem surprizing that this Kingdom of *Pergamus* so long deferred submitting to the Government of the *Romans*. But the *Pergamians* had at least the Appearance of a King in *Aristonicus*; and could, with some appearance of Justice, maintain his Interests, since there appeared no other Claimant for the Throne. Indeed, in strict Equity, *Pergamus* belonged to the *Romans*, to whom the late King had by *Will* devised it. But the Fear of serving new Masters, and of receiving Laws from a foreign Republick, kept the People in their Revolt. So that *Aquillius* found it necessary to besiege almost all the Cities in the Kingdom, and reduce them one by one: And this obstinate Resistance from a People, over whom the Republick had an indisputable Right of Dominion, obliged him to treat them with a Severity, which *Rome* her self did not approve. Most of the Cities of *Asia* had no other Water than what was brought them, from far, in Aqueducts; and *Aquillius*, instead of cutting off the Channels, which was very usual in War, chose rather to poison the Springs. By this Means, the publick Waters spread Death in the besieged Places, and murdered more People, than Attacks and Assaults would have done. But whether this was an Effect of the general Depravity and Corruption of the *Romans*, or they had imbibed this Cruelty with the *Asiatick* Air, or *Aquillius* imitated the Perfidy of the People he came to conquer, all the Ancients declare their Detestation of this barbarous Stratagem, and condemn it as the most cruel Infraction of the Law of Nations. Tho' *Rome* her self does not seem to have been so much offended at it; since she suffered the Author of it to govern the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, for three Years after his *Consulship* expired, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*.

By these Barbarities *Aquillius* at last subdued this untractable People, and then kept them in Awe by the bare Terrour of his Name. In the mean time, the *Roman* Senate appointed ten Commissioners of their Body, to settle the Kingdom of *Pergamus* as a *Prætorian Province*, and put *Aquillius* at the Head of the Commission. The first Intention of the *Roman* People had been, to let the *Pergamians* enjoy a perfect Liberty, under their Dominion; but their Revolt occasioned their Subjection. This great State was divided into several Districts, which all depended on the Metropolis. All Law-Suits were carried on there, and thither all the *Pergamians* brought their Tributes. The whole Province comprehended *Lydia*, *Caria*, *The Hellespont*, and the two *Phrygia's*, which were all subject to the *Roman* Laws, but not made equally dependent on the Republick. *Rome* gave a few of these Countries to the four Kings who helped to conquer them. *Mithridates* had *Great Phrygia*, but rather as a Purchase from *Aquillius* <sup>65</sup>, than a free Gift of his Republick. The Children of *Ariarathes* King of *Cappadocia*, who was killed in this War, obtained of the Senate *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*, for their Reward. But soon after, *Rome* reclaimed all the Coast of *Asia*, and took back what she had given: And then, *Ionia*, *Æolis*, *Caria*, *Lydia*, *Doris*, *Lycaonia*, *Pisidia*, and the two *Phrygia's*, were subject to no Authority but that of the *Romans*. Hence the perpetual Inter-courses between *Rome* and the *Asiatics*; and hence that Inundation of Vices of all kinds, which over-run the whole State. Indeed the Republick gained a considerable Increase of Power and Riches by this new Conquest; but she paid dear for it, in that terrible Dissolution of Manners which it introduced.

As for *Aquillius*, when he had entirely finished the Work allotted him, and had settled this great Kingdom in Peace, he was ambitious of a *Triumph*. He had certainly deserved one, if the Importance of the Service only was to be considered; but those few *Romans* who had some Remains of Humanity left, were for rejecting the Petition of a Man, whom they looked on as a publick Prisoner. Nevertheless the Multitude, who were not so scrupulous, prevailed. *Aquillius* entered *Rome* with the Pomp of a triumphant Victor, on the Third of the Ides of November, in the Year of *Rome* 627; and we anticipate the mention of it, that we may have nothing more to say of one, who

<sup>64</sup> The Inscription was to this effect, That *Sempronius Tuditanus* had conquered for the *Roman* Republick a Country of 1000 *Stadia*, or about 45 *French* Leagues, in length; from *Aquileia* to the River *Titius*, now the *Kerka*, which is the Boundary of *Liburnia*.

<sup>65</sup> *Appian* says, That *Aquillius* sold *Great Phrygia*

to *Mithridates*, for a considerable Sum of Money, which the King paid upon the Spot. But he adds, That the Senate disannulled the pretended Gift, and declared that for the future, *Phrygia* should be free, and governed by its own Laws.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXIV.  
C. SEMPRO-  
NIUS TUDI-  
TANUS, & M.  
AQUILLIUS,  
Consuls.

*Florus* B. 2. c.  
20.

*Vell. Pater.*  
*Sex. Rufus.*  
*Jornandes.*

*Justin* B. 37.

from



Vell. Patere.  
B. 2.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXV.

CN. OCTAVI-  
US, & T. AN-  
NIUS LUSCUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

from the Time of that impious Fact, was execrable in the Sight of all Men of Probity. Some Authors pretend, that *Aristonicus*<sup>66</sup> was led in Chains before *Aquillius's* Chariot; but we choose rather to say, with some other Writers, That *Aristonicus* was dead before this Time. Besides, the whole Glory of having conquered the pretended King of *Pergamus* belonged to *Perperna*, who was no longer in a Condition to triumph.

§. XXIII. And now, we may with Truth affirm, that the whole World stood in great Awe of the *Roman* State. Her Authority, which reached from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees* in *Europe*, all along the Coast of *The Mediterranean* in *Africa*, and as far as Mount *Taurus* and *The Euxine Sea* in *Asia*, inspired all Nations with I know not what Reverence and Dread, which kept them in present Subjection. There was not the least Disturbance or Commotion in any of the conquered Nations. So that when *Rome* chose *Cn. Octavius*<sup>67</sup> and *T. Annius Rufus*, *Consuls*, she was in greater Tranquillity, than she had known since the Establishment of the Republick. *Cisalpine Gaul*, the Coast of *Africa*, *Istria*, *Illyricum*, *Macedon*, *Greece* in *Europe*, and *Greece* in *Asia*, were all obedient to the *Roman* Name, bore the Yoke without a Murmur, and received the Orders of the Senate, and the Decisions of her *Prætors*, with great Submission. The Time seemed come for shutting the Temple of *Janus*; since there was no military Expedition for either of the new *Consuls* to undertake, within *Italy*, or without. Nevertheless, *Rome* did not think her self at Liberty to omit raising new *Legions*, and forming *Consular* Armies. Ever since the *Gracchian Law* for the Distribution of Lands, the Leaven of Sedition had daily spread more and more in *Italy*, and there was Reason to fear Insurrections among the *Allies*. It is probable therefore, That the Senate stuck to their old Custom, of not disarming, in the most peaceable Times; and That one of the *Consuls* had *Italy*, the other *Cisalpine Gaul*, for his Province.

Plin. B. 33.  
c. 11.

J. A. B. 36.

As to the People, they gave themselves wholly up to Pleasures and Luxury, in this great Tranquillity. The Spoils of *Pergamus* and the rich Furniture of King *Attalus* were exposed to Sale. In the Times of the ancient *Roman* Austerity, no *Citizen* would have had the Face to have bought such fine Ornaments for his own House. These Riches would then have been consecrated for the Decoration of the Temples. But now, every one pressed to buy for himself; and was as ready to sell again, at a higher Price. Luxury and Avarice had got Possession of every Heart. Those Men of solid Virtue, those great Minds, which could both despise the vain Finery of the eastern People for themselves, and put a stop to the Torrent of publick Extravagance, were all gone off. The two *Scipio's*, *Æmilianus*, and *Nasica*, were no more. Their Example and Authority would have at least kept the Vanity of the *Romans* within some Bounds of Moderation. But being totally without Restraint, it spread it self without Limits, and infected all without Exception. For this Reason, some wise Writers tell us, That *Asia* revenged her self abundantly on *Rome*, for the Cruelty of *Aquillius* and the Yoke her Conquerors had put upon her. The *Romans* indeed gave Law to the *Asiatics*; but they in return, taught the *Romans* Refinements in Debauchery; and Profuseness in Entertainments and Furniture; which was all the Profits *Rome* reaped from this Interval of Repose.

Nor was the next Year remarkable for any thing else, so much as for the Increase of this Licentiousness of Manners, and a perfect Madness for foreign Fashions. When *L. Cassius*<sup>68</sup> *Longinus*, and *L. Cornelius Cinna*<sup>69</sup> were promoted to the *Consulate*, their only military Employment was to pitch Camps, one near *Rome*, the other in *Cisalpine Gaul*. Nevertheless the Senate were not altogether idle. We have before observed, That the

66 If we believe the Testimony of *Velleius*, the unfortunate *Aristonicus* was carried back to Prison after the *Triumph*, and there strangled by Order of the Senate. But if that had been the Case, how comes it to pass, that *Mithridates the Great* says not one Word of it, in the Letter he wrote to *Arfaces* King of the *Parthians*, to engage him to join with him against an insolent Republick? In the same Letter, which *Salust* has preserved, he represents *Aristonicus* as driven from his Inheritance, and shamefully tied to his Conqueror's Chariot; but he is utterly silent with Regard to the tragical End of this deprived King. Without doubt, he would not have failed of charging it as a Crime on the *Roman* Senate, whose Perfidies and Cruelties to

crowned Heads he exaggerates with Indignation.

67 *Cicero de Orat. B. 1*, ranks *Curius Octavius* among those who were famous for their Eloquence at the Bar. His Collegue *Annius* is thought to have been the Son of another *Annius*, who was *Consul*, as we have seen, in the Year 600.

68 This *Lucius Cassius* is the same whom we have seen *Tribune* in the Year 616; and who was the Author of the Law, which the *Latins* call *Tabellaria*.

69 It is not doubted, but *Cornelius Cinna*, the *Consul* for this Year, was the Father of that *Cornelius Cinna* who made his Memory execrable, by the Cruelties he committed, in the Wars of *Marinus* and *Sylla*.



*Phocæans* had lent *Aristonicus* Succours; That *Leuca*, one of their Cities on the Coasts of *Ionia*, had taken up Arms against the *Romans*; and That the *Consul Grassus* had lost his Life as he was retiring from before that City. This was deemed an unpardonable Revolt in Allies; and the Senate had given Orders, after the Conquest of *Pergamus*, that *Leuca* should be razed, and all *Phocis* destroyed with Fire and Sword. This Commission was just come to the merciless *Aquillius*; and the *Phocæans* in their Despair, had recourse for Protection to the *Marseilles*, to whom they sent a Deputation, tho' at so great a distance. The Inhabitants of *Marseilles* had come originally from *Phocis*, and tho' in the extream Parts of *Gaul*, had still preserved the Language, Customs, and Form of Government, which they had brought from the East. They therefore interposed in Favour of the *Phocæans*, as their Fathers; and had Interest enough with the Senate of *Rome* to avert the Blow with which their old Country was threatened. This great Favour was obtained by the inviolable Attachment which the City of *Marseilles* had shewn to *Rome*, in dubious, as well as prosperous, Times. The Gratitude of the Senate got the better of their Love of Revenge; and *Rome* pardoned the *Phocæans*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXVI.  
L. CASSIUS  
LONGINUS, &  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA,  
Consuls.  
*Justin. B. 37.*  
*Strabo.*

§. XXIV. At length, the universal Tranquillity of the *Romans* was a little interrupted, when *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Aurelius Orestes* were advanced to the *Consulate*. The *Sardinians* revolted, and found Employment for the *Consul Aurelius*. The Senate, (to whom it belonged to assign each *Consul*, *Prætor*, and *Quæstor*, their respective Functions, tho' they chose by Lot the Places where they were to exercise them) and all the Nobility, were well pleased that *Sardinia* had fallen to his Lot; and not less satisfied, that the *Quæstorship* under him fell to young *C. Gracchus*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXVII.  
M. ÆMILI-  
US LEPIDUS,  
& L. AURE-  
LIUS ORES-  
TES, Consuls.

This *Roman* was become the Idol of the People; insomuch that the chief Dependance of the Commons was upon him; who had indeed some very eminent Qualities. He was so great an Orator, that he led the Minds of his Auditors whither he pleased, with the Force and Rapidity of his Discourses: And he had very lately displayed this Talent to great Advantage, in the Cause of one of his Friends, named *Villius*. The Multitude who heard him, were in Raptures with him. Besides, he had gained the Affections of all the Populace, by favouring the *Citizens* of *Rome* more than the *Allies* of the *Provinces*, in the Distribution of the Lands. As much therefore as the Commons desired to hasten his Promotion to the *Tribunate*, so much did the Senate dread, to see him in that eminent Post. As for *Gracchus* himself, he had, for these two Years, retired to his own House, and lived in private there; being in all Appearance determined, not to intermeddle any more in publick Affairs. He had yet had only one Employment, that of the Distribution of the Lands; which, being a transient Commission, and undertaken when he was very young, could not be accounted a Magisterial Office. And of late, whether out of real Inclination, or only a feigned Love of Retirement, he had not appeared upon the Stage; so that the Republick had continued in Tranquillity. Indeed it was said, that he had retired, and resolved to bury his excellent Talents in Obscurity, for fear of his Brother's Fate. But whatever were his Motives, it was well known, that he applied himself closely to the Study of Eloquence in his Retirement; and Men of Understanding plainly perceived, That he only hid himself for a Time, that he might afterwards appear in the *Rostra* to the greater Advantage. And at length, he discovered the Secret, and ushered himself again into publick Life, by a Fable, which he is said to have related to the People.

*Plut. in Gracc.*

Before he applied for the *Quæstorship*, he declared that his Brother *Tiberius* had appeared to him, in a deep sleep, and had accosted him thus. *Why do you delay returning to publick Business? Do what you will, you shall not be able to avoid a Fate like mine.* So that this was an Exhortation to him to leave his Retirement, and apply to the *Comitia* for Offices; and at the same time, a Prediction of the violent Death which Fate prepared for him, during his Administration. Possibly, young *Gracchus* had invented this Apparition, and published it for a Pretence for leaving his Retirement; and the Prophecy was doubtless a Circumstance added after the Event. *Cælius Antipater*, who first mentioned this Story in his History, only says, That he had met with this Report before *Gracchus* died; that is, when it was past doubt, that he would be destroyed, for the bad Attempts he had made in his *Tribuneship*. But be that as it will, *Gracchus* spread the Fable among the Multitude, who believed it on his single Authority; and then, dressing himself in white, he appeared for the *Quæstorship*, which he obtained; and it was his Lot to attend the *Consul Aurelius*, into *Sardinia*.

*Cic. de Divi-  
nat.*  
*Val. Max. B.*  
*11. c. 7.*  
*Plut. in Gracc.*



Year of §. XXV. Before he set sail for that Place, he was willing to give a fresh Proof of  
 ROME that Eloquence, to which he had closely applied himself for these two Years. An Op-  
 DCXXVII. portunity offered, on occasion of a Law, which *Marcus Junius Pennus* 70, the *Tribune*,  
 M. ÆMILIUS proposed to the People. The Design of it was, to clear *Rome* of that Multitude of Fo-  
 LEPIDUS, & reigners which came thither from all Parts, and corrupted the People. So that the In-  
 L. AURELI- tention of *Pennus* was good. But whether only to shew his Talent for speaking, or in  
 US ORRESTES, order to keep a greater Number of seditious People in the City, who might hereafter be  
 Cic. de Offic. serviceable to his Designs, *Gracchus* opposed the Motion. He mounted the *Rostra*, and  
 & in Bruto. represented to the Commons, how much it was for the Honour of *Rome*, to be filled  
 with People of all Nations of the World. Besides, said he, if we refuse these Foreigners  
 admission into this City, and continuance there, we shall disoblige them; and this did not  
*Romulus*. He opened the Gates of his City to all the Inhabitants of the neighbouring Coun-  
 tries, and by that means procured himself a People, who were always victorious. It is like-  
 wise owing to these Multitudes of Foreigners, That our Riches increase so fast, and That  
*Rome* is thought the Mistress of the World.

Festus in voce  
 Respublica.

This Speech was thought eloquent, but the *Tribune's* Reasons prevailed, and his Law was passed. What it was, the Ancients have not expressly told us, but there is room to conjecture, that it contained these two Articles. 1st, That the Abode of Foreigners in *Rome*, should be limited to a certain Time; and 2dly, That the Cities, whose Inhabitants had surreptitiously got themselves included in the *Roman Cen- sus*, might reclaim their Countrymen. And hence, perhaps, it was, that the Father of the *Consul Perperna* was restored (as has been observed) to the *Sabines*, who claimed him.

Then *Gracchus*, not having succeeded in his first Attempt in his *Quæstorship*, left *Rome* with Pleasure, in order to seek for Glory in *Sardinia*. And there, he signalized himself in Battle by his Courage; obliged all that depended upon him, in the discharge of his Office; and gained the Affections of his General, by his Punctuality, and ready Obedience. Affiduity, and even servile Compliances, cost the ambitious little. When *Aurelius* arrived in *Sardinia*, he had a very severe Winter to pass through; his Men at the same time had neither Cloaths nor Provisions; and his military Chest was empty. In this Extremity therefore, he had recourse to the Cities which still continued attached to the Republick, and laid a Tax upon them, for furnishing his Army with Stuffs to cloath them. But the Cities refused to pay the Tax, complained of it to the *Roman Senate*, and gained their Cause. And then the Service of his *Quæstor Gracchus* was very useful to the General. He undertook to provide the Troops both with Cloaths and Subsistence. In order to the former, he went to the same Cities, which had been alarmed at the Name of a Tribute; and having a greater Talent of Persuasion than any Man of his Time, he brought them readily to furnish as a Benevolence, what they refused to grant, as a Tax. And he sent as far as to *Numidia* for Corn, and obtained enough of King *Micipsa* to fill all the Magazines of the Army. The Republick therefore would have thought her self obliged to any one except *Gracchus*, for this double Service. But at *Rome*, his Designs were seen through, and the Consequences of them dreaded. So that, when the Ambassadors of *Micipsa* appeared before the Senate, and declared what they had done for the Republick, out of their great Regard to *Gracchus*, they were but ill received, and dismissed with Reproaches. The wise Men in the Republick already foresaw, how prejudicial it would prove to their Country, if the ambitious *Quæstor* should be encouraged to pursue his Intrigues by too much Success.

§. XXVI. And whilst *Sardinia* was suffering by civil Flames, *Sicily* had like to have been utterly destroyed by a natural Conflagration. The Fire Mount *Ætna* vomited out was very terrible. Torrents of Flames came tumbling down the Sides of it, and spread themselves far in the Fields. Subterraneous Caverns opened themselves in the midst of the Sea. At first, the Water round the Isle of *Lipara* were seen to boil, and rise higher than the Waves generally did. Then light Flames 71 were seen to play on the Surface of

Strabo B. 6.

70 Cicero tells us, in his *Brutus*, That *Junius Pennus*, the *Tribune*, was the Son of *Marcus*, who was *Consul* with *Quintus Ælius Patus*, in the Year 586. He had already been *Ædile*, and his Merit qualified him for standing for the first Offices in the Republick, when Death took him off, in the midst of his Course. Cicero adds, That he was famous for his Eloquence, and

not inferior therein to *Gracchus*.

71 According to the Authors quoted in the Margin, the hardest Rocks could not resist the Power of these Flames; some of them were observed to be calcined. The Gallies, with the Heat and boiling of a burning Water, fell to pieces. The Seamen were suffocated with the hot Vapours exhaled from the Sea. Multi-  
 tude



of the Waters, and surround the whole Island; and a thick Mud or Slime was thrown up from the bottom of the Sea, which hardened by degrees, and at last turned into Stones. *Titus Quinctius Flamininus*, then *Prætor* in *Sicily*, informed the Senate of this, and tho' nothing was more natural, Superstition turned it into a Prognostick. The Senate were alarmed at it; and in order to appease the Anger of the Gods, they immediately sent Deputies to the Islands of *Lipara*<sup>72</sup> and *Hiera*, with Orders to offer Sacrifices to *Pluto* and *Neptune*<sup>73</sup>.

This done, their next Application was to the new Elections. But how could the Tribes be brought into *The Field of Mars*, in any Temper? Since the Shocks, which *Tiberius Gracchus's* Law had given the Republick, a Spirit of Rebellion was spread among all Orders of Men in the City, and reached even to the smallest Villages in *Italy*. The Rebellion had indeed begun in *Sardinia*, but the rebellious *Sardinians* were not the worst Enemies the Senate had to fear. The *Conscript Fathers* thought the Ascendant *Caius Gracchus* had gained over the *Roman Legions* which he had fed and cloathed during the Campaign, a Matter of much more Importance to them, than the Insurrections of the People of the Island. The *Legionaries* under *Aurelius* were all *Roman Citizens*, whom *Gracchus* had enlisted under his Banners, by his Benefactions to them. What then had they not Reason to apprehend from a factious *Quæstor*, who had made himself Master of an Army, and had them more under his Command than their General? This was a growing Evil, which called for a speedy Remedy. However, the Senate did not attempt to put a stop to it, till after the Election of the new *Consuls*.

The Persons chosen were Men of very different Characters. The first, named<sup>74</sup> *Plautius Hypsæus*, who was chosen out of the Nobility, was of a mild and pacifick Spirit. The other, a *Plebeian*, had long busied himself in the publick Diffensions, and was esteemed a great Supporter of the popular Faction. His Name is sufficient to shew him to have been one of those turbulent Men, who caused the publick Disorders. It was the same *M. Fulvius Flaccus*, who had been joined in Commission with *Papirius Carbo*, and *C. Gracchus*, for the Distribution of the Lands; and who had been suspected of the Assassination of *The Second Africanus*. The People whose Cause he maintained, prevailed at last to raise him to the highest Dignity; and the Senate had the Mortification to see on one hand *Gracchus* ruling in *Sardinia*, and on the other, *Fulvius Flaccus* ready to employ his *Consular* Authority, to their Disadvantage. The *Conscript Fathers* therefore began first with endeavouring to lessen the Interest which *C. Gracchus* had gained among the Troops. They made a Decree, That the Soldiers in the Army of *Aurelius*, should be relieved by new *Legionaries*; and That *Gracchus* should continue there in quality of *Pro-Quæstor*, under the old *Consul*, who should still command in the Island,

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXVII.

M. ÆMILIUS  
LEPIDUS, &  
L. AURELIUS  
ORESTES,  
Consuls.

Oros. L. 5.  
Julius Obsequens.

Plut. in Grac.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXXVIII.

M. PLAUTIUS  
HYPSÆUS, & M.  
FULVIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. in Grac.

hundreds of Fishes were cast boiled on the Shore, or continued floating on the Water. The *Lipariots* ate them voraciously; but their Greediness cost them dear. They were almost all seized with a contagious Distemper which spread into the neighbouring Countries. The poisonous Smell of these Heaps of putrified Fish infected the Air, and killed Multitudes on all the Coast. When the *Aruspices* were consulted on these Prodigies, they persuaded the People, That they were the Forerunners of an approaching Revolution.

<sup>72</sup> *Hiera* and *Lipara* are two of the seven *Æolian* Islands which lay to the North of *Sicily*. The former is now called *Volcano*, the latter, which is the most considerable of all, is now called *Lipari*. See Vol. I. p. 586. Note 65.

<sup>73</sup> *Censorinus* says, *The Secular Games* were solemnized in this Year 627, which was the fourth Time of their Celebration, according to him; who quotes, in proof of this, the Registers of the *Decemviri*, who had the Care of the *Sybilline* Books. Upon the Authority of these Registers, he places the third Celebration of these Games, in the Year of Rome, 518; 110 Years before the Consulship of *Æmilius* and *Orestes*. Indeed, *Varro*, *Valerius of Antium*, and *Liwy*, place this fourth Celebration in the Year 605, when *Lucius Marcius*, and *Marcus Manilius* were *Consuls*. But these three Authors falsely supposed, That these Shows were renewed every hundred Years. And lastly, according to *Censorinus's* Calculation, *Cassius Hemina*, *Cneius*

*Gellius*, and *Lucius Piso* have also been mistaken in placing this Celebration in the Year 607, the Consulship of *Lucius Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Lucius Mummius*. See our Remarks on *The Secular Games*, Vol. 3.

<sup>74</sup> It is conjectured, that *Marcus Plautius*, who obtained the Consulship in the Year of Rome 628, was the Man who gave the *Romans* a most remarkable Example of conjugal Fidelity. The Fact, as related by *Valerius Maximus*, is this. He had been ordered by the Senate, to conduct into *Asia* a Fleet of the *Allies*, consisting of 60 Ships. As soon as he landed at *Tarentum*, his Wife *Orestilla*, who accompanied him in the Voyage, fell sick and died. When her Corpse was on the funeral Pile, *Plautius*, after the usual Libations, seized a Dagger, and killed himself, that he might not survive his Grief. The Attendants laid him down in his Habit, by the Side of his Wife's Body, and they were both consumed together by the Flames. An Inscription on the Tomb in which their Ashes were united, long preserved the Memory of this Action. These were thought heroic Acts by *Pagans*, who had no Notion of true Glory. The same *Valerius Maximus* relates a Story of the same kind of *Caius Plantius*, surnamed *Numida*. In the Despair into which his Grief threw him upon the Death of his Wife, he stabbed himself with his own Sword: And his Domesticks in vain bound up the Wound; he tore off the Bands, and died bathed in his own Blood.



Year of in quality of *Pro-Consul*. But if by this Change, they thought to apply a Remedy to  
 ROME. the greatest Evil, they, at the same time, encreased *Gracchus's* Party in the City, by re-  
 DEXXVIII. calling thither those who were devoted to him. Nevertheless, they thought this the  
 wisest Expedient they could use, to frustrate the Scheme of the intriguing *Pro-*

M. PLAUTI-  
 US HYPSE-  
 US, & M.  
 FULVIUS  
 FLACCUS,  
 Consuls.

*Quæstor.*

App. L. 1. De  
 Bell. Civ.  
 Val. Max. L.  
 9. c. 5.

§. XXVII. In the City, the Proceedings of the new *Consul Fabius* were more vio-  
 lent, and not less odious to the Senate. He appeared the same Man in the *Consulate*, as  
 he had been in the Commission for the Distribution. Only as he had then exasperated  
 the People of the *Provinces*, by not admitting them to an equal Share of Lands with the  
 Inhabitants of *Rome*, he now endeavoured to reconcile himself to them. He had now  
 obtained of the People the Place he desired; and he had nothing more to do, but to ap-  
 pease the Minds of the *Allies of Italy*. To this end, he persuaded those who had not had  
 any Share in the Lands, to desire, That the Right of *Roman Citizenship* might be grant-  
 ed them, by way of Satisfaction. The Petition was a Matter of Importance, and in al-  
 Appearance could not be agreeable to the Senate. But the seditious *Consul* promised to  
 support it; and he kept his Word. He drew up the two following Laws; and flattered  
 himself that he should be able to get them passed in the Assembly of the People. The  
 first was, *That the Right of Roman Citizenship should be granted to all those, to whom the*  
*Commissioners could not assign any Share in the divided Lands.* The second, *That all such*  
*of the Allies, as had been sent into their own Countries, by vertue of Junius Pennus's Law,*  
*but thought they had a just Claim to continue at Rome, in quality of Citizen, might appeal*  
*to the Comitia, who would judge of their Pretensions.* These Laws he supported with  
 Fury, which shewed him determined to exasperate the Senate. For nothing could be  
 more intolerable to *The Conscrip't Fathers*, than to see a Mob of Plough-Men, who had  
 justly been denied Lands, put upon a Level with the most ancient Families in *Rome*. The  
 Senate therefore, in a Body, intreated him to drop the two Laws, and pressed him to  
 give them his Promise. But the proud *Consul*, who would not vouchsafe even to give  
 them an Answer, shocked the whole Assembly with his Silence.

Epit. Liv.

Fast. Capitol.

It was therefore to be feared that these mutual Animosities of the *Consul* and Senate,  
 would immediately break out into an open Rupture. But a new Incident intervened,  
 which kept the Republick in Tranquillity, at least for a Time. Some Ambassadors  
 from *Marseilles* came to *Rome*, to claim the Assistance of the *Roman* People, against the  
*Salvii*, or *Salyes*<sup>75</sup>; who had ravaged the Country about *Marseilles*, and seemed to  
 threaten this favourite City of the *Romans*. The Senate heard them graciously, and  
 gladly seized the Opportunity of sending *Fabius* beyond the *Alpes*. They ordered him  
 to lead his *Consular* Army to the Relief of *Marseilles*, and make War with the *Transal-*  
*pine Gauls*; and this new Prospect of Glory made the *Consul* lay aside his ambitious  
 Schemes. He readily accepted of the Commission, and looking on Conquest as certain,  
 aspired at the Honours of a *Triumph*. Nor were his Hopes frustrated; tho' he found  
 more Enemies assembled, than had been imagined; for all *Liguria* beyond the *Alpes*<sup>76</sup>  
 was in Arms. This District of *Transalpine Gaul*, which was called *Liguria*, was the  
 Country from whence the *Ligures* in *Italy* originally came, and contained the Country  
 of the *Marseilles*, at least the Districts of the *Salyes* and the *Vocontii*; that is, what is  
 now called *Provence*, and the Territories of *Vaison* and *Die*. These People ventured to  
 enter the Lists with a *Roman Consul*, and long disputed for Victory with him. He did  
 not return to *Rome* till two Years after his Departure; but then indeed it was to triumph,  
 on account of the Conquest of the *Ligures*, the *Vocontii*, and the *Salvii*. His Ab-  
 sence and that of *Gracchus* might have given the Republick an interval of Rest, if the  
 seditious *Consul* had not, before he went, sown the Seeds of a Rebellion, which broke  
 out as soon as he was gone.

§. XXVIII. When he was embarked, the *Italian Allies* lost all Hopes of obtaining the  
 Right of *Citizenship*, with which he had flattered them; and then the *Provinces* near  
 the Capital murmured loudly, held private Assemblies, and entered into Cabals against  
 the Republick. These Commotions alarmed the Senate; but they did not think the ri-  
 sing Evil yet past Remedy. In order to suppress it, they proceeded first in a judicial  
 Way; by citing a certain Number of the Inhabitants of the most rebellious Cities to ap-

<sup>75</sup> *Pliny* says, That the *Salyes* were the most power-  
 ful People of all *Provence*. *Ptolomy* makes their chief  
 Cities to have been those of *Arles*, *Aix*, and *Tarascon*.  
 See Vol. 2. p. 5. Note 24.

<sup>76</sup> The Ancients gave the Name of *Liguria* *Trans-*  
*alpina* to all that Country which reaches from the *Var*  
 to the *Rhone*. See Vol. 2. p. 5. Note 24.



appear at the Tribunal of *L. Opimius* the *Prætor*, there to be tried, as State Criminals. Year of  
*Fregellæ* 77 a City of the *Volsci*, now wealthy, and advantageously situated on the *Liris*, *ROM E*  
 had been the first to erect the Standard of Rebellion. The Head of this *Colony*, was one *DCXXXVIII.*  
*Numitorius Pullus*, a bold Man, well able to form State-Intrigues, but indiscreet in Conver-  
 sation; and this Man being suspected of having laid the Plot which had just broke out  
 in his own Country, was accused before the *Prætor*. When he came to be interrogated,  
*Opimius* first endeavoured to intimidate him; and afterwards gave him Hopes of Favour,  
 if he would discover the whole Plot: And the Fears of the Criminal prevailed over  
 his Oaths of Fidelity to his Countrymen. He discovered every Circumstance of the Con-  
 spiracy, named the Authors and Accomplices in it, and opened all the Iniquity of the  
*Fregellani*. That they were in Arms seems past doubt, since the Republick con-  
 demned their City to be razed. Nevertheless, the Decree was executed with Precaution.  
*Opimius* first sent *Numitorius* home, as if he had been acquitted of the Crime laid to his  
 Charge: And then the *Prætor*, who from a Judge soon became a General, immediate-  
 ly followed him and appeared before *Fregellæ*, at the Head of an Army. So that the  
 Inhabitants were taken upon a Surprise. Tho' they had already made some Preparati-  
 ons for declaring War with *Rome*, they did not expect to be so soon invested, and there-  
 fore wanted Provisions for a Siege. And now, *Numitorius* who had betrayed them,  
 compleated his Treachery. He advised them to throw themselves without Resistance  
 on the Clemency of the *Prætor*. They took the Traitor's Advice, surrendered up their  
 City, and it was immediately demolished. The Heads of the Conspiracy were brought  
 to *Rome*; and without much Deliberation, condemned to die. But the greatest difficul-  
 ty was, to know what to do with *Numitorius*. On one hand, he had been more guilty  
 than those who had been punished with Death; and on the other, he had served the  
 Republick by his Informations, and compleated the Reduction of *Fregellæ*, by betraying  
 his Relations, Friends, and Fellow-Citizens. His Fate therefore hung long in suspense;  
 and the Orators made Speeches for and against him, that were thought Master-pieces of  
 Eloquence. But at length, the Judges, tho' they detested his Treachery, pronounced  
 Sentence in his Favour, and acquitted him. As for *Opimius*, he demanded a *Triumph*,  
 but it was refused him. The Senate made a great difference between recovering a City  
 from rebellious Subjects, and making new Conquests upon an Enemy. However, the  
 exemplary Punishment of *Fregellæ*, checked the Boldness of the Malecontents, and the  
 Fire of Sedition continued for some time hid under its Ashes. But we shall soon see it  
 break out; and shall find, That the resettling all *Italy* in Peace, will cost *Rome* almost as  
 much Trouble, as the first Conquest of it had done.

And if we were as superstitious as the People were at *Rome*, we should affirm, that  
 the Misfortunes which followed were foretold to the Republick by Prodigies. At *Veii* 78,  
 says one Writer, in the Consulship of *Plautius* and *Fulvius*, it rained Milk and Oil,  
 and Ears of Corn grew upon Trees; and a Hail fell for three Days together round *Ar-*  
*pinum* 79, which was as hard as Stones. These Trifles are indeed below the Dignity of Histo-  
 ry; but the Affair of the Grasshoppers deserve a Place here. So great a Quantity of these little  
 Animals, was brought in a tempestuous Cloud to *Africa*, that they covered the whole Coast.  
 They devoured all the Corn to the very Roots, and spared not the hardest Bark of the largest  
 Trees. An East-Wind had brought them, and a South-Wind, carried them away, and  
 drowned them in the Sea. But they did more Mischief after they were dead, than they  
 had done when they were alive. The Waves brought them in Heaps to the Shore, and  
 the whole Country was infected by them, from *Cyrenaica* to beyond *Utica*. The Air  
 was so corrupted, that the Plague raged far inwards upon the Continent. It is said, that  
 in the Kingdom of *Numidia* only, it carried off above 800000 Men; and above 200000  
 Persons on the Sea-shore. Above 30000 *Roman* Soldiers died of it, in the *Prætorian* Army  
 that guarded *Africa*. A terrible Scourge on the most fruitful Country in the World! *Rome*  
 could not hear without Terroure, what mighty Mischiefs these little Animals had done;  
 and as she turned whatever happened throughout all her Dominions into Presages, she  
 foreboded the Evil that was to follow 80.

77 The City of *Fregellæ* stood in *Terra di Lavoro*,  
 which belongs to the Kingdom of *Naples*. See Vol.  
 2. p. 189. Note 19.

78 *Veii* was one of the ancient Cities, and of the  
 twelve *Lucumones*, in the Country of the *Hetrurians*.  
 It is thought to have stood in that Part of *The Patrimo-*  
 VOL. V.

ny of *St. Peter*, where *Scrofano* now stands.

79 *Arpinum* still in some measure preserves its old  
 Name in that of *Arpino*. It stood in a Canton of the  
*Volsci* which now makes a part of the *Terra di Lavoro*.  
 See Vol. 2. p. 298. Note 19.

80 In the 60th Book of *The Epitomy of Livy*, express  
 mention



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXIX  
C. CASSIUS  
LONGINUS, &  
C. SEXTIUS  
CALVINUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXIX. In the mean time, when *C. Cassius Longinus*<sup>81</sup>, and *Sextius*<sup>82</sup> *Calvinus* were chosen *Consuls*, Peace reigned among all Orders of Men in the Republick. *Transalpine Gaul*, and the Defence of *Marfeilles*, kept the furious *Fulvius* employ'd in a foreign Country. *C. Gracchus* was still discharging the Office of *Pro-Quæstor* in *Sardinia*, tho' much against his Inclinations. The Severity executed on *Fregellæ*, kept the *Allies* in *Italy* in order; and there was only one of the three Incendiaries left at *Rome*, which was *Papirius Carbo*. He was indeed very violent; but having no Second, he only endeavoured to carry on the settled Scheme for the Distribution of the Lands, by gentle and quiet Methods. Indeed, it had fallen to *Sextius's* Lot, to succeed *Fulvius* in *Transalpine Gaul*; but the Senate, out of Policy, delayed the new *Consul's* Departure, that *Fulvius* might continue the longer from the Capital. But these Precautions were only palliating Remedies, which could not cure the Distemper. There was a settled Corruption in the Heart of the Republick, which must necessarily soon break out. As for *Gracchus*, he was already tired with the long stay he had been obliged to make, in an Island where his natural Activity was under a violent Restraint; and he seemed to envy the Publick the Calm she enjoyed. But what could he do? If he left *Sardinia* before his General, and returned to *Rome* without the express Leave of the Senate, this was a manifest Infraction of the Laws. If he continued in his Post as long as the *Conscript Fathers* should think fit, he should languish in Inaction, and give the Affections of the People time to cool, in so long an Absence. The Spirit of Faction is always restless and rash; and the *Pro-Quæstor* resolved to run all the Hazards of a very bold Step. He embarked, unknown to the *Pro-Consul*, left *Sardinia*, and when he was least expected, arrived at *Rome*.

The Time he chose to shew himself in the Capital, was not long before the Day fixed for the Election of new *Tribunes*. His sudden Appearance exasperated not the Senate only, but the People themselves, who were angry at so open a Violation of the Laws and Customs of the State; and his Enemies exclaimed loudly against him, and accused him before the *Censors*. These were probably, *Cn. Servilius*, and *L. Cassius*, whose Severity was well known; and who had lately branded an *Augur*, named *Æmilius Lepidus*, with Infamy, for having paid 6000 *Sesterces*, for the Rent of a Palace in the City. Nevertheless, even the Rigour of these Magistrates could not withstand the Eloquence of *Gracchus*. He appeared before his Judges, and pleaded his Cause so artfully, that he imposed upon them. We have some fine Strokes of his Speech yet remaining; which are sufficient to enable us to form a Judgment both of his Character and his Genius. *I have continued*, said he, *at least two Years in the Office of Quæstor, which fell to me by Lot;*

Plut. in Grac.  
Velleius L. 2.  
1. s. d.  
48 8 9 Stér.  
Arbuth.  
Aull. Gell. L.  
15. c. 12.  
Charissus L. 1.

mention is made of a *Census* of the People, and of a *Lustrum*, which was celebrated about the end of the Year 628, or the beginning of 629. The Number of those who were able to bear Arms, appeared to be 390636. *Frontinus*, in his Book Of *Aqueducts*, has preserved the Names of the *Censors* who presided at this Ceremony. The first was that *Lucius Cassius Longinus*, whom the Republick promoted to the *Consulship* in the Year 626. The second was *Gnaeus Servilius Cæpio*; probably the same who had been *Consul* in the Year 612. *Frontinus* observes, that these two Magistrates brought to *Rome* along by the *Little Way*, for near 11000 Paces, that is about 4 Leagues, a new *Aqueduct* called *Aqua Tepula*. Perhaps, it was so called from the Spring-Head. It rose in a Field of *Lucullus*, which that Author thinks was near *Tusculum*, and not far from *Frascati*, or *Grotta Ferrata*. This *Aqueduct* supplied the Parts about the *Capitol*, and the Hills *Calvus* and *Aventinus*, with Water. Afterwards *Agrippa* joined it with the *Aqua Julia*; and they were from that Time considered as only one Water.

*Cicero* tells us, in his *Third Oration against Verres*, That the *Censors* corrected several Abuses, and added new Laws to the *Censorial Code*. We may judge of their Zeal and Steadiness, by a Fact recorded by *Velleius Paterculus* in the second Book of his History. These two Magistrates, says he, whose Office obliged them to preserve Order, and promote a Reformation of Manners, cited *Æmilius Lepidus* to appear at their Tribunal; a Man as distinguished by his Birth, as by the Dignity of *Augur* with which he was invested. They reprimanded him for having taken for his Lodging too

stately a House, which he rented at 6000 *Sesterces*, that is 750 *Livres* a Year. This was thought an exorbitant Price; and *Cassius* and *Cæpio* made it criminal in him, as being an open Violation of the old Laws. Not that Luxury had not already made a swift Progress in *Rome*, since the Conquest of *Asia*. Very little Footsteps were now left of that ancient austere Virtue, which was the Characteristick of the *Curii*, the *Fabricii*, and the *Scipio's*. But the *Censors* thought that an Act of Severity towards a Man considerable for his Rank, would stop the Progress of the Evil. And if the publick Reproof which *Cassius* and *Cæpio* gave *Æmilius* had not all the Success which might have been expected from it, yet at least, this Example of Justice, shewed, That there were yet some Magistrates in *Rome*, who were zealous for the Observation of the Laws, and watchful to punish the Disobedient. *Valerius* remarks on this Occasion, That in his Time, that is, in the Empire of *Tiberius*, an House of 6000 *Sesterces* a Year, was not thought fit for a Senator to live in. Affluence had then got the better of the Wisdom of the Law-givers, and the Severity of the ancient Customs.

81 This *Cassius Longinus* was probably the Son of another *Caius Cassius*, who was *Consul* in the Year 582, and *Censor* in 599.

82 It is uncertain whether the *Consul Sextius* was the same whom *Cicero* commends in his *Brutus*; and of whom he says, That his Sentiments were fine, and his Style elegant. But the Court, with which he was often afflicted, would not suffer him to exercise the Talents Nature had given him for speaking in Publick.



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and I will venture to affirm, That I have done the Republick more Service than she had a Right to demand of me. It is sufficient for a Man in my Situation, to have spent two Years in the Roman Armies; whereas I have already served twelve Years. Indeed, according to the military Law, a Quæstor ought not to return without his General; but then the Law supposes, That a Consul is not to make War longer than the Year of his Consulship in the same Place. You have nevertheless thought fit to keep M. Aurelius Orestes three Years in Sardinia. But am I therefore obliged to obey Orders which were not made for me? It has been very agreeable to the Pro-Consul, to be continued a great while, in an almost absolute Authority over a very obedient Army. But painful must it have been to his Quæstor, to have spent all that Time there in Idleness, which might have been better employed in another Place! I devote my self entirely to the Service of the many unhappy Men, who long for their Shares of the Lands, of which I am appointed a Distributor. As for the Intentions of those who have kept me, but too long already at a distance from the Capital, I pretend not to penetrate into them. It is your Province, Ye People of Rome, It is the Province of all the Indigent in Italy, to dive into these Intentions, search them to the Bottom, and complain of them. At least, my Judges, The Censors of Rome, cannot, I presume, but applaud my Conduct, in an Island where Luxury and Avarice have corrupted the Hearts, not of the Officers only, but of all the new-raised Men. Did I make my Tent a Scene of Debauchery; a Place where the young Romans might prostitute themselves, and run into all manner of Gluttony and Excess? I gave some Entertainments there indeed; but all Licentiousness was banished thence; and great Decency and Modesty, both in Words and Actions, were ever remarkably preserved. I have likewise sufficiently shewn my Disinterestedness in my Office; by not having received to the Value of one Obolus, in any Present! Have I exacted Fees from the Subalterns under me; or have I even insisted on the Services due from them? The difference between your Officers which I left in Sardinia and my self, is this. I carried from hence a full Purse, and have brought back an empty one: They carried thither Barrells full of Wine, and will bring them back full of Gold and Silver.

Thus spake Gracchus: And his Speech, which was applauded by the Multitude, made such an Impression on his Judges, that he was acquitted. The Frugality, Continnence, and Disinterestedness, of this virtuous Son of Cornelia, this Grandson of The First Scipio, were very well known; and it was this, in some measure, that made him so formidable to the Senate. However, his Enemies attempted to fasten some Suspicions on him, with respect to the Troubles at Fregellæ; and pretended that he was privately the chief Agent in them. But this second Accusation came to nothing, as well as the first; and only gave more Lustre to the Accused. This Success raised him as high as ever in the Esteem of the People; and he thought this the lucky Minute for him to take Advantage of the Favour of an inconstant Multitude, and so far to fix their Levity, as to get himself promoted to the Tribuneship. He flattered himself, that if he could once get Possession of this important Office, he should easily find Means to maintain himself in it, and to execute all his Schemes of Revenge at his Leisure. He therefore put himself among the Candidates for the next Election, which was very near, and made his Interest with all possible Industry. His Discourse both in publick and private, continually turned upon the Laws he intended to draw up, for the Benefit of the People and to humble the Nobility. He was ever dwelling on the Murder of his Brother Tiberius, the Satisfaction he should have in revenging his Death, and the Hardship the poor Citizens suffered from the rich. He likewise extended his Compassion to the Italian Allies, and exaggerated their Misery with more Force than his Brother had done. And by thus frankly declaring his Sentiments without Disguise, he gained the Affections of the Commons, and paved the Way for being advanced to the Tribuneship.

§. XXX. It may therefore well be imagined, That these publick Declarations alarmed the Senate; and That the Patricians and rich Men united their Endeavours to prevent his desired Advancement. To this End, they did all they could both by their Friends and Clients to oppose his Election. But the strongest Opposition to his Promotion came from Cornelia his Mother. Immediately after the melancholy Death of her eldest Son, this illustrious Lady had retired to one of her Estates in Campania, near The Cape of<sup>83</sup> Miseno; and there spent the Remains of her mournful Widowhood, in the Exercise of the Virtues proper for her Sex. Her usual Amusement was reading learned

Plut. in Grac.

Cic. in Bruto.

<sup>83</sup> Cape Misenum is called to this Day Capo Miseno. It is not above a League distant from Puteoli and

Cumæ. At the Foot of the Promontory there was a City and Port which had borne the same Name.



Year of Books; for no Lady ever took more care to cultivate her Understanding. She spoke her own Language with that Elegance and Purity, which the greatest of Orators often admired, when he read her Works. And as soon as she was informed, That her only surviving Son was going to engage in the hurry of publick Affairs, she wrote him many Letters to divert him from it. Two of these Time has yet spared; and they sufficiently shew us the Spirit and the Sentiments of this great Woman, in whose Praises the Ancients often expatiate. The Reader may judge by them, whether she was capable of having any Hand in the Assassination of *The Second Scipio*, which some Writers have laid to her Charge. She expresses her self thus.

*Ex fragmentis  
Cornelii Nepotis  
ab Andrea  
Scotto collectis.*

Son, You have now no Partner in the Affection of your Mother. Tiberius is no more. All my Joys, and all my Fears, now center wholly in you. The Violence of his Resentments was the Death of your elder Brother; and will you suffer yourself to be hurried on to your Destruction by the Impetuosity of the same Passion? Avert, ye Gods, so fatal a Presage! It will be a Satisfaction, you will say, to revenge his Murder. I allow it, Dear Child, your Heart is in that Instance formed on the same Plan as mine. I have as strong a Sense as you have of the Pleasure of Revenge. But, I can, by force of Reason suppress the first Sallies, which Passion raises in my Breast. And at present, my Concern for the Welfare of the Publick has a greater Influence upon me, than my Grief at the Loss of my Son. Ah, Gracchus, remember, That with the same Blow that you wound your Country, you will strike deep into your Mother's Breast. But what am I saying! You will your self sink under the Weight of this rash Attempt. I shall lose you; but your Enemies will remain. Unfortunate Mother! Unfortunate Cornelia! Let what will happen, the ill Effects of the civil Broils in which you are preparing to engage, will fall upon me; and will be more than I shall be able to bear.

Gracchus paid no Regard to the Representations of his Mother. He suffered his Fury and his Ambition to have the Mastery over him; and his Rage against the Senate, and his Impatience to see them humbled, got the better of Cornelia's Advice. He wrote her an Answer; doubtless with great Civility: but he gave her to understand, that he was determined not to obey her Commands; and this drew from her a second Letter, in these Words.

*Idem Corn.  
Nepos. Ibid.*

Ungrateful Creature! Next to the Murderers of Tiberius, I have not a more cruel Enemy in the World, than thy self. Have I had any Reason to expect, that my only surviving Son should bring me nothing but Bitterness in my old Age? To what can I impute this Disobedience, but to my continual Indulgence and too great Compliances with your Inclinations? And is it too much, to desire an equal Return of Deference and Respect? Impious Wretch! Will you never be at rest, till you have destroyed the Republick? Shall I have the Mortification before I die, to see that you have overturned it? Do not, Gracchus, Do not act over again, the tragical Scenes of my unfortunate Family! Wait at least till my Eyes are closed, before you stand for the Tribuneship: And then my Ashes will not feel the Misfortunes, which you will bring upon your self. In the midst of your Distress, you will perhaps invoke the Manes of your Father and Mother: but will they then be affected with your Tears? The Time to believe and obey them, is while they live. O Great Jupiter! Suffer not my Son to persist in a Design, which must be the Destruction of himself, his Country, and his Mother! Ah, Child, you are running a great hazard, of becoming insupportable even to your self, for all the rest of your Days! By these little Remains, we may judge of the Mind and Heart of the excellent Cornelia. What Greatness of Mind is here! What Penetration into Futurity! What Love for her Country! What Tenderness for her Children! What Strength of Sentiments! And what Force of Eloquence! Surely this incomparable Woman had deserved to be a more happy Mother. And therefore, the Senate, notwithstanding their Resentment against her two Sons, gave the People leave to erect a Statue in Honour to her, as an Heroine. On the Base was written this Inscription, *To Cornelia, the Mother of the Gracchi*. Which was saying a great deal in a few Words, and implying more than was expressed.

§.XXXI. However the Exhortations and Reproofs of Cornelia did not prevail on Gracchus to alter his Measures, though they grieved him. He had declared himself a Candidate, continued to sollicite the Tribuneship, and took extraordinary Steps to obtain it. And then all the Patrician Faction were in motion to divert the Blow that threatened them. A second Gracchus at the Head of the popular Party, seemed to forebode nothing less to the Nobility, than utter Ruin. What then was to be done? The Candidate visibly got Ground. The Legionaries he had fed and cloathed in *Sardinia* declared for him, and brought



brought their Relations and Friends into his Interest. At length the Day of Election came; the Senate, to their Surprise, saw a vast Crowd of Countrymen from the neighbouring *Country-Tribes* flock into *Rome*, on purpose to vote for *Gracchus*; and then despaired of succeeding in their Opposition. *Rome* was so very full of these *Citizens*, which were for the most part unknown, that room could not be found to lodge them. All that remained therefore was, to hinder this Enemy of the *Patricians* from being first named, and consequently being made the Head of the College: and they got him nominated the fourth. But this was a poor guard against a Man who was superiour both in Birth and Merit to all his Collegues. *Gracchus* soon got the Ascendant, became the main Spring of all publick Business, and was the Mouth of the College to the People. And there was this Circumstance peculiar to his Election; That for want of Room in the *Campus Martius*, a great Number of the new-comers got on the Roofs of the Houses round it, and from thence voted for *Gracchus* by Shouts and Acclamations.

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It must be owned, that never had a more compleat Orator been seen in the *Rostra*. His graceful Person, noble Air, fine Features, and modest Deportment, prepossessed every Spectator in his Favour before he spoke; and when he did, their Ears were no less charmed. His Voice, which was both strong and melodious, reached and affected the Auditors in the furthest Ranks. In his Speeches was interwoven the whole Art of Oratory; but with so much Judgment, as not to be too apparent. The only Fault imputed to him was a little too much Vehemence, when he suffered Passion to transport him. And the Orator, who knew his Defect, chose out among his Slaves, an excellent Musician, whom he kept standing behind him when he was speaking; and whenever, in a Fit of Passion his Master exalted his Voice too much, the Slave, with a sort of Flagellet, brought him back to his proper Key. So much Care did the *Romans* take, when they spoke in Publick, to give their Speeches all possible Graces. But *Gracchus* never appeared more Eloquent, than when he lamented the tragical End of his Brother. As he was affected with it himself, his Descriptions were so strong and lively, that they drew Tears from every Eye. So great were the Qualifications of the new *Tribune*, for raising great Commotions among the People. He scarce began to exercise his Office till the next Year; that in which he was chosen was near expiring; and we can hitherto consider him no otherwise than as *Tribune Elect*.

Cic. L. 3. de  
Orat.

Idem Cicero  
Ibid.

He wanted the Assistance of *Fulvius Flaccus*, his fellow *Triumvir*, who was now absent from *Rome*, making War with the *Marseilles*. *Flaccus* was a furious *Plebeian*, the declared Enemy of the Senate and the Rich; and no Man was more proper to second *Gracchus* in his extravagant Enterprizes. If then it had been in the Power of the Senate, they would doubtless have continued him in his Post, where he acquired some Reputation. But as desirous as they were to see him long absent from *Rome*, *C. Sextius Calvinus* overturned these politick Schemes. This *Consul* had obtained of the Senate, *Transalpine Gaul* for his Province; and might have gone thither, almost immediately after his Election. But in pure Civility to the Senate, he postponed his Departure, and continued in the City the greatest Part of his Year. Nevertheless, at last, the love of Glory got the better of his Complaisance. He embarked for *Marseilles*, there to succeed *Fulvius*, and put himself at the Head of well-disciplined *Legions*, who were now accustomed to sustain the Impetuosity of the *Gauls*. So that *Fulvius* returned to *Rome*, to encrease the Tumults there by his Presence. The Courage of *Gracchus* encreased, upon the Return of a Friend, whose new Interest would enable him to attempt what he pleased; and he assisted *Fulvius* in getting him a *Triumph*, which was granted him for an Expedition of but little Importance. The addition of a *Consular Man*, and a triumphant Victor to his Party, would bring great Honour and Strength to it.

§. XXXII. Thus all Things tended towards a Sedition in *Rome*, when she chose *Q. Cæcilius*<sup>84</sup> *Metellus*, and *T. Quinctius*<sup>85</sup> *Flaminius*, for her new *Consuls*. The former of these was employed in the *Baleares* Islands, whilst the latter continued at *Rome*, and the *Pro-Consul Sextius* carried on the War in *Transalpine Gaul*, with Success. But we must not lose sight of the Dissentions which *Gracchus* raised in the Capital. They better deserve the Notice of an Historian, than the Victories of the two Generals in foreign Coun-

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<sup>84</sup> Cicero highly commends *Metellus*, in several Parts of his Works, particularly his *Oration Pro Domitia*. He was the Son of *Metellus Macedonicus*.

<sup>85</sup> It is conjectured, that *Quinctius* was the Son of

him, who was *Consul*, in the Year 692. Cicero who had seen him, says, he spoke the *Latin* Tongue in Purity. But he allows him no Merit as an Orator.



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tries. His first Essay in his *Tribuneship*, was the passing two Laws, in which the Publick indeed was little concerned, but they tended to gratify his personal Resentments. The first was, *That no Magistrate which was once deprived of his Office by the Decree of the People, should ever be admitted into the Magistracy again.* The second, *That every Judge who should have pronounced Sentence of Death on any Citizen, and caused it to be executed, without having it first confirmed by the Comitia, should himself be prosecuted, and tried for his Life, at the Tribunal of the People.* The first of these Laws affected *Octavius*, that zealous *Tribune* for the *Patrician* Interest, whom *Tiberius Gracchus* had publickly got deposed from the *Tribunate*, by the Suffrages of the Commons, for having opposed his Attempts. *Caius* desired that this young Roman, a Man of singular Merit, should be excluded from the superior Dignities. But this Law did not take effect; *Gracchus* himself repealed it, at the desire of *Cornelia*. The second Law was levelled at *Popilius Lænas*, the *Consul* in the Year of Rome 621, immediately after the Death of *Tiberius Gracchus*, who, to purge Rome of the Remains of the Sedition, had banished some of the Accomplices of the factious *Tribune*. *Caius* therefore intended, by means of this Law, to get him condemned by the People. But *Popilius* foresaw the Blow, and preferred a voluntary Exile to a shameful Condemnation.

App. L. 1. De  
Bell. Civ.  
Plut.  
Vell. L. 2.

However, these first Attempts of *C. Gracchus* did not cause any great Disturbances. They injured only particular Persons, whilst the Publick was but little affected by them. The *Tribune* therefore invented new Schemes, for depressing the Senate, and exalting the People. He began with getting a Confirmation of the Law his Brother had revived, for the Division of the Lands of *Italy*, between the *Citizens* of Rome, and the indigent *Allies*. This Distribution had met with so vigorous an Opposition from the old Possessors, that it was not yet far advanced. *Gracchus* therefore, for the more speedy Execution of it, caused himself to be again nominated one of the Commissioners for the Distribution, in conjunction with the triumphant Victor *Fulvius Flaccus*, and *Licinius Crassus*, who seems to have been the Brother of *Licina*, the Wife of young *Gracchus*. And now, assisted by these good Supporters, the *Tribune* undertook several Works in favour of the Commons. For the Convenience of Trade, he repaired the great Roads, built Bridges over the Places which had been made bad by Falls of Water, erected Pillars<sup>86</sup> at the end of every Mile, and placed Stones at proper distances, for the Ease of Travellers in mounting their Horses. And if he had stopped here, the Publick would have been well pleased, and the Senate have had no Cause of Complaint. But he was not content with such Innovations as these. He drew up a Law consisting of two Clauses, 1. *That publick Granaries should be built at Rome, and filled with Corn at the publick Expence.* 2. *That, every Month, a Distribution should be made to every Citizen of as much of this Corn as he wanted for his Subsistence, at the Price of half an As, per Head.* A Regulation indeed very favourable to the People, but very offensive to the Senate. Many Inconveniencies were foreseen in it; as 1<sup>st</sup>, That it would ruin the Publick Funds; and 2<sup>dly</sup>, That the common People, when sure of having Corn at so very low a Price, would neglect their Work, and live in Idleness; which would make them still more ungovernable. But as reasonable as the Opposition of *The Conscrip*t Fathers was, the Law passed; and the People thought themselves indebted to the Care of *Caius Gracchus* for the Ease they enjoyed.

Cic. in Verr. 5.  
Florus L. 3.

§. XXXIII. In order to enable the Republick to make these profuse Bounties, the *Tribune* ordered Duties to be laid on all the Goods imported into *Asia*, especially at the Ports devised to the *Romans* by King *Attalus*. Commissioners and Receivers were appointed there; and the Sums raised by these Taxes in so many great trading Cities, were not returned into the publick Treasury, but all laid out in Corn, for filling *Sempronius's*

<sup>86</sup> The Use of *Milliary Columns* was known in *India*, as well as in *Italy*, as *Strabo* observes, B. 15. The *Indian* Magistrates who had the Inspection of the publick Roads, placed one of these Pillars every ten *Stadia*. Those the *Romans* erected after the Example of *Caius Gracchus*, in all the Roads of the Empire, were placed eight *Stadia*, or a Mile's distance from each other. They were all placed on Pedestals, on which were engraven the Distances from one City to another for the Convenience of Travellers. The greatest Part of these Pillars were of a very hard Stone, which could

resist the Severity of the Cold; and some, as those in *The Latin Way*, were of Marble. Hence the manner of Speaking so well known in the ancient *Itineraries* and *Historians*, *ad quintum & sextum lapidem*, that is, at the fifth or sixth Stone, and *ad octavum marmor*, that is, at the eighth Marble; to signify the distance of five, six, or eight Miles. Their Figure was round or square, at the Pleasure of the Undertaker. Some Remains of these ancient Monuments are still found in several Places; and some are yet preserved entire.

Granaries.



*Granaries.* This was the Name given to those stately Magazines which *Gracchus* had built. By these so considerable Bounties, the People were so captivated, that the *Tribune* had more Authority over these *Romans*, who were jealous of their Liberties, than the most absolute Monarchs have over their Subjects. They were enslaved without perceiving it, and their Slavery was not the less real, for being voluntary. The Authority of *Gracchus* was likewise still increased, by other Laws which he passed to the Satisfaction of the People. He forbade the enrolling any *Roman Citizen* before the Age of Seventeen compleat<sup>87</sup>; and ordered, That the Republick should be at the Expence of Cloathing<sup>88</sup> the Soldiers before they took the Field; which was a fresh burden on the publick Treasury. The *Roman* Soldiers had hitherto found their own Cloaths: Only some Generals had required of the Cities which surrendered by Capitulation, That they should cloath the Troops. But the *Tribune* changed these old Customs, and made his Court to the Commons at the Expence of the Republick. Nor was this all. In order to attach the meanest of the *Citizens* to him, *Gracchus* altered the Method settled by *Servius Tullius*, in giving Votes in the *Great Comitia*. The first Class, which consisted of the richest *Citizens*, had hitherto almost solely determined all Affairs, because it had the greatest Number of *Centuries*. But the *Tribune* changed this wise<sup>89</sup> Regulation, and by a new Law, equalled the Suffrages in the last Classes to those of the first.

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QUINCTIUS  
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NUS, Consuls.  
Plut. inGracc.

Ex fragmentis  
operum Sa-  
lustii.

Plut. inGracc.  
Cic. de Orat.

All these Laws he drew up, moved, defended, and got passed; which was enough to have exhausted the Strength of the most robust Man. He must have made set Speeches for all the Laws he proposed; and must have answered the Objections of all those that opposed them, in others. When he spoke these Speeches, he walked very fast from one end of the *Rostra* to the other. The Fire darted from his Eyes; and his Gestures were animated by the Passions he felt, and endeavoured to raise in his Auditors. Nevertheless, as soon as he left the Assemblies, he immediately applied himself, without appearing at all fatigued, to the Care of the publick Works, and other Business. Sometimes he was surrounded by Undertakers and Masons, to whom he gave Orders concerning the Roads, and the publick Edifices, he would have built. Sometimes he was applied to by Ambassadors from all Nations in the World, and immediately answered all their Questions, with that Judgment which others could not have done without great Consideration. Sometimes, he was attended by Men of Letters, with whom he discoursed as he walked, on several Points of Learning, tho' continually interrupted by the Applications of Workmen and Artificers; and he gave them all very short and satisfactory Answers, with as little Perplexity, as if he had had but one Affair upon his Hands: And amidst this multiplicity of Business, a perpetual Serenity appeared in his Countenance, which was never seen to be overcast with a Cloud.

So great a Court and so much Merit, could not therefore but raise the Jealousies of the Senate against him. No Business of any kind, whether at Home or Abroad, was brought to any Tribunal but that of *Gracchus*. This Head of the Populace, whose Power he had increased, was in a manner become the Master of the World. It must then be expected, that as soon as his Office should expire, the Nobility would fall upon him with all their weight, and crush him; and the Year of his *Tribuneship* was now near to an end. Hence the Fears of his Friends, and especially of *Fulvius Flaccus*, formerly *Consul*, who was very closely united to him, both by an uniformity of Sentiments and by Interest. This faithful Friend therefore pressed him to get himself continued in the *Tribuneship*, at least for one Year longer. Indeed, his Brother *Tiberius* had sunk under the like Attempt; but the Times were altered. The People were then only getting ground gradually, but were now arrived at the highest Degree of Power. Besides, there was an ancient Law still in Force, which empowered the People to chuse whomsoever they pleased for a *Tribune*, when the Suffrages were not all unanimous in the Election of all

<sup>87</sup> Hence there is Reason to conclude, That on great Exigencies, the Republick made the *Romans* serve before the Age of 17, which was the Age the Law fixed for military Service. *Lucilius* made his first Campaigns thus early, under *Scipio Æmilianus*, as we have observed above, agreeably to *The Chronicle of Eusebius*.

<sup>88</sup> If the *Roman* Soldiers had not Money enough to buy themselves Cloaths, the *Quæstors* supplied them, and deducted the Price out of the Pay allowed for their Subsistence.

<sup>89</sup> In order to understand the Meaning of the Law *Caius Gracchus* drew up, we must remember what has been said in the preceding Volumes, of the Institution and Form of *The Comitia by Centuries*. The Scheme the new *Tribune* proposed, was, That the Right of Precedency in giving their Suffrages, should be determined by Lot, without any Regard to the Order of the Classes, and *Centuries*. By this Means the *Citizens* were all put upon a Level, and the Faction of the Great, no longer had the Pre-eminence, as before, in the Assemblies of the People. See Vol. I. p. 306, 307.



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NUS, Consuls.  
Strabo L. 3.  
Plin. L. 3.  
Mela.  
Florus.

the Ten. So that nothing was now more easy than for C. Gracchus to obtain by way of Favour, what his Brother could not compass by Sedition; and accordingly such effectual Measures were taken in order to it, that in spite of all the Opposition of the Senate, He got himself nominated *Tribune* for the second Year. Soon after his Election followed that of the *Consuls*. But we must not anticipate these Promotions; and whilst we are giving an account of the Commotions at Rome, forget her Victories abroad.

§. XXXIV. Whilst Gracchus was thus humbling the Senate, the *Consul Cæcilius Metellus* was subduing some Barbarians in the Islands, and the *Pro-Consul Sextius Calpurnius*, was enlarging the Borders of the Republick in *Transalpine Gaul*. Metellus, as much to get out of the way of the Storms at home, as to merit a *Triumph*, took hold of the Report spread at Rome, That the Inhabitants of the *Baleares* committed Hostilities on the Seas, and on the Coast. Some *Tyrians* <sup>90</sup> had peopled two Islands, near *Tarragonian Spain*, the greatest of which was pretty near the Continent, and computed to be about 120 Miles in Circumference; and the lesser, which was farther out at Sea, only 50 at most. These Islanders, who were less civilized than the *Spaniards* their Neighbours, lived in a manner without Laws, and without any Care, except that of cultivating their Lands, and keeping all foreign Ships at a distance from their Islands. Nature had sufficiently guarded their Ports, by great Rocks, which so shut up the entrance of them, as to make them inaccessible to great Ships; and the People being accustomed rather to keep their Enemies off, than closely attack them, fought at a distance, and almost naked, which made the *Greeks* call their Islands *Gymnasiai*. Their more common Name of *Baleares*, alluded <sup>91</sup> to their Experience and great Dexterity in throwing Stones more exactly than any People in the World; and therefore they scarce had any other Arms but Slings. They made them of a sort of Bulrush which was very pliant; and every Man generally carried three with him to battle. One he bound round his Head, which served for a kind of covering or Fillet for it, another round his Waist, and a third he carried in his Hand for his Defence. It is said, that the Mothers gave their Children no Food but what they struck down from the Places on which it was put, with Stones. So that being accustomed to the Sling from their Infancy, they were always very sure of hitting their Mark. They wanted no Necessaries of Life in their Island except Oyl and Wine; for, Gold and Silver they despised, and would never keep any in their Houses; without doubt, for fear these precious Metals should be a temptation to the neighbouring Nations to trouble their Repose.

But these Barbarians, who had no Commerce with any other People, loved Wine; and neither having any in their own Country, nor Money to buy it, they supplied themselves by Piracy. They attacked the foreign Ships that came in their way, and plundered them; and sometimes they made Inroads upon the Continent, and stole the Barrels and Skins out of the Cellars of the Country-People. But these piratical Expeditions were never made by any publick Authority; private Persons assembled together at Pleasure, built themselves Barks, and put out to Sea. And this was the Cause of the Complaints, which the Inhabitants of the Coast of *Spain*, and of *Liguria*, had brought to Rome. An Affair of too little Importance to require the fitting out a Fleet, and the Presence of a *Consul* at the Head of it. A *Legionary Tribune*, with a Squadron of Ships, might have chased and reduced an handful of Pirates. But his earnestness to leave Rome in stormy Times, and a desire to fight some Enemies abroad, induced the *Consul* to undertake the Expedition himself. Besides, the People of Rome knew little of these *Baleares*. They formed their Judgment of them by the Succours they formerly lent the *Carthaginians*, who were *Tyrians* as well as themselves, and by the Reports of some maritime Cities; and thought them a formidable Nation. The *Consul* therefore set Sail, in quest of these famous Pirates, who had struck such Terror into the Inhabitants of the extream Parts of *Spain* and *Italy*.

The Islanders, as we are assured by grave Historians, took the *Consular Fleet* at a distance, most probably because they saw only the end of it, for one of those Ships

<sup>90</sup> *Tzetzes* pretends, That the People of the *Baleares* Islands, now *Majorca* and *Minorca*, were originally a Colony of *Boetians*, who were thrown by a Storm on the neighbouring Shores. According to him, they separated, and made themselves new Settlements in these two Islands. *Strabo* says, That the *Rhodians* inhabited the *Baleares* at their return from the *Trojan*

*War*. Nevertheless these Islanders had nothing of the Politeness of the *Greeks*. Afterwards, the *Phœnicians* landed here, and taught the Natives the Use of the Sling. <sup>91</sup> *Florus* derives the Name of *Baleares*, from a fabulous Hero named *Baleus*, who, he says, was the Son of *Idæus*.



which coming accidentally in their way were sometimes a Prey to them. And therefore they immediately hastened to attack it with their usual greediness. When they were near enough to make use of their Slings, they threw a shower of Stones on the *Roman Ships*. And if the *Consul* had not had the Precaution to cover his Decks with Ox-hides, his Crews would have suffered very much by it. When the Ardour of the *Baleares* was abated, that of the *Romans* began. They made all the Sail, and rowed as fast as they could, in pursuit of the Enemy's Barks, which gained the Coasts of the Islands; and the Islanders landed in haste, and sought Refuge in the Holes of Rocks, and in steep Places, having no Cities to shelter them. It was necessary therefore that the *Consul* should order a Descent; and as the Enemy never appeared again, like the Body of an Army, it was necessary to seek them in their Rocks, and fight them, if I may so speak, one by one. Which was done with so little Mercy, that of the 30000 poor Wretches that peopled these two Islands, there were scarce 1000 left alive. After this bloody and easy Victory, the *Consul* thought proper to build two Cities in the larger Island, one to the East, and the other to the West. The first was called *Palma*<sup>92</sup>, the second *Pollentia*<sup>93</sup>; and to supply the want of old Inhabitants of the Country to people them, *Metellus* brought 3000 *Romans* from the Colonies on the Continent of *Spain*. After this, it is certain that *Metellus* enjoyed the Honours of a *Triumph*, and took the Surname of *Balearicus*, as his Father had done that of *Macedonicus*. But I cannot agree with some Moderns, that his *Triumph* was deferred till two Years after his Victory.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXXX.  
Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & T.  
QUINCTIUS  
FLAMINI-  
NUS, Consuls.

§. XXXV. In the mean time, the *Pro-Consul Sextius* was carrying on a more rough and difficult War in *Transalpine Gaul*. *Fulvius* had only broke into the Province of the *Salves*, and gained some slight Advantages. So that his Successor *Sextius* found the War there very little advanced. But he distinguished himself, and shewed himself to be a very different General from his Predecessor. He marched boldly through a Country full of Forests and Rocks, against these *Gauls*, whose Looks and Air struck Terror. By their large Statues, threatening Looks, Intrepidity, Arms, and Union, the *Romans* judged them to be more formidable Enemies than any they had found in the East. Nevertheless the *Legions* advanced into that District of *Gaul* which was next to *Marseilles*; and in a very agreeable Country watered with variety of hot and cold Springs of Water, they found Bodies of Enemies drawn up in Battalia. At this sight, *Sextius* immediately ordered the Charge to be given; and by one single Victory over the *Salves* in their own Country, and under the Command of their own King *Teutomalus*, he made the Way easy for the Conquest of the whole Nation. The *Roman Army* marched to the Capital, besieged it, took it notwithstanding it was defended by Multitudes, and reduced the Inhabitants to Slavery. The King alone escaped, and fled for Refuge to the *Allobroges*<sup>94</sup>. And as it was usual for the *Roman Generals*, when they desired to subdue a People, and settle them in a peaceable Subjection to *Rome*, to signalize their first Expeditions by some signal Acts of Clemency, which might soften the Hearts of the conquered; *Sextius* had a fair Opportunity for this, in the City he had just taken. A *Gaul*, named *Crato*, had, in an Enemy's Country, always shewed an Inclination to the *Romans*; and by his Freedom in declaring his Sentiments, had often drawn on himself Ill-treatment from his Fellow-Ci-

*Amm. Marcell.*  
L. 15.

*Vell. Patere.*  
L. 1. c. 15.

*Diod. Sic. a*  
*pud Valef.*

<sup>92</sup> The ancient City of *Palma* now bears the Name of *Majorca*, as well as the Island of which it is the Capital.

<sup>93</sup> *Pollentia* is now no longer in Being. Scarce any Footsteps remain of it. *Pliny B. 3*, speaks of some other Cities built by the *Romans*, in the Island of *Majorca*; and particularly, of *Cinium*, and *Cunici*, and *Bocchorum*. The two first, that is, *Palma* and *Pollentia* enjoyed the Right of *Roman Citizenship*; the two next, had only the Right of *Latinity*. The fifth was ranked among the Cities in Alliance with the Republick. Of the three latter, one is now called *Cala Longa*, the second *Cala Figuer*, and the third, *Suggiari*. In the Island of *Minorca*, were the Citadel of *Jamno*, and that of *Mago* or *Port Mahon*, which some say, had been built by *Mago* the Son of *Asdrubal*.

<sup>94</sup> *Ptolomy* the Geographer places the Country of the *Allobroges* near Mount *Jura*, and the Lake *Lemano*. It formerly contained the *Viennois*, the Dutchy of *Savoy*, the *Gresivaudan*, the Country of *Chablais* and *Pessigni*, and in a Word, all the Country which lays

between the *Rhone* and the *Ijern*, from *Valence* in *Dauphiné* to *The Lake of Geneva*. So that this Nation formerly possessed what makes at present the Dioceses of *Vienne*, *Grenoble*, *Geneva*, and *St. John of Morienne*. They were a part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and according to *Stephen of Byzantium*, were thought the most powerful and most formidable People among the *Gauls*. The *Greeks* gave them the Name of *Allobriges*, or as others, *Ariobriges*, thereby to point out their martial Spirit. In order to strike the more Terror into their Enemies, they were naked to the Waste, when they went to Battle. Their only Arms were a sort of Dart, of a Cubit's length, which the Ancients termed *Gessa*; and from thence *Polybius* and *Plutarch* give them the Surname of *Gessatæ*. They were governed by Kings, whose Crown was Hereditary; but their Authority reached no farther than to the Command of Armies, and the Choice of Subalterns. The Government in all civil and political Matters belonged to the Senate, which consisted of the Chief of the Nobility.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXX.

Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & T.  
QUINCTIUS  
FLAMINI-  
NUS, Consuls.  
Strabo, L. 4.  
Vell. Pat. c.  
L. 1.  
Florus L. 3. c.  
2.  
Epit. Livian

tizens. This *Sextius* knew, and when the conquered came to be sold, he not only gave *Crato* his Liberty and Effects, but suffered him to choose out 900 among these Slaves, who should all be set at Liberty at his Request. And the Friendship with which the *Pro-Consul* honoured *Crato* ever after, was no small Inducement to draw the Affections of the *Salyes* towards such grateful Conquerors.

The *Roman* Dominion thus settled in *Transalpine Liguria*, the next Application of the General was to find Means to maintain it; and to this he thought nothing would more contribute, than the founding a *Roman* Colony, in the Place where he had gained his Victory. For this Purpose, he chose that piece of Ground which abounded with both hot and cold Springs of Water, set his *Legionaries* at work in building Houses, Ramparts and Towers, and called his new City from his own Name *Aquæ Sextiæ*. It is still in Being, under the Name of *Aix* in *Provence*. And the better to perfect his Design, *Sextius* obtained Leave of the Republick, to transplant on this side the *Alpes*, the Colony *Rome* had formerly planted at *Fabrateria*<sup>95</sup> in the Country of the *Volsi* in *Italy*. So that the City of *Aix* was the first *Roman* Colony the Conquerors of the World planted in *France*. And now, *Sextius* having nothing more to do in his Province, returned to *Rome*, and triumphed upon better Grounds than his Predecessor had done.

§. XXXVI. At his Return, he found the Republick in Disorder, on account of the Innovations made by the new Master the popular Faction had given themselves, in the Person of *C. Gracchus*. This Subverter of ancient Customs, was now in the second Year of his *Tribunate*, and had nothing more at Heart, than to diminish the Authority of the Senate, and increase that of the People. He saw with Concern, that the *Roman Knights*, a kind of middle Order between the *Commons* and *Patricians*, inclined more to the Side of the Nobility, than to his. This illustrious Order was filled with only the richest of the *Citizens*, when upon the *Census* taken of the Riches of each Family, they were authentically proved to be worth the Sum required. So that the *Tribune* had only an indigent Populace with him. Which was indeed always too much; as the common People in great Cities are always most numerous, and they of *Rome* had the same Right of Suffrage as the most wealthy *Citizens*. Nevertheless *Gracchus* was very desirous of drawing off the *Knights* from the Senate, and bringing them into his Measures. He piqued himself upon doing his Party that Honour. Not that the *Knights* were not reckoned a Part of the *Plebeian* Body; but as they were the richest of that Order, they affected to draw as near to the *Patricians* as possible, made Alliances with them, and upon a Division, generally sided with the Senators. The *Tribune* therefore invented a sure Means to bring them into his Interest.

Plut. in Gracc.  
Cic. Verr. 3.  
App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.

Among the Laws he drew up, one of the most important was, That 600 *Knights* should be admitted into the Senate, and have Votes there; and consequently should have double the Weight there as the Senators who had never been more than 300. The Attack was a very bold one, and as soon as it was read to the People, it raised the Clamours of all the Friends of the *Patricians*. This the *Tribune* expected, and had proposed this very severe Law, only to pave the Way for passing another; which was in Appearance more moderate, but in reality amounted to nothing less than the Degradation of the Senate. This was, to take from the Senators the Cognizance of all private Causes, Civil and Criminal, as Assessors to the *Prætors*, which they only had been, till the Time of *Tiberius Gracchus* (*Vid. p. 109. Note 78*); and to subject even the *Conscript Fathers* themselves to the Judgment of the *Knights*. In Affairs of State the Senate acted only as a Body; and he did not now attempt to rob them of their Jurisdiction over the *Consular Provinces*, or concerning any foreign Negotiations. His Scheme was to extend the Jurisdiction of the Tribunal of the People by degrees, and to make himself at last absolute Master of it. And in order to succeed in the present Attempt, he had recourse to the most odious Invectives. He recalled to mind the unjust Judgments which some Senators who had been Assessors to the *Prætors* had given in favour of their Brethren; and said, *Have not we seen in our own Days, an Aurelius Cotta, a Salinator, and a M. Aquilius, all absolved by Judges chosen out of the Senate, tho' notoriously known to be Oppressors?* Reproaches, which if ever so justly founded, in particular Cases, ought not to have been thrown on the whole Senate.

App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.

<sup>95</sup> *Fabrateria* was a City of *Italy* situated on the Confines of *The Campagna di Roma*. It is now called *Falva Terra*. See Vol. 2.



For is any Body of Men responsible for the Faults of the particular Members of which it consists? Nevertheless the People greedily caught hold of the Accusation; a *Plebisцитum* was passed, *That the Judgment of all private Causes should belong to the Knights, exclusive of the Senators*: And the Tribune's Heart was so elated with this last Success, that he cried out in a Transport of Joy, *I have at last demolished the Senate*. And indeed, he had reduced them, from being the superior Order, to a State of Inferiority.

§. XXXVII. This enormous Power which the College of *Tribunes* usurped, gave all concerned great Apprehensions of the Attempts of the Head of it, who was otherwise so formidable. He had now Power to compass whatever he pleased; and he shewed his vast Interest in a remarkable manner, in the next Election of *Consuls*. Among the Candidates, there were two appeared for the second Place; it being foreseen, that the first would infallibly be given to *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*. One of these was that *L. Opimius* who had razed *Fregellæ* in his *Prætorship*, and had caused *Gracchus* to be suspected of having raised that Rebellion there which had been the Ruin of that City. The other was one *C. Fannius Strabo* an artful complaisant Man, who had managed the *Tribune* with great Dexterity. He was upon a foot of Friendship with him; whereas *Opimius* was his declared Enemy: And tho' no *Tribune of the People* had ever yet intermeddled in the great Elections, *Gracchus* was above all Rules. His Interest and Passions were the only Laws he regarded; and he resolved to disappoint *Opimius*, and advance *Fannius*. And the Method he took in order to succeed in this Attempt, gave the Senate fresh Alarms. As he was haranguing the People a few Days before the general Assembly for disposing of the great Offices, he kept his Auditors in great suspense, and struck great Terror into the opposite Faction. *The Time of the great Comitia*, said he to the People, *now draws nigh, when you are by your Suffrages to dispose of the Consular Fasces, and set two such Men over us as you like. Remember then, Romans, in this critical Minute, the Tribune, who has spared no Pains to draw you out of Slavery! If my Services have deserved your Gratitude, the Time is now come for you to shew it. Let not the Name of Gracchus slip out of your Minds, when you enter the Inclosure, to make two Men happy.* These Words, which were the Conclusion of a long Speech, every one carried home with him, and the Confusion they caused in *Rome* is not to be described. All took it for granted, That the Ambition of *Gracchus* went so far, as to make him desirous of enjoying the Honour of the *Consulate* in conjunction with the *Tribuneship*: And to unite these two Offices in one Man, would be to destroy the Republick at once, and set up an absolute Monarchy. Nor were these Fears without Foundation. If *Gracchus* was disposed to make such an use of his Power, the People were disposed to do any thing he should desire; and he maliciously enjoyed the Pleasure of the Consternation into which he had thrown the Senate, without undeceiving them till the very Day of the Assembly. Then he entered the *Campus Martius*, leading *Fannius* by the Hand, and with a very engaging Air, which he knew how to assume when he pleased, recommended him to the Favour of the People. *If, said he, you confer the Consulship on my Friend, it is the same thing as if you conferred it on me*: And from that Time, no more mention was made of *Opimius*. His Competitor *C. Fannius* <sup>96</sup> succeeded by a Plurality of <sup>97</sup> Suffrages and

Year of  
ROME  
DCXXX.  
Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & T.  
QUINCTIUS  
FLAMINI-  
NUS, Consuls.

Plut. in Grac.

<sup>96</sup> *Caius Fannius* was the Son of another *Caius*, who was Consul with *Valerius Messala*, in the Year 592. He acquired some Reputation by his Eloquence. Nevertheless *Cicero* ranks him only among the indifferent Orators. But *Velleius Paterculus* speaks of him in a different manner, when he praises the Harangue he made against *Caius Gracchus*. This Harangue was thought so good, that some ascribed it to *Caius Persius*, one of the most learned Men then in *Rome*, whose Criticisms the Poet *Lucilius* dreaded. Others suspected that it had been retouched by different Persons. Nevertheless *Cicero* confesses, in his 2d Book *De Oratore*, That no Credit could justly be given to the common Rumours on this Head. 1<sup>st</sup>, Because the Uniformity of the Style was a strong Proof, that several Persons had not been concerned in the Composition. 2<sup>dly</sup>, Because the Silence of *Gracchus* was a decisive Proof in favour of *Fannius*. This *Tribune* would not have failed to have recriminated, if he could, by reproaching his Adversary, that he was only the

Mouth of *Persius*, and assumed the Honour of an Harangue, the Credit of which belonged to another. And lastly, *Cicero* himself acknowledges, That the Talents which he had always been allowed to have for speaking in Publick, were equal to the Ability and Taste that appeared in the Composition.

We must take care not to confound the Consul of this Year 631, with another *Caius Fannius* the Son of *Marcus*. The latter had borne Arms in *Africa*, under *Scipio Æmilianus*, and in *Spain* under *Fabius Servilianus*; as we learn from *Plutarch* and *Appian*. *Cicero* makes honourable mention of the Annals he wrote; and *Brutus* so highly esteemed them, that he abridged them. *Conturbat me Epitome Bruti Fanniana. L. 12. ad Attic. Ep. 5.* *Corradus* misunderstood this Passage, when he said, That *Brutus's* Work was nothing but a short History of the *Fannian* Family. It is certain, that his Annals contained a Series of History digested according to the Order of the Years of *Rome*. *Sallust* mentions them, and says, That the Sincerity of the Author



Year of and was proclaimed *Consul* with *Cn. Domitius* <sup>97</sup> *Ahenobarbus*. It fell to the Lot of the *ROME* latter to carry on the War beyond the *Alpes*, and to the former to continue in *Italy*.  
 DCXXXI. *Domitius* made great Preparations for his Departure; but nevertheless spent the whole Year of his *Consulship* in only settling the Country of the *Salves*. However, we shall see him extend the *Roman* Dominions far into *Gaul* the next Year, and subdue almost all the eastern Part of it.

CN. DOMITI-  
 US AHENO-  
 BARBUS, & C.  
 FANNIUS  
 STRABO,  
 Consuls.

In the mean time the *Tribune Gracchus* had raised himself to so high a pitch of Grandeur, that he seemed to want little else but the Title of King. The People were absolutely devoted to him. The *Knights*, whom he had in some measure raised above the Senate, increased his Court. And the *Consul Fannius*, who owed his Promotion to him, seemed to resolve to be wholly under his Guidance. So that it is not easy to say, either to how low a State the Dignity of the Senate was sunk, or to what degree of Confidence *Gracchus* was raised. In order to demonstrate visibly to all the World the great Contempt he had for the Senate, he made use of an Expedient which was very injurious to this first Order of Men in the Republick. It had almost always been the Custom hitherto, for the *Tribunes* when they harangued the People, to turn their Faces towards the *Comitium*, where the People were placed, in such a manner, that the Speakers at the same time fronted the Senators, as they sat in their Hall. By this means, they in effect addressed themselves to the Senate as well as the People, which was indeed acknowledging their Authority. But *Gracchus* who despised them, changed the old Custom. He removed the Seats, on which the *Plebeians* sat to hear the Orators, to the other side of the *Forum*; and whenever he made any Speeches for the future, he turned his Back on the Senators, and addressed himself only to the Commons, whose Situation he had changed. This was a notorious Proof, that he no longer acknowledged any aristocratical Power in the Republick, but thought all the Power of the Government devolved solely on the People: And this publick Outrage at length opened the Eyes of the Senators.

Plut. in Gracc.

§. XXXVIII. They now began to be surprized, That 300 of the wisest Men in the Republick, Men so able in Politicks as to give Law to the eastern and western Parts of the World, should so long have suffered the two *Gracchi* to lord it over them. When the younger Brother of the two had reduced them to almost the lowest State of Contempt, they began to awake out of their Stupefaction. They now considered, That the *Consul Fannius*, on whom the *Tribune* had Reason to depend, was at bottom a most steady Republican, and not to be corrupted. He loved his Country, and would not sacrifice the Interest of the Publick to his personal Gratitude. If he had paid court to *Gracchus*, in order to get the *Consulship*, he had now gained his Point, and had Probity enough, to return to the honest Party. Upon these Presumptions, the *Conscript Fathers* did their utmost to gain him over; and found him to have the Sentiments of a true *Roman*. The *Consul* declared he did not want Courage enough to oppose the rash Enterprizes of the *Tribune*; the Senate depended on his Promises; and he kept his Word.

Cic. pro Ra-  
 binio.

Plut. in Gracc.  
 App. l. 1. de  
 Bell. Civ.

As almost the only Method *Gracchus* had taken to raise himself to a kind of Sovereignty, and to sink the Authority of the Senate almost to nothing, had been to multiply Laws in favour of the People; so he still went on in the same way, and endeavoured to preserve, or increase his Credit with the Commons, by new Edicts. He revived the old Prohibition already given to the Judges, *Not to execute any capital Sentence on a Roman Citizen, without the Consent and Order of the People*; and as this was a just Law, it met with no Opposition. But that was not the Case of the following Law which he drew up, with a View to multiply his Party: Namely, *That the Allies should be upon an equal Foot with the true Citizens of Rome, with respect to a Right of Suffrage, even in the Acceptance or Refusal of Edicts*. This the Senate thought a monstrous Innovation, and *Fannius* took occasion from thence to declare himself against his Benefactor. He, with-

thor was very apparent in his Memoirs. This is the same *Caius Fannius* who married the youngest Daughter of the *Wise Lælius*, and was united in Friendship and Sentiments with *Panætius*. But tho', a professed *Stoick*, he warmly resented the Preference his Father-in-Law gave to *Quintus Mucius Scaevola*, who had married his eldest Daughter, in relation to the *Augural Office*. *Fannius* expected this Office in preference to his Competitor, on account of his greater Age; and *Lælius* excused himself by saying, That *Scaevola* ought to be chosen before him, because he had married his

eldest Daughter. But *Cicero*, who gives us this Account in his *Brutus*, seems to contradict himself in his *Treatise Of Friendship*. He there represents *Fannius* as a Man upon very good Terms with *Lælius*, and his Collegue in the *Augurate*.

97 *Velleius Paterculus* observes, That before *Domitius* the Father of the Emperor *Nero*, there had been in the *Domitian Family*, four *Domitii*, who were only Sons, and had regularly succeeded their Fathers in the *Consulship* and the *Priesthood*.



out Ceremony, opposed the new Law *Gracchus* would have introduced; mounted the *Rostra*; harangued the People with Zeal against the intolerable Attempt of the *Tribune*; and appeared an open Adversary to him, whose Cause he was thought to espouse and defend. By this Means the Republick was divided between her two Chiefs; and therefore some Writers represent her, as a Monster with two Heads.

Year of  
R O M E.  
DCXXXL  
Cn. DOMITI-  
US AHE-  
NORUM  
FANNIUS  
STRABO,  
Consul.  
Vell. Pat. L.  
2. c. 6.

The contest daily grew warmer and warmer between *Gracchus* and *Fannius*. One was supported by the Senate and the soundest Part of the *Citizens* of *Rome*, the other, by the Multitude; and both carried Matters to great Extremities. *Gracchus* was for giving the Right of *Citizenship* and Suffrage to all the *Allies* of *Rome*, from the most eastern Parts of *Italy* to the Foot of the *Alpes*; and these People ran in Crowds to the Capital from all the Corners of *Italy*, so that the City swarmed with them. This prodigious Concourse seemed evidently designed to carry any Thing the *Tribune* thought fit to bring before the People by a great Number of Voices; and the Senate was alarmed at it. They engaged the *Consul Fannius* to forbid all those who had not yet a Right of Suffrage in the Assemblies, either to continue in the City, or within five Miles of it. This Order was no sooner published, but there arose a Dispute between the *Consul* and *Tribune*, in point of Jurisdiction; and both piqued themselves on succeeding in the Contest. The *Consul* had with him the most considerable *Citizens* of *Rome*, who saw their Right of *Citizenship* and Suffrage debased and prostituted. The *Tribune* had only the Multitude; who, content with having Bread at a cheap rate, were little concerned that others should be permitted to enjoy with them the rest of their Privileges. *Fannius* insisted, That these new-comers should leave the Capital. *Gracchus* encouraged them not to stir. On one side were published *Consular Edicts*; and on the other, Ordinances of the *Tribune's*, directly contrary to them. But at length, the boldest Man succeeded. *Fannius*, who was more of a Soldier than an Orator, thought it necessary to make use of Force to compel Obedience to his Injunctions; and he sent his *Lictors* to take two or three of these Pretenders to *Roman Citizenship*, and Men of Weight in their own Countries, from the side of the *Tribune*. *Gracchus*, either out of Cowardice, or, as he said himself, for fear of giving rise to a civil War, suffered his Friends to be dragged through the Streets of *Rome*, and driven out of the City, without Opposition: And this too great Tameness for a seditious Man, was the first Stroke that diminished the Credit of the *Tribune*, and made his Partizans a little diffident.

Plut. in Grac.

§. XXXIX. But it was not enough for the Senate to have stirred up the *Consul Fannius* against the exorbitant Power which the *Tribune* had assumed; it was necessary that they should wound him deeper, before they could compass his Destruction. Now, in order to this, the gaining one of the *Tribunes* to oppose his Attempts, was an old Stratagem which had been formerly tried against *Tiberius Gracchus*. *Octavius*, a young *Roman*, of a good Understanding, and great Merit, had undertaken, as we have shewn, to oppose *Tiberius*; but he had sunk under the Attempt. The Senate therefore thought it necessary to go more artfully and secretly to work, in their Endeavours to undermine the great Interest of *Caius Gracchus*; and they found a Person among the present *Tribunes*, whom they judged fit for their Purpose. He was in the Flower of his Age, of an illustrious Family, tho' *Plebeian*, in point of Manners blameless, skilful in Business, a good Orator, and susceptible of a laudable Emulation. His Office put him almost on a level with the Sovereign *Tribune*; and if he was well supported, he might soon be in a Condition to equal him. This Rival the Senate chose, to be put in competition with *C. Gracchus*; but directed him to pursue very different Measures from those taken by *Octavius* against *Tiberius*. The Senate were of Opinion, That if they engaged *Livius* to protest openly against the Laws which the chief *Tribune* should endeavour to multiply in favour of the People, it would only end in the Protester's Ruin: And they therefore taught him a Conduct, so refined, and so well judged, that the Historians commend it as a Master-piece of Policy. The *Patricians* desired the *Tribune* their Friend, to attempt to surpass *Gracchus* himself, in Popularity. Indeed, the Bounties they suffered *Livius* to give among the Populace, must necessarily do some Prejudice to the Interests of the Senate. But they overlooked all lesser Injuries, provided they could demolish the Idol which the People had set up for themselves; and this would in a very great measure be compassed, if they could bring *Livius* into esteem among the People, by the same Artifices *Gracchus* had used, for above these two Years. A Scheme finely laid, and executed with still more Address!

Diod. Sic. apud  
Valef.

Plut. in Grac.



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There were now two *Tribunes* in the College, who earnestly contended with one another, which should pass the most popular Laws, and such as tended most to the aggrandizing of the People, and the Diminution of the Senate; and the Game was so played, as to be unsuspected. *Gracchus*, for instance, ordered, That some particular Persons might go and take Possession of some Lands which he had assigned them, on Condition that they annually paid a Quit-Rent to the publick Treasury. *Livius*, on the other hand, assigned some others Lands, but free from any Charges whatsoever. The former sent two *Colonies* of the poor Inhabitants of *Rome* to Places where they were furnished with all the Conveniences of Life; by which the People acknowledged themselves to be obliged. *Livius* on the other hand, proposed to repeople no less than twelve Cities with indigent *Citizens*, and to send 3000 Persons to each; which was received with greater Applauses. *Gracchus* had desired to grant the Right of Suffrage in the *Roman Comitia* to all the *Allies* of *Italy*, but he had met with such Opposition, that the Design proved abortive. *Livius* desired, That the Soldiers in the Troops of the *Allies*, should for the future be freed from the infamous Distinction of being whipped with Rods when they were in fault; and the Law passing without opposition, he thereby gained the Affections of the People in all the *Italian* Provinces. Novelty always pleases; and the Appearance of a second *Tribune* as beneficent as the first, began to make *Gracchus* forgotten.

§. XL. There were likewise some remarkable Differences in the Proceedings of the two Collegues. *Gracchus* was vehement, satyirical, and full of Rage and Invectives. *Livius's* Eloquence was sweet and instructing; so that he made himself no Enemies, either in the Senate who set him at work, or among the People whose Interests he supported. The Ambition of the *Patricians*, the Oppressions of the Rich, and the Iniquities of the Senate, were ever in the Mouth of *Gracchus*. *Livius* never harangued the People, without artfully drawing in some Encomium on the *Conscript Fathers*; and assuring them, That *it was with their Consent, and at their Motion, that he improved on the Services his Colleague did them*. *Gracchus* took upon him the Care of all the Works he ordered, raised the necessary Sums to pay the Undertakers and Workmen, and tho' there was no just Reason for Suspicion, did not escape the Tongues of those gloomy People, who always suspect the Persons who have the Care of the publick Money. *Livius* never undertook to execute any Work himself; but whether it were to plant *Colonies*, or repair Roads, or erect publick Edifices, he appointed other Commissioners to take Care of the Execution. In short, the former suffered himself to be too much hurried away with his natural Impetuosity, and laid too much stress on his former Credit. The latter submitted himself to the Guidance of wise Conductors; and the ablest Men in the Senate regulated his Motions. By this Means *Livius* gained two Points, from almost the beginning of his Magistracy. The first was, That the Senate became much less odious to the People; and the second, That the *Rostra* being no longer engrossed by one Orator, the Fire of the People was much abated, by the Moderation which appeared in the Speeches that were made to them.

However, *Gracchus* was not long insensible, That the Good-will of the People was at least divided between him and *Livius*, and That the secret Wounds he received proceeded from the Senate; and he took some Steps to recover himself. Hitherto he had endeavoured to transfer all the Authority of the first Order of Men in the Republick on the People. The Judges in private Causes, were no longer chosen out of the Senate; they had no Jurisdiction left but over the *Consular Provinces*; and they had Reason to fear, that this last Prerogative likewise would be taken from them. But now the proud *Tribune* began to soften. He drew up a Law to this Effect, *That for the future, the Senate, before the Comitia for the Election of Consuls and Prætors, should settle their Provinces in general; That each Man's particular Province should be assigned him by Lot; and That there should lie no Appeal to the People, from the Decisions of the Senate on this Head*. The Senators at the same time very civilly accepted the little *Gracchus* did for them, and were in appearance upon very good Terms with him. Whenever he appeared in the Senate-House, they received him with Respect; and were so complaisant, as to refer the following doubtful Affair to his Determination. *Q. Fabius, Pro-Prætor* in *Spain*, had sent to *Rome* a great Quantity of Corn, raised at the Expence of the Province, with intent, no doubt, to fill the new Granaries *Gracchus* had built with it. But the *Tribune* judged that the Present ought not to be accepted, because it must have been a Burden to the

Florus, L. 4.  
c. 13.

Cic. contra  
Rull. pro Clu-  
ent. & alibi.



the *Spaniards*: And he ordered the Corn to be sold, and the Money to be returned to the *Spanish* Cities which had raised it.

§. XLI. Nevertheless, this seeming Reconciliation between the Senate and *Gracchus* was not sincere. The Senators made it their Business to subvert underhand the mighty Power and Authority which the *Tribune* had acquired; and *Livius* gave it a mighty Shock; if it be true, that he was the Author of a very artful Law, which appointed ten Men to take care of the Distribution of the Lands, instead of *Gracchus* and his two Associates. But the fatal Blow which entirely sunk the Credit of *Gracchus*, came not from the Hand of *Livius*, tho' the Senators were the Authors of the Plot. They put a third *Tribune* of the present Year, upon getting a Law passed for raising 6000 *Romans*, to rebuild *Carthage*, and cultivate the Plains which were formerly so famous for their Fruitfulness. *Rubrius*, under pretence of doing Honour to *Gracchus* the Head of his College, nominated him first to be the Leader of the Colony. After him *Fulvius*, *Gracchus's* seditious Friend, was nominated in the second Place; and *Rubrius* himself, the Author of the Law, in the third. A Snare well laid, and *Gracchus* fell into it. He consented to leave the City, and cross the Sea, with some of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, who were to re-people the Territory of *Carthage*, which *Scipio* had loaded with Curses, in the most solemn and formal manner that the Religion of those Times directed.

Notwithstanding the Imprecations of *The Second Africanus*, *Gracchus* undertook to build a new City on the Ruins of *Carthage*; and called it *Junonia*, from the Name of the Goddess, who had always been the Protectress of the old City. He and his Collegues were above two Months in marking out the Plan of this City; which the Senate suspected, he intended to have filled with only those of his own Party. They declared, That his Design was to provide himself a secure and safe Retreat, in case of Disgrace; and they resolved to make him leave the Work unfinished. Upon the Reports then current, that several Prodigies had happened there, whilst they were marking out the Ground for building *Junonia*, the *Conscript Fathers* consulted the *Augurs*, and made them declare their Opinions. It was said, That as the *Romans* were planting Stakes to mark out the Circumference of the new City, and offering Sacrifices to render Heaven propitious, a violent Storm arose which broke the Staff of the first *Colours*, and scattered about the Entrails of the Victim which were already placed upon the Altar; and That some Wolves had entered within the Inclosure, and broke down the Pallisades. And these Reports, whether true or false, gave occasion<sup>98</sup> to the Senate, to recall the Leaders of the Colony from *Africa*. *Gracchus* returned to *Rome*; but found a very cold Reception there, even from the most zealous of his Party.

XLII. *Livius* had got the Ascendant, during the Absence of his Rival. The Services of *Gracchus* were almost forgotten by an unsteady Populace. Their Discourses now turned altogether on the new *Tribune*, whose Conduct was more mild, and more effectually worked on their Affections. They no longer thought the Senate a Monster with 300 Heads, which was continually watching to devour the People. *Livius* had taken off these ill Impressions. *Gracchus* was soon sensible, that he had been very imprudent in leaving the Field of Battle to his Rival; and that this was not the worst Evil that threatened him. There seemed to be a great Disposition in the People, to elect for *Consul* the next Year, that *L. Opimius*, his personal Enemy, whom he had disappointed at the last Election; and upon this he was seized with a kind of Lethargy, or Stupefaction. He saw he was fallen from the highest degree of Credit; and all his Friends could do was little enough, to keep up his dejected Spirits. Will you then, said *Fulvius* to him, leave your Work unfinished? You have already brought the Senate to the edge of the Precipice, and by gradually setting Bounds to their Authority, have, in a manner, reduced it to nothing. You have drawn the Roman People out of the Slavery to which they had been reduced by their domestick Tyrants; And all that remains is only Matter of Division. Take Courage therefore, *Gracchus*, shew your self in the Comitium, mount the *Rostra*; and by that irresistible Eloquence which is your peculiar Happiness, you will triumph over your Rivals!

<sup>98</sup> *Plutarch* affirms, in *The Life of Gracchus*, that this *Tribune of the People* had no regard to the Vanity of Presages, but ordered the Works to be continued and the Inclosure of the new City finished; after which he returned to *Rome* where his Presence was necessary, at the end of sixty Days. And *Plutarch* here

supposes, that *Fulvius* was not one of the three Commissioners appointed to conduct the new Colony. Nay, he expressly says, That this Man, who was so devoted to the Party of *Gracchus*, continued at *Rome*; where his Enterprizes had been rendered unsuccessful by the wise Conduct of *Livius*.

And

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BARBUS, & C.  
FANNIUS  
STRABO,  
Consuls.  
*Annal. Pighii*  
*in veteri frag-*  
*mento ad na-*  
*num 631.*  
*App. l. 1. De*  
*Bell. Civ.*  
*Plut. in Gracc.*  
*Orosius.*



Year of  
R O M E.  
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BARBUS, & C.  
FANNIUS  
STRABO,  
Consuls.  
Plut. in Gracc.

And indeed, *Gracchus* took some Steps in order to get himself continued in the *Tri-  
buneship*, at least another Year; and to this end, affected a most extravagant Fondness  
for the Populace. His Father and himself had always hitherto lived on the Hill *Palati-  
nus*, in the finest Part of *Rome*. But he now came down the Hill, and lodged in the  
furthest Part of the *Forum*, in a Quarter which was inhabited only by the meanest of  
the People. There he lorded it over a Crowd of the most indigent *Citizens*; thought  
himself safe under their Protection, from the Attacks of those that envied him; and flat-  
tered himself, that he should have a majority of Suffrages for continuing him a third Year  
in his Office. This was certainly the only Game he had now to play. After the  
Wounds he had given to the whole Senatorial Order, he could expect nothing less than  
Ignominy and Contempt, if reduced to the Condition of a private Person. He there-  
fore drew up still more Laws in favour of the People, and gave the Multitude Hopes,  
that he would get them passed, as soon as he should be chosen a third Time. But in the  
mean time, his Collegues did not agree with him. There were others of them, besides  
*Livius*, who were grown jealous of him; and tho' the Time for the Election drew nigh,  
he treated them with Contempt, and did not pay so much Court to them, as he ought  
to have done. Though he was well skilled in carrying on State-Intrigues, he  
took some very false Steps, and his Conduct was not always so uniform, as it ought  
to have been.

A few Days before the new Election of *Tribunes*, one of the *Aediles* resolved to  
entertain the People with a Show of *Gladiators* <sup>99</sup> in the *Forum*. The Place where these  
Shows,

<sup>99</sup> The cruel Custom of the Combats of *Gladiators*  
passed from *Greece*, or as others, from the *Asiatic* Provin-  
ces to *Hetruria*, and from thence to *Rome*. At first this  
Barbarity prevailed only in funeral Ceremonies. People  
involved in the Darkness of Idolatry, made it matter of  
Religion, to sacrifice Captives before the funeral Piles,  
or near the Tombs, of their Ancestors. This horrible  
Custom owed its Birth to a monstrous piece of Super-  
stition. The Pagans persuaded themselves, That the  
Souls, or *Manes*, of the deceased were greedy of hu-  
man Blood. And at last, the strong Delusion got  
ground even among the more civilized Nations. In-  
deed such Sacrifices were prescribed, as were shocking  
to Humanity, and yet Idolatry lost no ground by it. So  
deplorable was the Blindness, that Men persisted in be-  
lieving, That the effusion of human Blood was a neces-  
sary Tribute which the Dead required of the Living.  
And upon these strange Principles, the old Custom was  
abolished to make way for another, which without the  
appearance of an Immolation, retained all the Cru-  
elty of it.

To supply the Place of human Victims, the Com-  
bats of *Gladiators* were invented. This Appellation was  
given to certain Men, who were destined by the State  
to cut one another's Throats. To the *Roman* People, who  
were brought up in the Turbults of Battles, and the  
Horrors of War, it was matter of Diversion, to see these  
unfortunate Creatures reduced to a necessity of con-  
quering, or perishing by the Swords of their Antago-  
nists; and it is not to be expressed, how fond they were  
of these Shows. In their rise, they were confined to fu-  
neral Poms: But in a little time they became com-  
mon at the Funerals of private Persons. The rich, de-  
sirous of making a Figure after their Death, never fail-  
ed to allot in their *Wills*, a certain Sum of Money, for  
the Expence of a Combat of *Gladiators*. It was a  
sure way of drawing a great Concourse of People to-  
gether, and having their Obsequies performed with the  
greater Solemnity.

Afterwards, in order to gratify the Appetites of a fierce  
and bloody Populace, it became necessary to multiply  
these tragical Scenes, not only at Funeral-Solemnities,  
but likewise in the publick Places. In the Amphithea-  
tres, in *The Games of the Circus*, at solemn Feasts, in  
the *Portico's*, and in the Baths. The Days appointed  
for the Massacre of so many wretched Men, became  
Days of Joy and Festivity among the *Citizens* of *Rome*.

The Magistrates, who knew the Taste of the People  
made their Court to them, by entertaining them fre-  
quently with these Fights. The *Aediles*, *Prætors*,  
*Consuls*, and other great Men in *Rome*, and all the  
Candidates for Offices, bought Companies of *Gladi-  
ators* at their own Expence; with no other View, but to  
please the Multitude, and gain the Suffrages of the  
*Tribes*, at the approaching Elections. And according  
to *Julius Capitolinus*, in his *Lives of Maximus and  
Balbinus*, the Generals of Armies likewise, when they  
were ready to set out for their Provinces, never failed  
to give the People of *Rome* one of these Entertainments.  
As this Usage had its Rise, so it owed its Continuance  
to the Prejudices of a superstitious People. They look-  
ed on the Destruction of these Men, who were thus  
exposed to the Dangers of a violent Death, as a kind of  
*devotement*, necessary to appease the Fury of the mis-  
chievous Divinities. Amidst the Hazards of War, the  
infernal Powers were Objects of Terror to the *Ro-  
mans*, who thought themselves obliged to guard against  
their Resentments. And they imagined, that the Rage  
of these Gods could be appeased by nothing but Mur-  
ders. So that the shedding the Blood of a Company of  
vile Men, was looked on as nothing in it self. Only it  
was said, That the Vengeance of those Furies which  
thirsted after human Blood was satiated by it; and That  
the Generals thought to purchase themselves Victory,  
and the Safety of their *Legions* by this Inhumanity.  
Tho' after all, it may be affirmed, That there was as  
much Policy in this cruel Practice, as Superstition. A  
detestable Policy indeed! but the Republick found her  
Account in it. The *Roman* Youth being accustomed  
to look on Blood and Slaughter as matter of Diversion,  
Death grew familiar to them, and they thereby learned  
to brave it with the more Intrepidity in Battle.

And when the *Romans* were become Masters of the  
World, they no longer set any Bounds to their Fierceness  
and Cruelty. They were so impious, as to look on the  
subdued Nations, as only so many vile Slaves, who  
were by Right of Conquest made subject to their ca-  
pricious Humours; and when they had reduced them  
to Slavery, they sported with their Lives, as their abso-  
lute Property by Conquest. The Blood of Thousands  
of Men was spilt in their Amphitheatres to indulge their  
Fury. This greediness for Shows which were shock-  
ing to Nature as well as Reason, induced the Magi-  
strates in a manner to people *Rome* with *Gladiators*  
who

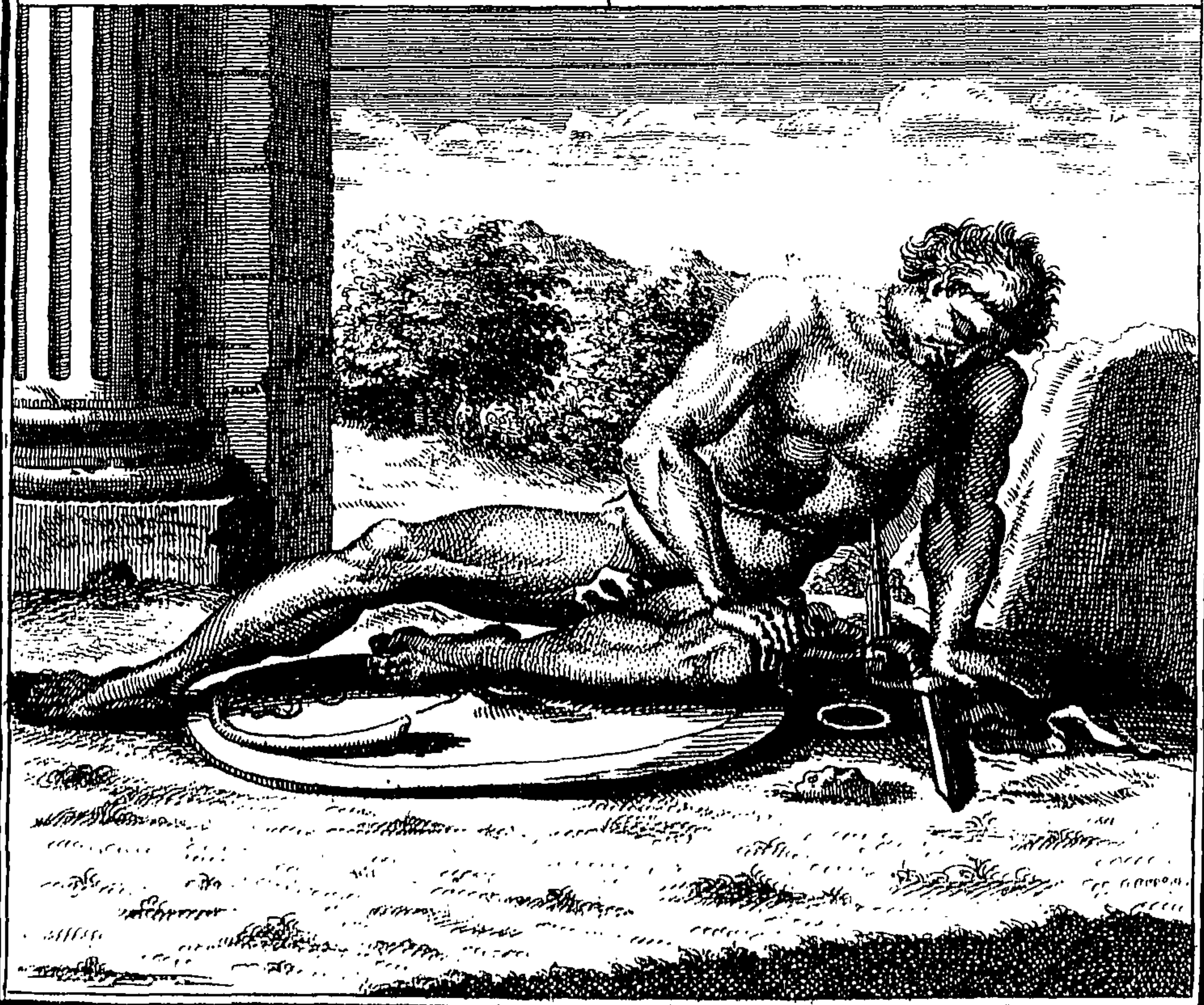




*A Gladiator shewing his conquered enemy.*



*Another shewing his weapon.*



*Another mortally wounded.*



Shows were presented belonged to the *Flebeian* Magistrates, it being the same where they held their Assemblies; and every *Tribune* built his own Scaffold, either for the Use of his Friends, or to sell Seats. But *Gracchus* did not approve of the Liberty taken by all the rest of his Collegues. He pretended, that the Place was crowded with this Heap of Scaffolds,

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who were chosen out of the Slaves sent thither from the conquered Countries. The Number of them was so great, that they were forced to be divided into different Classes, which were a sort of Academies, under different Masters, who taught them how to murder one another methodically.

After they had been bought by the best Bidder, they were beat with Rods, and whipped with Strops, into the fatal Art of killing each other; and he that had the Government of them was particularly concerned to provide them with all the Necessaries of Life. So that being fed with the most succulent Meats, they acquired Strength and healthy Looks, and this Vigour was the chief Merit of a *Gladiator*. When they were thus in good plight, the Master of them hired them out for a considerable Sum, to him who was at the Expence of the Show, and led them armed to the Amphitheatre, like so many fatted Cattle prepared for Slaughter. Before the Battle, he engaged them by the most horrible Oaths, never to give ground, but to fight to the last Extremity; and this, under the Penalty of suffering the most-severe Tortures, that Scourges, Fire, or Sword could give, and of dying by the Hands of the publick Executioner. The Form of this Oath is preserved in the Fragments of *Petronius*.

When brought to the Place set apart for these bloody Scenes, they were ranged into Classes, and divided into Couples, so that each had his Adversary. In this Order, they prepared themselves for fighting with Fury, till the Trumpet gave the Signal for the Battle. Then they began with throwing blunted Darts, or with playing with Foils, as it were to try their Strength and Skill. *Illo ipso, says Cicero, De Oratore L. 1. Gladiatorio vitæ certamine, quo ferro decernitur, tamen ante congressionem multa fiunt, quæ non ad vulnus, sed ad speciem valere videantur.* After this, they fought in Earnest, and pursued one another without Mercy, in the Presence of their Masters of Defence, who spared neither Threatnings nor Blows to stir up the cowardly. If either of the two Combatants, either worn out with Fatigue and loss of Blood, or struck with Horror at the Approach of Death, begged Quarter; he held up his Finger, and laid down his Arms, to shew that he had recourse to the Mercy of the People assembled, from whom he expected the Decision of his Fate. And it often happened, that the Spectators took a cruel Pleasure in giving up the Suppliant to the Fury of his Adversary. And then *RECIPE FERRUM, Stab him, stab him*, was the Cry from all the Parts of the Amphitheatre: Or else, the Multitude declared their Pleasure, by holding up their Thumbs, which was the fatal Signal of Condemnation. Nevertheless, it sometimes happened, that the condemned drew new Courage from Despair, and by a sudden Turn destroyed his Adversary. Sometimes both Combatants died on the Spot. And at all Adventures, the cowardly had no Favour to expect from the People. They were insensible to their Cries and Prayers, and always determined in favour of those, who shewed a generous Contempt of Death. This *Cicero* sufficiently testifies in his *Oration for Milo. Etenim si in gladiatoris pugnis timidos & supplices, & ut vivere liceat obsecrantes, etiam odisse solemus; fortes & animosos, & se acriter morti offerentes, servari cupimus.*

As soon as the mournful Sound of the Trumpets proclaimed the Death of one of the *Gladiators*, his Body covered with Wounds and Blood, was ignominiously dragged with a Crook, through one of the Gates of the Amphitheatre, to a Place adjoining; and there, if he

still breathed, he was inhumanly dispatched. This Place was called *Spoliarium*, because the Conquerors there stripped the dead of their Cloaths and Arms. The Gate which led to these dead Carcases, was therefore called *Libitina*, or *The Funerary Gate*. To which we must add a Custom, mentioned by *Pliny, B. 28*, which carries the Barbarity to a still greater height. After this terrible Butchery, says he, many *Romans* crowded round the dying, and without Horror, clapped their Mouths to the yet trembling Limbs, and drank their warm Blood, as it streamed from their Wounds. This was said to be a sovereign Cure for the Falling-Sickness.

If the People inclined to favour the vanquished, the Master who had bought them, still retained his Right to them, and kept them for other Battles. The Reward of the Conqueror was only a Crown of *Mastick-Branches* adorned with Strings, and a *Palm-Branch*, which he received from the Hands of the Magistrates; and sometimes, tho' very rarely, a small Sum of Money was added. Which was setting a very low Price on the shedding of so much human Blood.

The greatest of all the Advantages the *Gladiators* ever gained by their Victories, and Years of Services, was, no doubt, that of recovering their Liberty. In this case, the *Prætor* declared them for ever free from their hard State of Subjection to an avaritious and merciless Master. As a Pledge of their Enfranchisement, a kind of Foil which the *Latin* Authors call *Rudis*, was put into their Hands, and on their Heads a sort of Bonnet called *Pileus*, which was given to all those who from Slaves became Free: And when they were thus set at Liberty, they consecrated their Arms to *Hercules*, the tutelary God of the *Gymnasia*, or military Academies.

Nevertheless, thus much may be said in defence of the Republick, That the People who were forced to engage in this infamous way of Fighting, were for the most part, such a Set of Villains, as ought to be exterminated from off the Earth. It was thus the *Athenians*, according to *Philostratus*, used to put a Company of Pick-Pockets, Robbers, and Adulterers together, and make them fight with one another. So that they might at worst, sell their Lives dear, or perhaps save them at the Expence of those of their Fellows. And this was too much; to give these infamous Wretches, who otherwise would not have escaped the Severity of the Laws, the Pleasure of hoping, that either the Fate of Arms, or the good Will of the People, might turn in their Favour.

But this was not the Case under the Empire of the *Cæsars*. Then we see a *Caligula*, and a *Nero*, reducing Men of the highest rank, Senators, and *Roman Knights*, to the cruel alternative, of either dying in Torments, or fighting in the *Arena*. Others, out of a servile Compliance to these sanguinary Masters, voluntarily offered to act this infamous Part. Nay, there were even some Women of Condition who were forced to take their Parts with the Men in this horrible Exercise. Some young Persons of high Birth, after they had spent their Patrimony in Debauchery, were not ashamed to supply their Necessities by hiring themselves out to be *Gladiators* for Money. Others, who were over-run with Debt, were not afraid to brave Death, and hazard their Lives in the Amphitheatre, for the Profit of their Creditors. Such was the young Man mentioned by *Quintilian*; having been obliged to borrow Money, to pay for his Father's Funeral, he surrendered himself up to the Person who had lent him the Money, and paid it by his Services as a *Gladiator*.

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R O M E  
DCXXXI  
Cn. Domiti-  
us Ahenobarbus, & C.  
Fannius  
Strabo,  
Consuls.

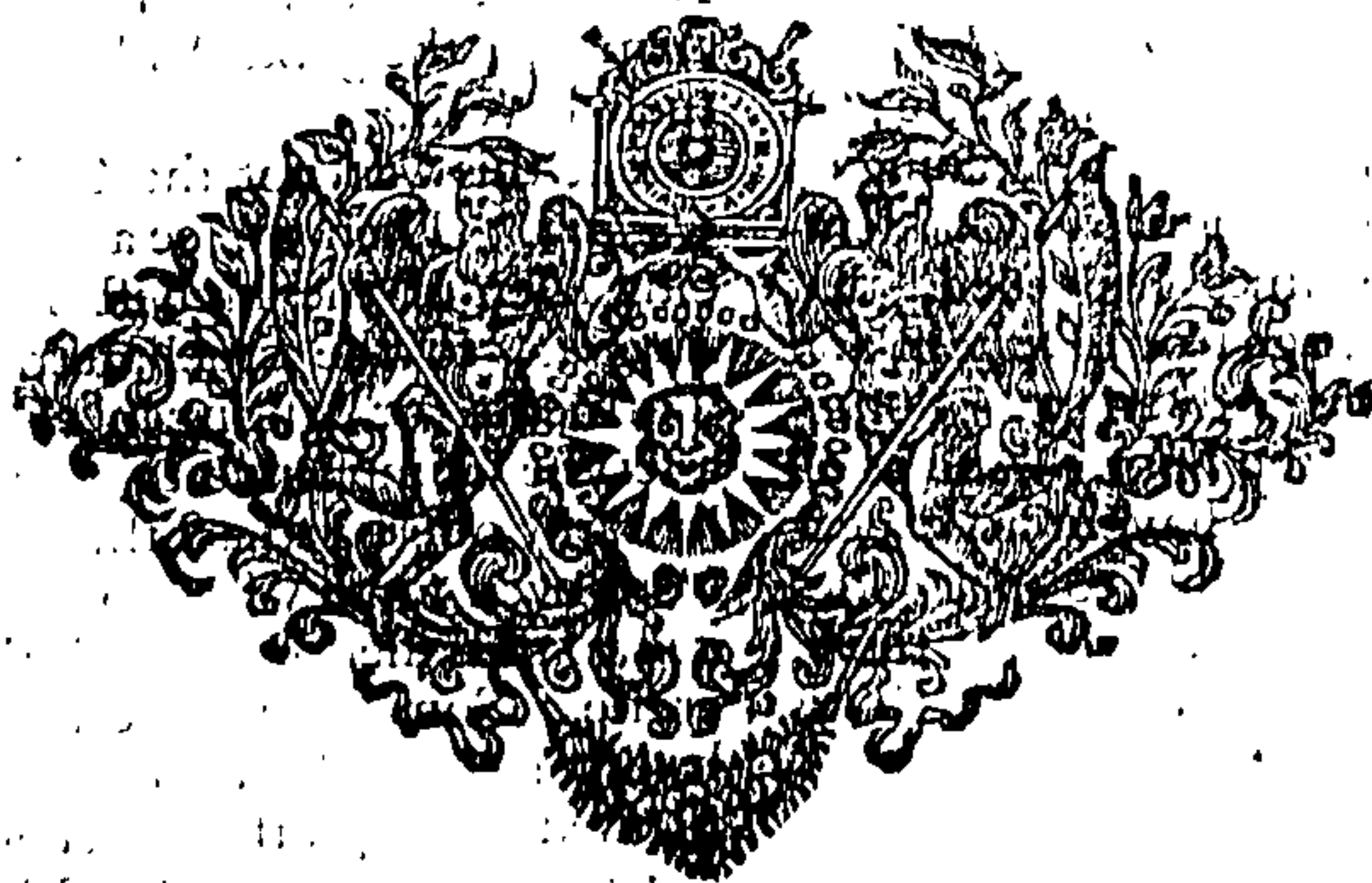
Scaffolds, only in order to exclude the common People from a publick Diversion, they not being able to pay a dear Price for their Places. The Dispute was carried to a great height; and the nine *Tribunes* pretended, that they ought to prevail against one only, who wanted to lord it over all the rest. In short, the Scaffolds stood to the end of the last Day; but in the Night before the Show, *Gracchus* himself put in execution the Orders he had before given, to pull them down. He came with a Company of Carpenters, whom he had always ready at hand, made them demolish these Barricades, and clear the Place, and leave room for the poorest as well as the richest, to see the Shows. By this bold Action, he increased his Interest among the Mob; but his Collegues resented it, and waited for an Opportunity to be revenged; which offered it self in a few Days, when the Time came for proceeding to the Election of new *Tribunes of the People*.

Each Company of these Men who were obliged to fight single Combats in the Amphitheatre, had different Appellations, taken either from their different Ways of fighting, or their Arms. Some were called *Secutores*, because their Way was not to stand still and engage their Adversary, but to run after him, and tire him by following him with a drawn Sword at his Back. Their only defensive Weapons were the Helmet and Buckler. A second sort called *Retiarii*, were armed with a Trident, and made use of Nets to entangle their Adversaries. A third sort wore a *Scyimeter*, or Hanger, after the manner of the *Thracians*, (who, according to *Herodotus*, B. 5, used to determine their Quarrels by single Combat) and were therefore called *Thracæ*. A fourth sort were the *Myrmillones*, so called from a sort of Gallic Buckler, which was peculiar to them. The Crest on their Helmets was generally a Fish. The *Retiarius* usually engaged with the *Myrmillo*. The Business of the former was to catch the Head of his Adversary in his Net, as being very sure of Victory if he could thus surprize him; and in the several Motions he made, he often insolently repeated the following Words, which are recorded by *Festus*. NON TE PETO, PISCEM PETO. QUID ME FUGIS, GALLE? *Why do you avoid me, Gaul? I don't seek you, but your Fish.* Thereby implying, that he would answer for the Event, if he could but catch the Head of the *Myrmillo*. A fifth Class were the *Samnites*, who were so called, because they fought after the *Samnite* manner. We have spoken of them, Vol. 2. A sixth Sort were the *Essedarii*, who were mounted on a sort of Carts or Chariots called

*Essedæ*. A seventh, the *Andabata*, who fought on Horseback in Helmets, which had no Sights, so that they struck at a venture. An eighth, the *Dimachari*, so called because they fought with two Swords. And lastly, a ninth Class were the *Meridiani*, who after they had escaped the Fury of wild Beasts, were forced to fight, *pele-mele* with one another, at Noon.

All these *Gladiators* were dressed only in a Tunic, except the *Roman Citizens*, who voluntarily engaged in these Combats. The latter appeared in the *Toga*, or *Virile Robe*, according to *Tertullian* and *Suetonius*, to distinguish themselves from the Slaves, who were destined by Law, to bear a Part in the murderous Sports of the *Arena*. Each of the Combatants carried a Sponge with him, by way of Precaution, to be made use of, to dry up the Blood of his Wounds. *Quintilian* observes, in his *Ninth Declamation*, that in the Place appointed for the Show, the *Gladiators* had set before them the mournful Sight of Biers, or such Carriages, as were used for carrying the Bodies of the meanest People after their Death; which was to give the poor Wretches to understand, that they had nothing to do but to conquer, or die. *Sonabant clangore feralis tubæ, illatisque Libitinæ thoris, ducbatur funus ante mortem.*

Our Authorities for this detail of the Combats of the *Gladiators*, are *Cicero*, *Horace*, *Juvenal*, *Petronius*, *Seneca*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Quintilian*, *Athenæus*, *Servius*, *Julius Capitolinus*, *Festus*, *Lactantius*, *Tertullian*, and *St. Austin*.



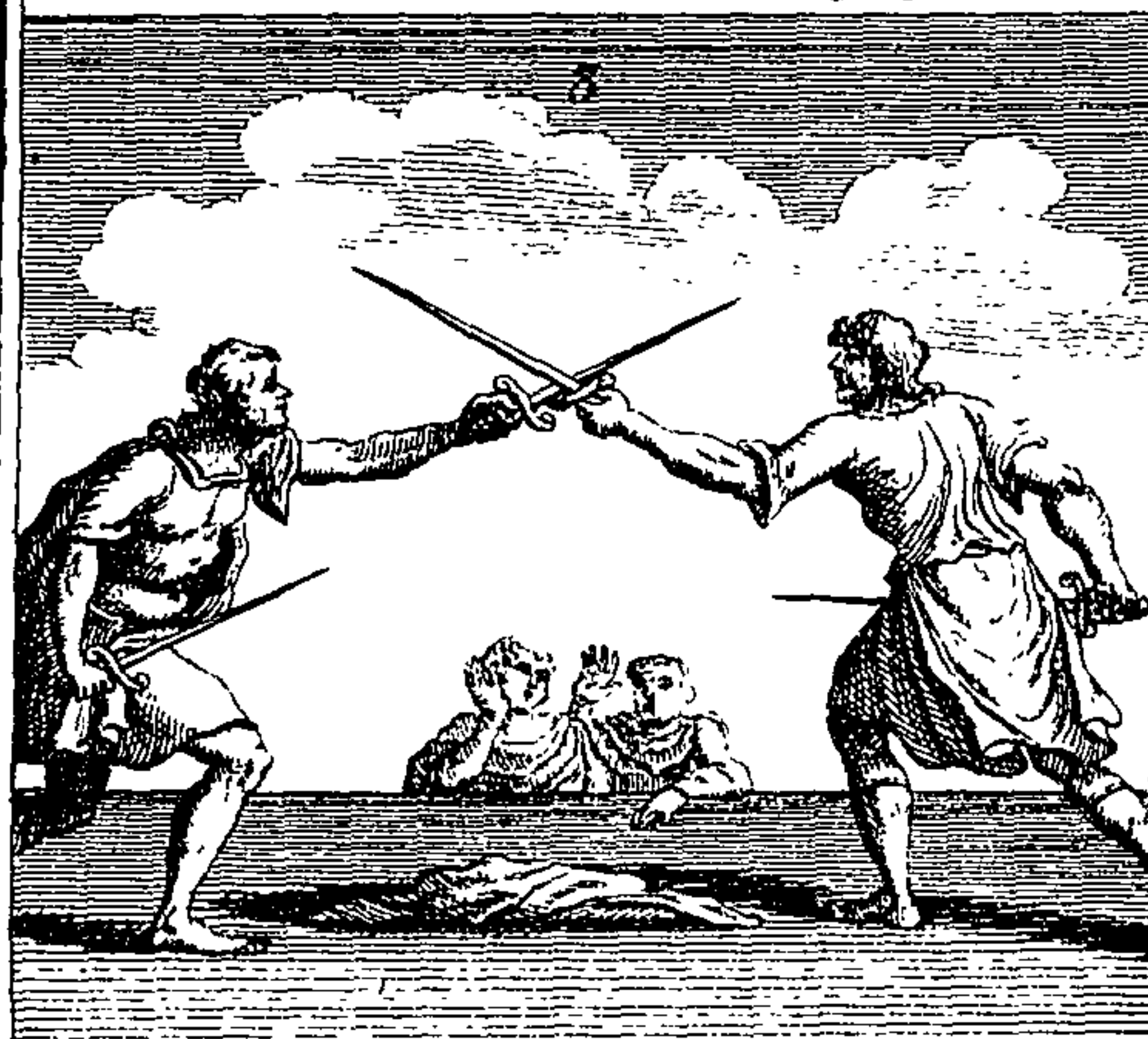




1. A Thracian and Myrmillo engaged.



2. A Retiarius and Secutor.



3. Dimachaeri.



4. Andabates.



5. A Gladiator holding a Palm Branch in his hand in token of victory.



6. Meridiani.



# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K LII.

§. I. **G**RACCHUS was now more sanguine than ever of gaining the *Tribunate* by the Suffrages of the Multitude. The Pleasure he had so lately given the common People, procured him such an extraordinary degree of Favour with them, as he thought nothing could diminish. But it is said, that his Collegues artfully prevented his reaping the Effects of the Good-will the People had for him. It was the Business of those who went out of Office to collect the Votes at the new Election; and tho' probably the greatest Number of Suffrages was for *Gracchus*, his Collegues so counted them, as to frustrate his Expectations. By this Means he was disappointed of the Employment which he sought with so much earnestness; and by being reduced to the Condition of a private Man, was exposed to the Persecutions of the great Number<sup>1</sup> of Enemies which he had created to himself. And to compleat his Misfortune, it was now out of his Power, to oppose the Interest the Senate were making, to promote *Opimius* to the *Consulate*. He had nothing to fear more, than to see a Man at the Head of the Republick, who was prepossessed, nay enraged against him, and did not want Courage. More happy *Gracchus*, if he had followed the Advice of his Mother *Cornelia*!

*Plut. in Grac.*

*L. Opimius*<sup>2</sup> was nominated *Consul*, and with him<sup>3</sup> *Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus*, the Son of *Fabius*, and Nephew to *Scipio*, *The Second Africanus*. They both distinguished themselves in their respective Provinces. *Fabius* particularly went to make War in *Gaul*, where *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, who had continued there with the Character of *Pro-Consul*, had gained great Advantages; and their Expeditions are of too much Importance to want a Place in this History. But the civil Broils between *Gracchus* and *Opimius* first call for our Attention.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXXII.

L. OPIMIUS,  
& Q. FABIVS  
MAXIMVS,  
Consuls.

§. II. *Rome* did not immediately recover her Tranquillity upon the Disappointment of *Gracchus*. *Opimius* thought his present Situation put it in his Power, to humble in his Turn, that great Adversary of the Senate, the Scourge of the Nobility and of the Rich, and his own personal Enemy: And in short, the *Consul*, the *Tribunes of the People*, the Senators, and all the Magistrates, united together, to avenge the Cause of the Republick. Among the Multitudes of Friends *Gracchus* had had in his Prosperity, there were not above five to be found, who continued faithful to him in his Distress. *Fulvius Flaccus*, and his two Sons, never deserted him to the last. *Licinius Crassus* his Brother-in-Law, and a *Roman Knight* named *Pomponius*, signally shewed their Attachment to him. And one *Septimuleius* adhered to him, till his Case became desperate; but then he forsook him in the height of his Misfortunes. So that his only resource was in the Popu-

<sup>1</sup> According to *Plutarch*, *Gracchus* could not dissemble his Uneasiness at his Disappointment. His Enemies triumphed at his Disgrace, looked at him with an insulting Smear; and he was so incensed at these Insults, that he was no longer Master of himself. You laugh now, said he, but the Time will come when you will feel the smart of what I have done.

<sup>2</sup> *Pliny*, *Petronius*, and *Velleius Paterculus* observe, That there was a great Vintage of excellent Wines, in the Year of the Consulship of *Lucius Opimius*. Hence

the Expression of *Vinum Opimianum*, to signify good Wine of any sort, wherever it grew.

<sup>3</sup> *Cicero* says of this *Fabius*, the Grandson of *Paulus Æmilius*, that he cultivated his Mind with the Study of the *Greek* and *Roman* Literature: And *Valerius Maximus* adds, that after he had dishonoured himself in his Youth, by the most scandalous Excesses, he became a Pattern of Virtue and Wisdom in a more advanced Age.



Year of laced that Quarter of the City in which he lived, and in the *Allies* of the *Pro-*  
*ROME* *vinces*.

DCXXXII. Tho' deprived of the Magistracy, he continued to exercise two Offices which he held  
 L. OPIMIUS, by Commission. He was still one of the *Decemviri*, who had been substituted in the  
 & Q. FABIVS Room of the *Triumviri* for the Distribution of Lands; and a Leader of the *Colony*,  
 MAXIMUS, which by a late Law of the *Roman* People was ordered to be planted on the Ruins of  
 Consuls. *Carthage*. He therefore went from *Rome* in search for Men who would voluntarily go  
 Author. de Vir. with him and settle there; and in this Work he was supported by *Fulvius*, his insepa-  
 Illustr. rable Friend, who determined to share his bad, as he had done his good Fortune, with  
 Plut. in Gracch. him. They had together raised a Body of 6000 Men for that purpose; when they were  
 App. de Bell. informed, That great Endeavours were used at *Rome* to destroy their Project, and That  
 Civil. L. 1. the Law for rebuilding *Carthage* would be repealed. They would probably have taken  
 great Pleasure in raising this ancient Rival of *Rome*, out of its Ashes; and might perhaps  
 design to settle there themselves, and make it the Bulwark of their Party. But however  
 that be, they hastened to *Rome* to support their Undertaking, and did it with such ar-  
 dour, as greatly confirmed the Suspicions some had entertained of them. At their arri-  
 val, they found that *Marcus Minucius*, a *Tribune of the People*, had been instructed by  
 the Senate, to represent to the Commons the Inconveniencies of the Law they had made  
 for rebuilding of *Carthage*; and *Minucius* insisted chiefly on the Prodigies which were  
 said to have happened, as the Workmen were marking out the Circumference of the  
 new City. He gave such an account, of that sudden Storm which had interrupted the  
 Sacrifice and scattered abroad the Entrails of the Victim, and of the Wolves which had  
 beat down the Stakes set up to mark the Boundaries, as made very strong Impressions on  
 the Multitude. All the Eloquence of *Gracchus*, and all the Boldness of *Fulvius*, were  
 little enough, to enable them to divert the Blow that threatened them. They first la-  
 boured earnestly to persuade the People, That all these pretended Presages were mere  
 Fictions, invented by the rich, who had possessed themselves of the fine Lands in the  
 Territory of *Carthage*; and then, to strengthen their Faction, they brought all the  
 Friends they could from the *Provinces* to *Rome*. Nay, *Cornelia* herself is said to have  
 sent *Gracchus* from *Campania* where she resided, a Reinforcement of stout Fellows dressed  
 like Reapers. But as this Suspicion is founded only on some equivocal Expressions in  
 one of her Letters, we cannot easily believe, that that Heroine could act so very incon-  
 sistently with her self, as to favour a Revolt.

After these Preparations, the first Step *Gracchus* took, was to appear once more in  
 the *Rostrum*, and harangue the People, tho' no longer a Magistrate. Custom made it  
 lawful for any *Citizen*, when the passing or repealing a Law was in question, publick-  
 ly to declare his Reasons, for or against it. But in this his last Discourse, he spoke and  
 acted like a Madman. He, without regard to the Assembly, and with an Insolence not  
 natural to him, said, *That if the Senate reported that Heaven obstructed the rebuilding of*  
*Carthage by Prodigies, the Senate lied*. An Outrage which could neither be repaired nor  
 defended, but by Violence: And we cannot believe that *Gracchus*, who was of a mild  
 Disposition, would have carried Things to this Extremity, if he had not been led to it  
 by the Advice of his Friend *Fulvius*. The latter, tho' advanced in Years, still retained all  
 the fire of Youth. He was accustomed to Arms; and after he had broke into *Transal-*  
*pine Gaul* in his *Consulate*, and triumphed on that account, he breathed nothing but  
 Blood. Had the Madman been less seditiously disposed, he might have spent the Re-  
 mainder of his Life in Glory and Tranquillity; but a factious Spirit is generally an incu-  
 rable Distemper.

The Day that *Opimius* was to repeal the Law about rebuilding *Carthage*, *Fulvius*,  
 Plut. in Gracch. early in the Morning, put some of his Faction in possession of the Area of the *Capitol*,  
 where the Assembly was to meet. The *Tribune Minutius* harangued the People, and  
 proved at large, That it was dangerous to rebuild a City on ground, which *Scipio* had  
 loaded with Curses and devoted to the infernal Gods by solemn Acts of Religion;  
 and which Heaven condemned by Prodigies, to be never more inhabited. Whilst the  
*Tribune* was speaking, *Gracchus* arrived with a more numerous Guard than that of  
*Fulvius*; but his Friends kept him back, and would not suffer him to mix in the Croud.  
*The Place where you are going*, said they, *yet reeks with your Brother's Blood. Fly then*  
*so inauspicious a Situation*. *Gracchus* took their Advice, and retired to one of the Porches  
 of the Temple, there to wait the Result of the *Comitia*; and with an Intention, not to  
 refrain from Violence, if things turned to his Disadvantage.



In the mean time, *Opimius* entered into the Temple, and there offered a Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, to obtain Success to his Design; which was to purge the Republick of all the seditious that disturbed her Peace. The Victim had been slain, and its Entrails presented on the Altar. One of the *Consul's Liētors*, named *Antillius*, was ordered to carry them out of the Temple; and when he saw himself shut into the Portico by *Gracchus's* Party, he cried out, *Take care Rioters: Make way for the faithful Servant of the Republick.* To which some add, that by way of Insult on *Gracchus* for the Modesty he professed, he made an obscene Motion with his Hand, which gave great Offence. Upon this, one of *Gracchus's* Domesticks drew his Dagger, and laid *Antillius* dead on the Place. This unexpected Act of Violence gave *Gracchus* more Uneasiness, than it did the opposite Party. He knew they waited only for an Opportunity to put him in a Passion, in order to take Advantage of any rash Action for which they would make him responsible. This Misfortune was now come; a civil War was in a manner begun, by the Blood which was just spilt; and the Court of the Temple had like to have become a Field of Battle. And as the Author of the Murder was unknown, the greater Part imputed it to *Gracchus* himself; and the *Capitol* was deserted, as a Place prophaned by the Blood of a publick Officer. Besides, a Storm arose and dispersed the Croud. It was therefore in vain for him to go down into the *Forum* to justify himself there: All the Assembly was dispersed.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXXII.  
L. OPIMIUS,  
& Q. FABIUS  
MAXIMUS;  
Consuls.

App. L. V. De  
Bell. Civ.  
Plut. in Gracch.

*Opimius*, on the other hand, thought this too fine an Opportunity to be let slip. He prepared for repaying his old Enemy, the next Day, all the Evils which the Republick and himself had suffered from him. *Gracchus* and *Fulvius* retired to their Houses, each attended with his Guard; and each very differently affected with this Adventure. *Gracchus* foresaw the Consequences of it, and reprimanded his People, either for having committed the Murder, or having suffered it to be committed. He was grieved at a Blow which might cost him dear; and walked with an Air of Melancholy through the Streets. In the *Ferum*, he stopped near the Statue there erected in honour to his Father, looked tenderly at it, sighed, and Tears flowed from his Eyes when he left it. He doubtless envied him the military Honours he had preferred to domestick Troubles, and the glorious Tranquillity he had enjoyed to his Death. When arrived at his House, he spent the Night in Disquietude; and the Company that guarded him, in a mournful Silence.

But *Fulvius* behaved himself in a very different manner. This determined Incendiary gave himself up to Joy, drank Wine plentifully, distributed it freely to those about him, and did not retire till late. His Drunkenness threw him into a deep sleep, which continued, till the Outcries of his Guard, and the Noises heard in all the Streets of *Rome*, awaked him. *Opimius* had taken Possession of the *Capitol* with his *Consular* Troops, before Day; and thereby made himself Master of a Post, which commanded the City. Then, he had summoned the Senators, at break of Day, to assemble in haste in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*; and had given Orders that the Body of *Antillius* should be privately carried, and laid at the Gate of the Place where the Senate was to assemble. The People crowded round the dead Body in great Numbers. The *Consul* pretended Ignorance of the Cause of the Clamours raised by the Sight of a dead Body on a Bier, and joined in Exclamations with the Multitude. All the Senate ran thither at the Noise, called out for Vengeance on the Murderers, and demanded that they should immediately be punished. Nevertheless, in the midst of all these Lamentations, the most sensible of the People plainly discovered, that there was more of Passion, than of a true Love of Justice in this Deportment of the Senators. When *Tiberius Gracchus*, said they, *was murdered on the Capitol, did the Senators then interest themselves in revenging his Death, as they now zealously labour to do that of Antillius? And yet what Compariſon is there between a contemptible Liētor, and an illustrious Tribune whose Person was sacred? There is more of Partiality than true Zeal for Justice in this Demeanour.* These Reflections cooled the wisest of the *Citizens*; and without engaging on either Side, they assembled in the *Forum*, to be Spectators of what should happen.

§. IV. As soon as the Senators were assembled, *Opimius* made a Report of the Situation in which he found *Rome*. He declared, That the revolted Populace carried Things to such Excess, as could no longer be left unpunished; and exaggerated the Crimes of *Gracchus*, whom he represented as guilty of the Death of a publick Officer, of the Prophonation of the Temple, and of the Insult offered to the Gods in the Person of a Minister assisting at a Sacrifice. *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* first gave his Opinion, for



Year of leaving the whole Care of this important Affair to the *Consul*, and for investing him with *ROME* an absolute Authority to do whatever he should judge proper for the publick Good. DCXXXII. This was in effect creating him *Dictator*; and a Decree was made accordingly. Upon this Determination, *Opimius* ordered the *Roman Knights* to assist the Senate, take up Arms, and every one bring with him two armed Domesticks. This Militia came according to Order; and as these Preparations could not long be unknown either to *Gracchus*, or *Fulvius*; each received the News, in a way suitable to his Character: *Fulvius* like a Madman; *Gracchus* like a Man of more Temper, but stung with Horror at the Thoughts of the Crime he was going to commit. The former was hurried away by the Fury of his Passions; the latter was, in the Language of that Time, necessarily driven on by his Fate, or rather, by his Complaisance for an unreasonable Friend. *Fulvius* seeing the *Capitol* seized by the *Consular* Party, thought it necessary to possess himself of Mount *Aventinus*; and thither he flew with two of his Sons, and the most mutinous Part of the Mob. So that the two Extremities of *Rome* to the East and West, were like two Camps, from whence two Armies of Enemies were ready to march out and give each other Battle. Nor is it at all surprizing that the two Parties should be able so readily to assemble, in the same City, Soldiers enough to make two Armies. All the *Citizens* were Soldiers, accustomed to the Use of Arms, from their earliest Youth.

In the mean time, *Gracchus* was very dilatory in following *Fulvius* to Mount *Aventinus*. His Remorse doubtless caused him to retard an Enterprize which would cause the spilling of a great deal of *Roman* Blood. At length, when resolved, he left his House; but rather like a Magistrate who was going to put an end to a civil Contest, than a Warrior who was marching to a Battle. He neither changed the Habit he usually wore in the City, nor took any other Arms than one Dagger under his Robe. When he was on the Threshold of the Door, his Wife met him to stop him. This virtuous Lady loved both her Husband, and her Country. Seizing her Husband by his Robe, and holding in her Arms his Son, the only Pledge of their mutual Affections; she said to him, *Where are you running? It is not to mount the Rostra, as usual, or to make War with foreign Enemies, that you now abandon me. Rash Man! You are going to expose your self to the Murderers of your Brother. But what Arms do you carry for your Defence? Yes, you are going to seek your own Death, not considering that that will cause mine. Must I go to redeem your dead Body of your Enemies, or to get it fished up out of the Tiber? If you have any Affection either for me, or for your dear Child, take care of a Life which is to us so dear.* She was going on; but *Gracchus*, looking very tenderly on her, advanced forwards, and she followed him a great while, still holding him by the Robe; till at length, borne down with the Weight of her Grief, she fainted, and fell. She was carried half dead to the House of *Licinius Crassus* her Brother, who had likewise devoted himself to the Service of *Gracchus*.

*App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.  
Vell. Patere.  
L. 2.*

§. V. When the Head of the Revolt was arrived on Mount *Aventinus*, he held a Council. There three Things were determined on. 1<sup>st</sup>, That it was necessary to fortify the Temple of *Diana* in all haste, to serve for a Citadel, from whence they might repel the Efforts of the *Consular* Forces. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That it would be proper to invite the Slaves to join the popular Party, with a Promise of granting them their Liberty. And 3<sup>dly</sup>, That to avoid all just blame, it was necessary to offer at a Treaty, before they came to Blows. *Gracchus* prevailed on *Fulvius*, to send to the *Consul* his youngest Son, a Child, scarce twelve Years old, but of uncommon Beauty, and of an Understanding above his Age.

*Plut. in Gracch.* As soon as little *Fulvius* appeared before *Opimius* with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, and his Arms bound with Fillets, he was received with great Ceremony, in derision to the Embassy. *Return Child, Return to Mount Aventinus*, said the *Consul* to him: *Inform those that sent you, That if they would obtain Peace, they must come themselves, and submit to the Judgment of the Senate; and Take care you don't appear here a second time. Their sending an Ambassador of your Age could only be done to insult us.* The Child withdrew, and made his Report. Then *Gracchus* himself is said to have offered to come down from the Hill in Person, to hear the Proposals of the Senate; but the Cries of the Multitude diverted him from it. As for *Fulvius*, who was more fiery, and less cautious, than *Gracchus*, he had the Imprudence to send his Son again, notwithstanding the Prohibition. The young *Roman* presented himself before the *Consul*, with a great Air of Shame and Modesty; and *Opimius* cried out in a Rage; *It is too much to insult us in this manner. Let young Fulvius be carried to Prison; not so much to punish the Son, as to*



to chastise the Insolence of the Father. The Order was immediately put in execution; nothing more was said of Treaties, or Accommodations; and nothing remained, but to force the Rebels from their Post.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXXII.

*Opimius* commanded the Attack with the Prudence of an experienced Officer; and he had to do with *Fulvius*, whose Bravery had been honoured with a *Triumph*. And now, *Romans* engaged with *Romans*, and *Consuls* with *Consuls*, for the first time; and all equally armed. *Opimius* ordered a Body of Archers, armed with Bows and Arrows, after the *Cretan* manner, to march up the Hill and give the Onset, under the Command of *Decimus Brutus*; and they discharged a terrible Shower of Arrows on the Rebels. On the other hand, *Fulvius* came down the Hill like a Torrent, and fought like a Madman. In this first Attack, *Lentulus*, then *Prince of the Senate*, was grievously wounded. The Engagement was more like a Fray than a Battle; common Soldiers were confounded with Senators, and the People with their Magistrates; and after 250 of the Rebels had been killed in this Engagement, the *Consul* proclaimed an Amnesty for all such as would lay down their Arms. He likewise, at the same time, set a Price on the Heads of *Gracchus* and *Fulvius*; and promised to give the Weight of their Heads in Gold, to any one that would bring them to him. Then the Populace on the *Aventinus* instantly deserted their Leaders, came down from the Mount, and returned home. *Fulvius* seeing a great void about him, and scarce any body by him but his eldest Son, fled for Refuge to the House of an Acquaintance, and hid himself in an old Bathing-room, which was very private and no longer in use. In the mean time, his Enemies sought him with all the Ardour the Reward set upon him could inspire; and not finding him, and at the same time knowing that he was not far off, they threatened to burn down the whole Neighbourhood. This terrified the Owner of the House to which *Fulvius* and his Son were retired; and though he would not betray his Friend himself, he directed a third Person to shew where he was. Armed Men entered the House, broke down all Barricades, came to an old Stove where the two *Fulvius's* were hid, and killing both Father and Son, cut off their Heads, and kept them to be presented to the *Consul* when the Action was over.

L. OPIMIUS,  
& Q. FABIVS  
MAXIMVS,  
Consuls.

Plutarch.  
Appian.  
Pædian.  
Velleius.  
Florus.  
Orosius.  
Auth. de Vir.  
Illustr.  
Val. Max.  
Cicero.  
Sallust.

In the mean time, *Gracchus*, who would not engage in the Battle, for fear of dipping his Hands in Roman Blood, fled for Refuge to the Temple of *Diana*. *Licinius* his Brother-in-Law, and *Pomponius*, still accompanied him; but they did not think the Hill *Aventinus* a safe *Asylum*, for a Man personally hated by the *Consul*. They advised him to make his escape out of *Rome*, through the Gate *Trigemina*<sup>4</sup>, and over the wooden Bridge, called *Sublicius*. At these Words, *Gracchus* seized his Ponyard, and would have stabbed himself; but his Friends held his Arm. However, before he left the Temple, he fell prostrate at the Feet of the Goddess, and implored her; *That this ungrateful People, who had abandoned him, might be for ever enslaved, under the Tyranny of the Senate*. Then he sallied out, guarded only by his two Friends; but gave himself a painful Wound in the Heel, by leaping down the Steps of the Temple. Nevertheless, the Danger made him quicken his Pace, and when he came into the Center of the City he desired an Horse. But these very People, who so lately adored him, refused him one, for fear of appearing to contribute towards his escape. However, he got to the Bridge *Sublicius*, though his Enemies pursued him. They would doubtless readily have overtaken him; but his two Friends, as *Horatius Cocles* had formerly done in the same Place, opposed the Fury of the Pursuers. By this means *Gracchus* got before, supported by one of his Slaves, who continued faithful to him even to Death. But notwithstanding all that *Licinius* and *Pomponius* could do, to give their Friend time to escape, they were overpowered by Numbers, and after receiving many Wounds, expired on the Bridge. In the mean while, *Gracchus* fled, as to his last Retreat, to a Wood dedicated to the *Furies*, or according to others, to the Goddess<sup>5</sup> *Furina*. But his view was not to save his Life,

Plut. in Gracch.

<sup>4</sup> The Gate *Trigemina* led to the *Tyber*, and to the Road from *Rome* to *Ostia*. For this Reason, it was call'd *The Naval Gate*, and *The Ostian Gate*. It is now *St. Paul's Gate*. See Vol. 2. p. 272. Note 69.

<sup>5</sup> See what we have said of the Bridge *Sublicius*, Vol. 1. p. 102. *Ancus Marcius* built it to join the *Janiculus* to the City. This Bridge was near the present Custom-House. There are still some Footsteps of it remaining at the Foot of Mount *Aventinus*. The

Beggars used to assemble there to beg, according to *Seneca*.

<sup>6</sup> We don't well know what Goddess it was that the *Romans* worshipped under the Name of *Furina*. *Cicero* himself, *De Nat. Deor. L. 3*, seems to have known nothing of her. At least, he is very doubtful about her Attributes. But, tho' dubious, he is inclined to believe, That she held the same Rank among the *Romans*, as the three *Furies* did among the *Athenians*. The Poets gave



Year of Life, by the Respect due to a sacred Place. As soon as he was in the Wood, he ordered the generous Slave who had attended him, to kill him. *Euphorus*, or as others call him *Philostratus*, resolved not to survive <sup>7</sup> his Master; and accordingly stabbed himself with the same Dagger, which he had plunged into the Breast of *Gracchus*, and breathed his last with him. A tragical End indeed! but if rightly considered, more for the Honour of *Euphorus*, than of *Gracchus*. The former died a faithful Servant to his Master; the latter, a Rebel to his Country.

ROME  
DCXXXII.  
L. OPIMIUS,  
& Q. FABIUS  
MAXIMUS,  
Consuls.

§. VI. As soon as *Gracchus* was dead, the Company who sought him appeared in the Wood; and found him bathed both in his own Blood and in that of *Euphorus*, who covered him with his Body. One of the common People, immediately cut off the Head of the illustrious Roman; and as he was carrying it off met *Lucius Septimilius*, one of the most zealous of *Gracchus's* Party, who snatched the Head of his Friend out of the Fellow's Hand. But his Design was to get as much Gold for it as it would weigh; and not content with being unfaithful to his Friend, he put a Cheat upon the Consul. He poured melted Lead into the Scull; and *Opimius* was so delighted with the Present, that he payed 17 Pounds and 8 Ounces of Gold for it, without discovering the Cheat. An Action so very base, that it made the faithless Wretch execrable in the Sight of all Mankind! As for the Body of *Gracchus*, it was first thrown into the *Tyber*, and then carried to his Mother *Cornelia*, who payed it all funeral Honours. This illustrious Lady spent the remainder of her Days in a Solitude, not otherwise interrupted, than by the Visits she received from all the Kings and Republicks in the World. The Daughter of *The First Scipio*, kept up to the last the Correspondencies her Father had held with foreign Courts; and she received the Deputies from *Asia*, *Africa*, and *European Greece*, with a Dignity not to be described. She charmed all that heard her, with her Relations of the Exploits of her Father; and to some she appeared learned, to others easy and gentle. But the most surprizing Circumstance was, That she never spoke of her two Sons, but with <sup>8</sup> Indifference. People of narrow Views thought this the Effect of old Age, which had made her insensible to their Misfortunes. But Men of Understanding discovered in this Conduct a Greatness of Mind above her Sex. She was a Roman; and even the Tenderness of the Mother was a less powerful Passion in her Breast than the Love of her Country.

And indeed, it cannot be denied, that *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus* were the Causes of those terrible Civil Wars which soon broke out, and which their Examples produced. *Tiberius*, who was born less eloquent than *Caius*, was likewise less audacious, and less furious; neither indeed had he the Death of a Brother to revenge. But *Caius*, whatever Sweetness of Disposition he might contract by his Education, carried his Repentments to the greatest Excess. I grant, it is not agreed, whether he went on a bad Principle, in causing so many Laws to be passed to the Disadvantage of the Senate, or not. It is pretended, That his View was only to establish an *Æquilibrium* in the Republick; and deliver the common People from the Oppressions of the rich and noble. But thus much, at least, must be allowed, That the Methods he took were seditious; and his Ambition got the better of the Uprightness of his Intentions. His Motions were convulsive; and Eloquence in his Hands was a mischievous Instrument, of which he made a very bad Use. In a Word, he exceeded the Bounds of Justice, and went farther than his Office allowed. So far was he from establishing an Equality, that he would have taken all Power from the Senate, and have made *Rome* a mere popular State. An Innovation justly blameable; and the Senate for want of Authority enough to suppress it, punished it by Violence. The People, instead of supporting their Protectors, deserted them in their greatest Danger; and were not sufficiently sensible of their own Loss, till it

gave Birth to these three Goddesses, whom they represented as the Ministers of the Vengeance of the Gods. Or rather, in the Language of *Cicero*, There are no *Furies* in Hell; they dwell in the Hearts of the Wicked. *Megara*, *Alecto*, and *Typhoea*, are Terms borrowed to express the Anxieties and Remorse, which follow the Commission of Crimes. According to *Varro*, *Rome*, in Honour to the Goddess *Furina*, annually celebrated a Festival called *Furinalia*, which the ancient Calendar has fixed to the 25th Day of *July*. He also mentions an High-Priest dedicated to the Worship of this Goddess.

<sup>7</sup> According to *Plutarch*, others affirmed, That *Caius Gracchus* and his Slave, both fell alive into the Hands of their Enemies; and he adds, That the faithful Servant covered his Master's Body, which he closely embraced, with his own. Till at length, continues the Greek Historian, after receiving many Wounds he lighed his last over *Gracchus*, who expired soon after him.

<sup>8</sup> *Cornelia*, according to *Plutarch*, one Day heard it said, That her two Children had ended their Days in Places consecrated by Religion; to which she made no other Reply, than that they deserved such a Tomb.



was too late to recover it. But afterwards, the Commons erected Statues to the *Gracchi*, Year of worshipped them as Gods, offered Sacrifices to them, and instituted Festivals to their ROME DCXXXII. Honour.

On the other hand, the *Consul Opimius* was very intemperate in the Use of the Advantage he had gained over *Caius Gracchus*; he imprisoned and condemned to die, a great Number of his Party; and was much blamed for the extreme Severity he used towards the young Son of *Fulvius*. The Child had been obliged by his Father's Orders, to carry a disagreeable Message to the *Consul*, who had cast him into Prison; and this, tho' a severe Treatment, was supportable. But, *Opimius* sent a *Lictor* to the young Roman in Prison, to offer him the Liberty of choosing any Death which he thought the easiest. The Boy hesitated, and burst out into Tears. An *Hetrurian* therefore, an *Aruspex* by Profession, who was shut up in the same Prison, encouraged him. *Why all this bustle*, said he, *about quitting Life?* At which Words, he took a leap, and dashed his Head with such Violence against one of the Lintels of the Door, that he died upon the spot. This generous Example drew the Child; and little *Fulvius*, by the like Death, delivered *Opimius* from an Avenger whom he feared. To which we must add another piece of Rigour which compleated the Odium of the *Consul* among the common People. The Bodies of those who had been slain on the *Aventinus*, to the Number of 3000, were deprived of Burial, and thrown into the *Tyber*. Their Wives were forbidden to put on Mourning for them; *Licinia* her self not excepted. So far from it, that she was even deprived of her Dowry. In short, the *Consul* ended his Victory with building a Temple, which he dedicated to *Concord*. The People were shocked with the Inscription, and in the Night, affixed up a satyrical Line on the Temple Gate to this effect; *That for the future, Discord would be worshipped at Rome, under the Name of Concord.*

As for the Senate, they had Time to breathe, as soon as *Gracchus* was dead; and their chief Application was to weaken the Laws, the two Brothers had made. The most troublesome of these to the Senate and Rich, were those that related to the equal division of Lands between the common People and the Nobles; and they found out an Expedient to make the Commons easy. Leave was given to the Poor to sell their Shares of the Lands; the Rich soon recovered all that the *Gracchian* Laws had taken from them, with little Expence: And in time, a stop was put to all future Enquiries about the Possession of Lands. At first, it was thought sufficient for the ancient Possessors who had recovered them, to pay the People an annual Tribute; and afterwards, this very Quit-Rent was taken from them, and they were again reduced to their former Wants, and subjected to the Authority of the Senate, and the Oppressions of the Rich. So that they were very justly punished for their Inconstancy, and their Ingratitude to their Benefactors. They had deserted them; and suffered more than their Deliverers had done, from the Hands that murdered them <sup>10</sup>.

§. VII. Thus was *Rome* troubled with Seditions at home, whilst victorious abroad. Whilst one of the present *Consuls* was thus making *Caius Gracchus* feel the Weight of his Authority; his Collegue was making the *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes* feel the Force of the Roman Arms. *Sextius* having conquered the *Salves*, a People next to the *Marseilles*, and settled them in Peace; his Successor *Domitius*, carried his Arms further. But the Roman was soon made sensible that he had to do with very different Enemies, from those of the eastern Countries. In *Asia*, one Battle was sufficient for the Conquest of whole Kingdoms. In *Gaul*, each District must be subdued by it self. Every People disputed their Country with the Roman Forces; and with a Valour, which might surprize the Republican Generals. Nevertheless, *Domitius* in the Year of his *Consulship*, gained a considerable Advantage over the People next the *Salves*, that is, the *Allobroges*. This Name was then common to all the Clans that lived from the *Ijere* <sup>11</sup> to The Lake *Lemanus* <sup>12</sup> be-

<sup>9</sup> The Death of *Caius Gracchus* had delivered *Publius Popilius* from his most cruel Enemy. We have seen this Man, who was so considerable for the Dignities he enjoyed, go voluntarily into Exile, to avoid the fury of the seditious Tribune. *Lucius Calpurnius Bestia*, took Advantage of the Tranquillity which *Opimius* had restored to the Republick, and joined with the Children of *Popilius*, in soliciting Leave for the Return of their Father. The People were prevailed on to favour *Popilius*, tho' the sworn Enemy to the *Gracchi*; and they gave him Liberty to return to *Rome*.

<sup>10</sup> Whilst *Rome* was a Prey to the Fury of the Seditious, the Torrents of Fire that Mount *Aetna* vomited out, laid *Sicily* waste. A Part of the City of *Catania* was already reduced to Ashes. The neighbouring Fields had been ruined, and most of the Islanders had suffered considerable Losses by these Deluges of Flame. Insomuch, says *Orosius*, That the Roman Republick from a Sense of their Calamities, exempted the Inhabitants from all sorts of Taxes, for the Space of ten Years.

<sup>11</sup> The *Ijere* rises in the *Alpes* near *Moustier* in *Taransaise*



Year of 12, between the *Rhone* and the *Alpes*. After the entire Reduction of the *Salyes*, *Domitius* perceived that the *Allobroges* were uneasy at the Settlement of the *Romans* in their Neighbourhood, and were inclined to rise. Their Pretence for it, was the Protection they thought themselves obliged to give to *Teutomalus*, King of the *Salyes*, who had fled into their Dominions for Refuge.

L. OPIMIUS,  
& Q. FABIVS  
MAXIMVS,  
Consuls.

Epit. Liv.

App. apud  
Fulv.

Upon this, *Domitius*, (who was now only *Pro-Consul*, *Fabius* having succeeded him in the *Consulship*) resolved to begin a new War with these *Allobroges*; and took proper Measures to prevent his being over-powered by too great a Number of confederated Nations. He knew the King of the *Arverni*<sup>13</sup> was one of the most considerable, and most powerful Princes in *Gaul*. He possessed almost all the Western side of the *Rhone*, and his Dominions reached from the *Elaver*<sup>14</sup> to the *Provincia Narbonnensis*. Lest therefore his People should join with the *Allobroges*, whom *Domitius* desired to attack alone, the *Roman* raised up Enemies against the former in their own Neighbourhood, by entering into an Alliance with the *Ædui*<sup>15</sup>, (who lay between the *Saone* and the *Loire*, and bordered upon the *Arverni* to the North) who from that Time adhered to the *Romans*, with a Fidelity which they scarce ever broke. So that, whatever some Historians, who confound different Events together may affirm, *Domitius* had scarce any People to engage but the *Allobroges*. And this was a great deal; for they were a flourishing and a numerous People. It is possible indeed, that the *Arverni* might underhand assist the *Allobroges* before, and now; being exasperated at the Steps the *Ædui* had taken, in going over to the Interest of *Rome*, they entered into their Territories, and committed Hostilities there. The *Ædui* complained of this to *Domitius*, and he took occasion from thence, immediately to force himself a Passage into the Country of the *Arverni*, in spite of the *Allobroges*. The King of the *Arverni*, named *Bituitus*, or according to the Celtic Orthography, *Bitultick*, endeavoured to avert the Blow which threatened all *Gaul*; and in the Pride of Heart which his Riches and large Dominions inspired, he sent an Embassy to the *Roman* Camp, not only to divert the *Pro-Consul* from attacking the *Allobroges*, but to order him, absolutely to quit all *Gaul*, and reinstate the King of the *Salyes* in the Possession of his Dominions.

This Deputation from *Bitultick* was quite a new Scene to the *Romans*. The Ambassador came to an Audience of the *Pro-Consul* very richly dressed, and followed by a great Number of Attendants; but his chief Guard consisted of great Dogs, which followed him in good Order, like regular Troops. By his side, walked a<sup>16</sup> *Bard*, that is, one of the Priests of the *Gauls*, who being a skilful Versifier in his Country-Language, sung

*Varanfaisse*. This River which waters a Part of *Savoy* and *Dauphiné*, falls into the *Rhone* near *Valence*, after having been enlarged by the Waters of the *Arçq*, and the *Drac*, and several other little Rivers.

<sup>12</sup> The Lake *Lemanus* is now known by the Name of *The Lake of Geneva*, and *The Lake of Lausanne*, because these two Cities stand on the Banks of it. Its greatest length from East to West is about 18 Leagues; but its greatest breadth is said not to be more than 5 Leagues. This Lake abounds with Trouts of an enormous size. There have been seen some, which have weighed 100 Pound, apiece.

<sup>13</sup> According to *Julius Cæsar*, the *Cevennees* bounded the Country of the ancient *Arverni*, now the *Auvergne*. *Strabo* comprehends *Velay* and *Vivaretx*, in *Auvergne*; and *Cæsar* gives them likewise *Quercy*, and *Gevaudan*. *Ptolomy* says that this Nation extended their Conquests to *Narbonne* on one side, and to *Marseilles* on the other; and according to *Strabo*, their Boundaries were the Ocean, the *Pyrenees*, and the *Rhine*. *Bourbonnois* was a Part of this Country, which *Stephen of Byzantium* includes in *Celtic Gaul*. But *Ptolomy*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*, place it with more Reason, in *Aquitanian Gaul*. *Lucan* tells us, That the *Arverni* gloried in deriving their Origin from a Colony of *Trojans*, who settled among the *Gauls*, under the Conduct of *Antenor*. *Sidonius*, to do honour to his Nation, passes off this Fable for a certain Truth. We infer from the Accounts of most of these Authors who have written of *Auvergne*, That there were sometimes more, sometimes fewer, Provinces subject to it.

<sup>14</sup> The *Elaver*, vulgarly called the *Allier*, rises in *Gevaudan*, at the Foot of Mount *Losere*, near the Village of *Condres*. After rising between this District and *Velay*, it waters the Countries which reach from *Clermont* to *Nivernois*; and being afterwards enlarged by the Waters of the *Dore* and the *Sionle*, it discharges it self into the *Loire*, a League above *Nevers*. The Place where the two Rivers join is now called *The Beak of the Allier*.

<sup>15</sup> The Bishopricks of *Autun*, *Chalons*, *Nevers*, and Part of that *Macon*, are all in the Country which formerly belonged to the *Ædui*. *Strabo* extends it from the *Doux* to the *Saone*. But to speak more accurately, the Limits of their Country were the *Seine*, the *Loire*, and the *Saone*. *Julius Cæsar* speaks of the *Ædui*, as of one of the most considerable Nations in *Transalpine Gaul*. Their Attachment to the Interests of *Rome* was such, that they merited the Title of the Brethren of the *Roman* People; as *Cicero* affirms, *B. 1. To Atticus*, Ep. 17; and *Tacitus* *B. 11*. *Autun* was the Capital of all the Country.

<sup>16</sup> By a *Bard*, the ancient *Celtæ* meant according to *Festus*, a Man who was a Singer by Profession. *Bardæa*, *Gallio*, *Cantor* appellatur. This Testimony agrees with that of *Diodorus Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Lucan*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*. These Authors agree, That the Office of the *Bards* was to sing military Exploits to Instruments of Musick. The Nation committed to them the Care of writing in Verse the Actions of their Heroes, and transmitting them to Posterity. The *Gauls* carried their Respect for this sort of Priest



fung the Praises of his King, his People, and the Ambassador. But the Rhodomontades of the *Gauls* did not terrify *Domitius*. He was impatient to relieve his faithful *Ædui*, from the Oppression they suffered by the Incurfions of the *Arverni*; and he descended into the fine Plains of the Country of the *Cavari* <sup>17</sup>, and encamped near a Village called *Vindalia* <sup>18</sup>, not far from the Place where the *Sulga* <sup>19</sup> falls into the *Rhone*. But from whence, one of the ancient Historians brings those Elephants into *Domitius's* Camp, to which, being unknown to the *Gauls*, he ascribes his Victories; I know not. Whether he will have them to have climbed the *Alpes*, or to have been brought by Sea to *Mar-seilles*; it is certain, the Valour and Discipline of the *Romans* were sufficient to have routed the innumerable Multitude of *Allobroges* which appeared at *Vindalia*, without them. In the Battle fought there, it is said, That 20000 *Gauls* were killed on the Spot, and 3000 made Prisoners of War; which was so compleat a Victory, as might have discouraged any Nation except the *Gauls*. But the Action of *Vindalia* was only the prelude of a Campaign, which the *Consul Fabius*, newly arrived from *Rome*, was come to finish.

Year of  
ROME.  
DCXXXII.

L. OPIMIUS,  
& Q. FABIVS  
MAXIMVS,  
Consuls.

Strabo, L. 4.  
Orof. L. 5. c.  
13.  
Vell. Pater.  
Epit. Livian.  
Florus 3. 2.

§. VIII. This Defeat of the *Allobroges*, and the Progress of the Conquerors, put the powerful Nation of the *Arverni* in motion. *Bitultick* their King, understood his true Interest, and saw the Danger with which his whole Country was threatened. He was proud, and had great Dominions, and immense Riches. *Gaul* then produced Gold: Upon digging a very little way into the Ground, on this side the *Pyrenees* near the Mouth of the *Aturus* <sup>20</sup>, there were found Plates of this precious Metal, of the bigness of a Man's Head, and so pure, as to need no Refining; and hence the Delight the *Gauls* took in Gold Necklaces. As for *Bitultick* in particular, he had inherited the Treasures of his Father *Luerius*, the late King, who had been both Rich and Liberal. He had often rode through his Territories in a magnificent Chariot, and as he passed, thrown Gold and Silver Coin among his People. Sometimes, he likewise enclosed a Piece of

Strabo Ibid.

Priests almost to adoration. If they appeared the moment two Armies were ready to engage, their Songs like a kind of Charm, instantly calmed the Fury of the Soldiers, according to *Diodorus Siculus*. Their Authority was so great, that they had a Right to reprove those who had transgressed, in Publick, without any Ceremony. Nevertheless, if we may believe *Athenæus*, they were not without their Faults. They not only professed Poetry, but had all the Impudence of *Parasites*; as they are called, by *Possidonius of Apamea*. And *Appian*, in his *Celtiks*, relates a Story, which confirms the Account of that ancient Author, as quoted by *Athenæus*. *Luernius* one of the richest Lords of his Nation, had fixed a Day for making a magnificent Feast, and intended to do the Honours of it himself. A *Bard*, who loved good Cheer, proposed to have his Share of it; but he came too late; and his Anger upon that occasion is not to be described. At first, he dissembled his Uneasiness; and sung some Verses in praise of *Luernius*. But he could not act this forced Part long. His Concern broke out in Sighs and Lamentations; and nothing could console him, upon the Misfortune of having missed the Feast; but the Hopes of making himself amends upon another like Occasion.

<sup>17</sup> *Strabo* places the Country of the *Cavari*, between the *Durance*, and the Place where the *Isère* falls into the *Rhone*. Nevertheless it is certain, that the *Duchy of Valentinois*, and the *Bishoprick of St. Paul Trois Châteaux*, are within that compass; but neither of them belonged to the *Cavari*. The former was inhabited by the People called *Segalauni*, or *Segovellanni*; the latter by the *Tricastini*. *Ptolomy* seems to be more exact in his Account of this Country: The Bounds he sets to it, did not reach beyond the Country of *Avignon*, the Principality of *Orange*, and the Dioceses of *Apt* and *Cavaillon*. Nevertheless it must be owned, That *Pliny* ascribes to the *Cavari*, the City of *Valence* in *Dauphiné*. But still, the Difficulty is, how to reconcile him with himself, when he speaks of the *Cavari*, as a People different from the *Segovellanni*, whose Capital was *Valence*. *Pentinger* in his Table, makes the *Rhone* the Boundary of the *Cavari* on one

Side, and the *Durance* on the other; and at this rate, *Carpentras* must have belonged to them.

*Dalecamp*, of his own Authority, and without regard to the most famous Geographers, *Greek* or *Latin*, confines these People to a Village now called *Le Gavot* and situated on the Banks of *The Lake of Geneva*. All, his Proof is an Etymology as false as it is ridiculous. He fancies he finds some resemblance between the Words *Gavot* and *Cavari*; and upon this slight Foundation he assumes a Right of displacing this Nation, and confining it to a little Tract of Land, which never belonged to it.

<sup>18</sup> *Vindalia* was an ancient City, belonging to the *Cavari*, between *Avignon* and *Orange*. It stood on the conflux of the *Sulga* and the *Rhone*. The Place where it stood is now called, *The Bridge of Sorgue*.

<sup>19</sup> The River *Sulga*, now known by the Name of the *Sorgue*, derives its Waters partly at least, from the Fountain of *Vautouse*, which is so famous for the Verses of the celebrated *Petrarch*. At a little distance from it, there are still to be seen the Ruins of an Old Castle where this Poet lived. This River, after it has watered a Part of the *Comtat*, falls into the *Rhone*, near the Place where old *Vindalia* stood.

<sup>20</sup> The *Aturus*; or the *Adour* as it is now called; is one of the Rivers that waters *Gascogne*. There is another River of the same Name, which, after it has run through a Part of this Province, falls into *The Great Adour*. This River rises in the Mountains of *Bigorre*; from thence it runs to *Bagnieres*, *Tarbes*, and *The Generality of Montauban*; and through a Part of *Armagnac*, to *Grenada* in *Mitran*, about two Leagues above *St. Sever*; and from thence begins to be navigable to the Sea, into which it discharges it self near *Bayonne*. Its Mouth is now called *New Boucault*, to distinguish it from *Old Boucault*, where it formerly fell into the Ocean. One of the two Rivers that falls into the *Great Adour*, is called the *Adour*; and the other the *Seube*, which rises in the Valley of *Campan*, and runs about twelve Leagues beyond it. The other rises in the Valley of *Baudéan*, and is therefore called the *Adour of Baudéan*.

Ground



P. Manilius.

Ground of 1500 Foot square, with Stakes; ordered Tables to be there set up, and plentifully covered; and there entertained all his Subjects that would come, for several Days. In the middle of the Inclosure a Bason was dug, and filled with a delicious Liquor, of which every one drunk as he pleased.

Year of  
R O M E.  
DCXXXIII.  
P. MANILI-  
US, & C. PA-  
PIRIUS CAR-  
BO, Consuls.

The Son had increased his Father's Wealth, and had not degenerated from him in point of Liberality: And therefore it is not surprizing that he should be able to assemble an Army of 200000 Men. His Subjects loved him, and readily obeyed his Summons. This numerous Body marched to the Defence of the *Allobroges*, and fought for the *Roman* Army, which they found encamped in the Country of the *Cavari*, on the Banks of the *Ijere*. *Domitius* had surrendered the Command to the *Consul Fabius*, who came from *Rome* during the Troubles raised by *Gracchus*. The *Roman* Army did not exceed 30000; but it was a victorious one, and *Domitius* still continued in the Camp, to assist the General with his Advice and Service. *Fabius* himself was likewise become only *Pro-Consul*, since the new Election of *P. Manilius*, and *C. Papirius* <sup>21</sup> *Carbo* to the *Consulship*. He was not affrighted at the Appearance of this terrible Multitude of *Gauls*, *Allobroges*, *Arverni*, and *Rutheni* <sup>22</sup>. He had more Reason to depend on his disciplined *Legionaries*, than *Bitultick* had to place any Confidence in this Assembly of *Gauls*, who were in a manner utterly undisciplined, and without Experience.

Plin. L. 7.

As soon as the King of the *Arverni* saw the *Roman* Camp, he despised such weak Enemies; and said to those about him, *This little handful of Men is scarce sufficient to feed the Dogs that follow me*. In his March, he had kept on the western Banks of the *Rhone*; and therefore found it necessary to build one Bridge on Piles, and another of Boats fastened together with Chains and Cables, for the better passing the River. Whether the Art of Encamping was then in use among the *Gauls*, I know not; but, be that as it will, this immense Multitude descended into the sandy Plains which are at the Mouth of the *Ijere*; and *Bitultick*, impatient to give battle, for fear this little Body of *Romans*, whom he thought taken as in a Net, should escape him, advanced to begin the Attack, before all his People had passed *The Rhone*. The Time he chose, was a very fortunate one, in this Instance, that the *Roman Pro-Consul* who had a quartan <sup>23</sup> Ague, was then in the height of one of his Fits. But the Ground was not fit for drawing up so very large an Army as he commanded. It was broken by Ditches, and embarrassed with Rocks and Coppices: So that the *Gauls* could not fight in so close Order as they ought to have done. Besides, they found the Heat of the Climate, which was very different from their own, very troublesome; for the Battle was fought on *The sixth of the Ides of August*.

App. in Celti-  
cis.Vell. Pat. L.  
9. c. 6.

On the other hand, though *Fabius* was confined to his Bed, he immediately ordered his Troops to engage, and even prevented the *Gauls*. Sometimes he rode in a Chariot, and drew up his *Legions* himself; and sometimes he was held up by the Arms, and carried through the Files, giving Orders, and exhorting his Soldiers to behave themselves well. And before all the Army of the *Gauls* was arrived at their Bridges, the *Legionaries* began the Attack, with an Ardour and Impetuosity that surprized their Enemies. However, the *Gauls* sustained their Efforts for some Time, tho' more by Numbers than Constancy; but at length the Slaughter became very great, and the Rout general. The vanquished *Gauls*, as their only Refuge, tried to repass the River, and gain the opposite Banks. But the Bridge of Boats, being overloaded, sunk to the bottom, and several Thousands of Men were drowned. And then *Domitius*, who was unwilling to be behind *Fabius* in the Glory of the Victory, took this Method to compleat it. The King of the *Arverni* had not yet left the Field of Battle; and *Domitius* pressed him to an Interview, and invited him to his Tent to treat with him in an amicable manner. *Bitultick*, full of that honest Frankness which was always the Character of the *Gauls*, gave way to the Persuasion of the *Roman*, and suffered himself to be brought disarmed, and without any Attendants, into the Presence of the old *Pro-Consul*. As soon as *Domitius* had him in his Power, he said to him, *It is necessary for you to go to Rome. There you may give an*

<sup>21</sup> This *Caius Papirius Carbo* is the same, who got the Law passed about voting by *Tablets*, when he was *Tribune of the People*, in the Year 622; and who treated *Scipio Emilianus* so unworthily. *Cicero* ranks him among the famous Orators of his Age, and commends his Orations which were then in every Body's Hands.

<sup>22</sup> The *Rutheni*, or *Ruthani*, as *Ptolomy* calls

them, inhabited that Part of *Aquitanic Gaul*, which is now the Province of *Rosiergus*, of which *Rhodes* is the Capital.

<sup>23</sup> According to other Authors, the *Pro-Consul Fabius* was not quite cured of a Wound he had received in a Rencounter.



account of your Conduct to the Senate; who perhaps will judge you worthy of their Favour. *Bitultick* opposed his being transported thither as much as he could, called for Vengeance from the Gods, Protectors of Faith, but in vain. He was conducted to *Marfeilles*, and there was put on board a Ship, which carried him into *Italy*.

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P. MANILI-  
US, & C. PA-  
PIRUS CAR-  
BO, Consuls.

§. IX. In the mean time, *Fabius* reaped Advantages of different kinds, from his Victory. Besides that it was compleat, the *Gauls* having lost 120000 Men, either killed or drowned; the *Pro-Consul* was entirely cured of his Fever. Either the Joy of having been victorious, or his Motion during the Action, caused such a sudden Change in him, that he had no Return of his Dis temper. And now, he applied himself wholly to settling the Affairs of the Country he had just conquered. The *Allobroges* submitted to the Dominion of the *Romans*; but were not reduced to the State of a Province. *Rome* neither demanded any Tribute of them, nor sent a *Prætor* to govern them. The Fidelity of the *Gauls* was sufficient to secure their Obedience. The *Arverni* being sufficiently chastised, no further Punishment was inflicted on them. *Fabius* only made them promise to continue at home in Peace, and they kept their Words. They afterwards became as well affected to the *Romans*, as almost any other Nation; and the *Ædui* scarce ever forgot their Alliance with *Rome*. Insomuch, that the Senate affected to give them the Appellation of *Brethren*; protected them on all occasions; and the *Æduan* Name was as much revered in *Gaul*, as it was dear to the sovereign Republick.

Jul. Cæs.  
Comment. L. 1;

However, *Domitius* was resolved to leave some Monuments of his Victory in the Country where he had gained it; and he ordered a great Road to be made, which was afterwards called *The Domitian Way*. On this Road he built Towers, and on them<sup>24</sup> erected *Trophies*, to put the *Allobroges* in mind of his having subdued them. A sort of Buildings not hitherto used by the *Roman* Generals; who had not accustomed themselves to insult the Nations they had conquered, after their Defeat. And though there was less to be objected to the two Temples *Fabius* built in *Gaul*, (one to *Hercules*, as the tutelar God of the Country, and the other to *Mars*, as the tutelar God of the *Romans*) yet was not he free from the Reproach of having been drawn, by the Example of *Domitius*, to erect some *Trophies* of Stone in the conquered Country<sup>25</sup>.

Florus, L. 3.  
c. 2.  
Quæst. Rom.

After the Affairs of the eastern Part of *Gaul* were thus settled, *Domitius* and *Fabius* embarked at the Port of *Marfeilles*, and returned to *Rome* to triumph there. Whether *Bitultick* went before them, or with them, is not known, but this at least is certain, That he complained bitterly of the Proceedings of *Domitius*. What new Law of Nations, said he to the Senate, is this that you introduce into *Gaul*? Have you conquered a sincere and credulous People, only to give us Proofs of your Falshood? An Interview was proposed and Conference offered; I accepted it, and was loaded with Chains, like a Captive taken in War. Are these Cheats practised by the Republick which is so much extolled for its Equity? The *Conscript Fathers* took the Complaints of the King, and the Conduct of *Domitius*, into their Consideration; but *Rome* was degenerated from its ancient Probity; and the publick Interest prevailed over Truth and Justice. They were afraid, lest *Bitultick* should renew the War, after his return Home; and this Fear produced a second Act of Injustice. The Senate ordered the *Consul*, *P. Manilius*, who was then setting out for *Gaul*, to send *Congeniatius*, a young Prince of the *Arverni*, and the Son of *Bitultick*, to *Rome*. In the mean time, Preparations were made for the Triumphs of *Domitius* and *Fabius*; and the former, appeared in his triumphal Chariot, graced his Procession with *Bitultick* and the richest Spoils of the *Arverni*, and assumed, by way of Distinction, the Surname of *Allobrogicus* which he ever after bore. The latter also received the same Honours in the Capital; and the King of the *Arverni* marched also before him, tho' not on Foot as an ordinary Captive, but mounted on a Chariot adorned with Silver, after the *Gallic* manner, in which he used to fight. Afterwards this unfortunate Prince was banished to *Alba*, where he spent the rest of his Days in an honest Liberty. His Son *Congeniatius* was sent to *Rome*; there educated in the Manners and Politeness of the *Romans*; and when returned to his Dominions, he ever after honoured and cultivated the Friendship of the Republick, where he had received his Education. Such were the first Artifices *Rome* made use of, in order to subdue by insensible degrees, one of the finest and largest Countries in *Europe*. The Accounts transmitted to us of this

Vell. Patere.  
L. 9. c. 6.

Plin. L. 33.  
Tab. Triumph.  
Eutrop.

Val. Max.  
Epit. Liv.  
Eutropius.  
Diod. Sic. apud  
Valef.

<sup>24</sup> See Vol. I. p. 123. Note 34. concerning the Use of *Trophies* among the *Romans*.

<sup>25</sup> *Suetonius* adds in his *Life of Nero*, That *Domitius* Vol. V.

us, to insult the Vanquished, passed through *Auvergne*, mounted on an Elephant, and attended by his Troops with all the Pomp of the triumphant Victors at *Rome*.



Year of War are very confused and different ; but we have endeavoured to distinguish the true *ROME* from the false, and to represent it at least in a probable Light.

DCXXXIII. §. X. Thus *Gaul* had been the Seat of War, whilst *Rome* was employed in terminating the Disputes which the Faction of the *Gracchi* produced after their Decease. One of the most considerable, was the Attempt made by a *Tribune of the People* named *Publius Decius* <sup>25</sup> *Mus*, against *L. Opimius*. This *Consul* for the preceding Year had greatly debased the *Tribunate*. The Authority of the College was considerably reduced since

the Death of *C. Gracchus*, and it seemed difficult to recover it. Nevertheless, *Decius Mus* undertook to revive the Credit of the *Tribunes*, by a bold Attack. He accused *Opimius*, and cited him to appear before the Assembly of the People. The Crimes laid to his Charge were, his having been the Author of the Death of a great Number of *Citizens* in the Battle of the *Aventinus*, and his having afterwards sentenced others to die before the People had condemned them. A Cause of the utmost Importance to both Parties ; and debated with all the Warmth of the old Resentments. On one hand, it would now be determined, Whether it were ever lawful for a *Consul*, empowered by the Senate, to rid the Republick of a bad *Citizen* without the Consent of the People ? On the other, it affected a plain Right which the People had acquired by the Law which enacted, *That no Citizen should be put to death, but by the Decree of the Comitia*. The *Tribune Decius*, no bad Orator, maintained the Cause of the People, before the People themselves ; and pretended, that if they gave up their Rights in this Instance, the Affair would soon end in Tyranny, on the Part of the Senate. Then, said he, *your Defenders will undergo the Fate of the Gracchi, whenever the Conscrip't Fathers shall think fit. They will metamorphose them into dangerous Citizens at pleasure ; and without waiting for your Orders, Death will be the Reward of their Zeal for your Interest.*

*Papirius Carbo* was now *Consul*, and he undertook the Defence of *Opimius*, which could not be in better Hands. He had formerly been zealous for the People and the *Gracchi*, even to Madness ; and had been suspected of having assassinated *The Second Africanus*. But he had since changed his Party, and with it his Sentiments. He was returned from that false Pursuit, had paid court to the Senate, and was now, since the Death of *Gracchus*, promoted to the *Consulate* : And besides the Weight his Office gave him, he was a Man of Eloquence enough to make lively Impressions on the Commons. I was formerly of Opinion, said he, *that all the Authority in the Republick ought to be lodged with the People. But my Reflections on the Troubles the Gracchi raised, opened my Eyes. Shall a Company of Mutineers be at Liberty to attempt any thing they please ; and be encouraged to tread the Laws under foot, and to destroy a flourishing State, by Impunity ? Shall State Rebels have no other Judges or Avengers, but themselves ? Shall the Senate sit still, and see Companies of factious Men assemble together, take up Arms, and make the City a Field of Battle, without endeavouring to prevent it ? Shall Murderers and Assassines be suffered to go on, without check, or controul ? I readily allow, that in Times of Tranquillity, Rome cannot too often refer the Condemnation of her Citizens to the People. The Loss of a Citizen is a Prejudice to the whole Republick. But shall the Vessel therefore be lost in tempestuous Times, when the People themselves raise the Storm, for want of a wise Pilot to steer her prudently ? In these Cases, the Law is contrary to Reason ; and upon such Occasions, the Senate are the Interpreters of it. If they had not ordered the *Consul* to prevent the Attempts of the Populace by Force, what would have become of Rome ? What a Slaughter would a turbulent Faction have made, if it had not been prevented by letting out a little of their Blood ? What Numbers of People would those Madmen have cut off, when grown giddy and drunk with Victory ? It is to you, *Opimius*, that the Roman People are indebted for the Security they enjoy. It was your Wisdom and Courage that allayed the Storm. Go then, Romans, into the Inclosure, and vote as you please, for or against *Opimius*. But remember, that if you declare against him, you will in him condemn the whole Senate ; and if you acquit him, you will only do Justice to the Author of the publick Tranquillity.*

Then the *Tribes* entered the Enclosure, and without regard to their own Interest, or the Remonstrances of their *Tribune*, determined in Favour of *Opimius*. They doubtless knew, that *Decius* had been hired to accuse *Opimius*, by the Friends of the *Gracchi* ; and his Acquittal restored a perfect, tho' not a lasting quiet to the Senate. They reco-

<sup>26</sup> Cicero speaks of this *Publius Decius*, in his *Brutus*, as of a Man who made no other Use of his Eloquence than to disturb the Peace of the Republick.



vered their ancient ascendant over the People, and the latter bore their mild Government with patience. *L. Calpurnius* <sup>27</sup> *Piso*, and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Censors*, discharged their Offices without any disturbance; and agreed to put the venerable *Q. Metellus*, the *Censor's* Father, who had long borne the Surname of *Macedonicus*, at the Head of the Senate. So that, now there was no more War in *Transalpine Gaul*, no more Seditions in the City. The great Elections were made in *The Field of Mars* without canvassing or Opposition, and the *Consular Fasces* were given to *L. Cæcilius Metellus* <sup>28</sup>, and *L. Aurelius Cotta*.

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§. XI. But neither of the two *Consuls* continued in *Italy*. *Aurelius Cotta* was appointed to govern *Gaul*. Indeed the *Gauls* appeared to be very peaceably disposed; but the known Levity of those People, made the *Romans* apprehensive of new Insurrections. They thought the Presence of a *Consul* necessary to keep them in awe; and *Cotta* spent his *Consulship* among the *Salyes*, where his *Consular Army* struck such Terror, as prevented any Commotions among the *Allobroges* and *Arverni*. As for *Metellus*, he had a more glorious Appointment. In the inner Part of *Illyricum*, on the Banks of the *Save* <sup>29</sup>, stood a City called <sup>30</sup> *Segesta*, which the *Romans* pretended to be subject to their Dominion, since the entire Conquest they had made of all *Illyricum*. But, for Reasons not mentioned by the Historians, the *Segestani* had shaken off the Yoke, and their Revolt was thought considerable enough to call for a *Consular Army*. *Metellus*, who was the Nephew of that happy *Metellus*, the *Prince of the Senate*, who had seen his four Sons promoted to the *Consulate*, loved Glory; and he rejoiced to be sent on a military Expedition. He promised himself nothing less than a *Triumph*, set out for *Illyricum*, defeated the *Segestani*, and subdued them.

L. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & L.  
AURELIUS  
COTTA, Con-  
suls.  
Dion. Hall. L.  
2.  
Plin. L. 13.  
Censorin. de  
Die Nat.  
Vell. L. 2.  
App. in Illyr.

But after all, this Affair was not of Importance enough, to procure *Metellus* the highest military Honours. Of this the *Consul* himself was sensible; and therefore, that he might secure them at last, he made himself new Enemies. According to one of the Historians, who is pretty faithful in other Instances, *Metellus* made War unjustly on the *Dalmatians*, who bordered on the Country he had subdued. As he passed by them, he found them very peaceable; but at his Return, pretended to be apprehensive of Treachery among them. This he reported by Letter to the Senate in such a manner, that he extorted from them a Commission to treat them as Enemies, and reduce them. And as it could not be difficult to subdue a People who had no Inclination to War, *Dalmatia* received his Troops without a Battle; and he spent the Winter in Tranquillity at *Salona* <sup>31</sup> the Capital of the Country. Nevertheless, the real Conqueror of the *Segestani*, and the pretended one of the *Dalmati*, demanded a *Triumph*, and obtained it for the next Year: And for the greater Distinction, assumed the Surname of *Dalmaticus*. Could then the *Romans* be so far imposed on by false Appearances, as to honour imaginary Victories with a *Triumph*? It is more certain, that he built himself a Monument of the Spoils he brought from *Dalmatia*, which bore Testimony to the Success of his Arms. The Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* which he erected, and the stately Columns with which he adorned it, made Posterity believe, that his Victory and his *Triumph* were real.

Appian ibid.

§. XII. In the mean time, *Rome* was not absolutely in Peace, during the Absence of the *Consuls*. One of the *Prætors* of the Year, named *Quintus Fabius Eburnus*, had a Commission to try State-Criminals; and an <sup>32</sup> Orator, of only 21 Years of Age, had the

Epit. Liv.  
Cic. in Verr.  
Pædianus.

Courage

<sup>27</sup> This is that *Calpurnius Piso* who had been *Consul* with *Publius Mucius Scævola*, in the Year 620. He wrote *Annals*, from which *Cicero*, *Dion. Halicarnassensis*, *Pliny*, and other *Roman Writers* borrow many Facts, which they have transmitted to us, in their Works. *Cicero* also ascribes to him several Oration.

<sup>28</sup> This is the same *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus* who was afterwards distinguished by the Surname of *Dalmaticus*. He was the Son of *Lucius Metellus* surnamed *Calvus* or *The Bald*, the Nephew of *Metellus Macedonicus*, and the Brother of *Metellus Numidicus*; as we learn from *Cicero* in his *Oration for Sextius*, from *Valerius Paternulus*, and from *Valerius Maximus*. He became *Pontifex Maximus*, and *Censor*. One of his Daughters was married to *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*, *The Prince of the Senate*; who had by her that *Marcus Scaurus* whom *Cicero* defended.

<sup>29</sup> The *Save* rises in *Upper Carniola*, a League

from *Willack*, towards the Frontiers of *Upper Carinthia*; from thence it runs East, and divides *Hungary* and *Sclavonia*, from *Croatia*, *Bosnia*, and *Servia*; and after it has run above 100 Leagues, it discharges it self into the *Danube*, near *Belgrade*.

<sup>30</sup> *Segesta*, formerly a City of *Upper Pannonia* is now no longer in being. There are only some of its Ruins remaining, on the Banks of the *Save*, near the Mouth of the *Kulp*, and the little City of *Siseg*.

<sup>31</sup> The ancient City of *Salona* in *Dalmatia* stood nine or ten Miles from the Gulph of that Name, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick Sea*, at a little distance from *Spalatro*. It was formerly famous for the Retreat of the Emperor *Dioclesian*. It is now buried in its Ruins.

<sup>32</sup> It is evident, from *Cicero's Brutus*, that the Orator *L. Licinius Crassus* was born, in the Year of *Rome*, 613, the *Consulship* of *Gaius Lælius* surnamed *The*



Year of Rome. DCXXXIV. *L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, & L. AURELIUS COTTA, Consuls.* *Cic. L. 1. 3. de Orat. in Bruto; & passim alibi.* Courage to accuse *Papirius Carbo*, at his Tribunal, of having been guilty of three Crimes against the Republick. The Name of the young Accuser was *L. Crassus*. He was of the *Licinian* Family; and perhaps the Son of that *Licinius Crassus*, the Brother of *Licinia*, the Wife of *C. Gracchus*, who had died in the Defence of his Brother-in-Law; and he therefore undertook to destroy *Papirius*, as soon as his *Consulship* was expired. No young Roman had ever been endowed by Nature with greater Talents for Eloquence; and he had carefully improved them, by a strict Application to Study. Besides, the Love of Revenge quickened him, and increased his natural Vivacity, in an attempt to destroy a Renegado from the *Gracchian* Party. But, the Faction he attacked was now powerful; and *Papirius* wanted neither Eloquence nor Interest. He had supported the Cause of *Optimius* with uncommon Success, and by the Force of Persuasion induced the People to give Judgment against their own Interests. Besides, the Senate were his Protectors, since he had left the *Plebeian* Faction to devote himself to the Interest of the Nobility. Nevertheless, *Crassus* undertook to pull down this mighty *Colossus*.

The young Orator accused him of these three Things. 1<sup>st</sup>, That he had stirred up the elder *Gracchus*, to demand the *Tribuneship* a second Year. 2<sup>dly</sup>, That he had made a Law for this Purpose when he was *Tribune*. And 3<sup>dly</sup>, That he had been at least an Accomplice in the Assassination of *Scipio, The Second Africanus*. These were heavy Accusations, and must, if proved, be the Ruin of *Papirius*. And it had been very easy for young *Crassus* to have convicted his Adversary, if his Probity had not had the Ascendant over all his Passions. Whilst he was searching for Proofs, a Slave of *Papirius*, who was angry with his Master, stole the Box in which he kept the Papers that concerned his greatest Secrets, and brought it to his Accuser. But *Crassus* abhorred the Treachery, and sent back the Slave in Chains, and the Box unopened, to the Criminal; whom he would not destroy but by honourable Means. He thought the encouraging Slaves to betray their Masters would prove a greater Injury to the Publick, than the suffering some Criminals to escape unpunished.

On the Day appointed, the Cause was first pleaded, in the *Prætor's* Court, in order to be brought from thence, to the People in *Comitia*. The Assembly was very numerous; all *Rome* being curious to hear the first Essay of the young Orator, who had never yet shewn his Talents but in the Schools; and it intimidated him. As soon as he begun his Speech, his Heart failed him; he looked very pale, and had very like to have fainted. *Fabius* saw his Confusion, and he adjourned the Court, to the next Day. Then the Crowd was still greater; but the young Orator took Courage, and spoke with such Strength and Life, that the Accused sunk into Despair; and for fear of a scandalous Sentence, did justice on himself. Some say, he left *Rome*, and preferred a voluntary Exile to a shameful Death; but a better Authority assures us, That he poisoned himself with *Cantharides*. From this Time, *Crassus* gained the Reputation of the greatest Orator *Rome* had ever bred. His Oration was put into the Hands of all the young People, who studied Oratory; and if we judge by the several Passages of it which we find quoted in *Tully*, it will be the Admiration of all Ages.

§. XIII. *Rome* gloried in having produced so excellent an Orator, whilst at the same time, she was bringing up one of the greatest Soldiers she ever had. This was the celebrated *Marius*. He had already given some Proofs of his Valour and Conduct at the Siege of *Numantia*; and *Scipio* had told the *Romans*, that he would prove one of their greatest Generals, and do honour to the Republick. He was of so mean Extraction, that even the Village where he was born is not certainly known. All that is certain of his Origin is, that he was a Native of the Country of the *Arpinates*<sup>34</sup>, and that his Father's Name was *Marius*, and his Mother's *Fucinia*. His long residence in the Country

*The Wise*, and *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*; and consequently, was three Years younger than *Mark Anthony* whose Fame is so great in the *Roman* History, for his Eloquence. The latter was born in the Year 610, when *Appius Claudius Pulcher* and *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus* governed the Republick in quality of Consuls.

<sup>33</sup> *Velleius Paterculus* is the only *Roman* Historian who tells us that *Marius's* Ancestors were *Roman Knights*. *Caius Marius natus equestri loco*. All agree that his Father lived in the Country by the Labour of his Hands.

3

<sup>34</sup> *Arpinum*, which gave Birth to *Marius* and to *Cicero*, was a City in the Territory of the *Volsci*, which was a Part of Old *Latium*. It was honoured with the Right of *Roman* Citizenship. See the preceding Volumes.

<sup>35</sup> According to *Plutarch*, *Marius* spent all his Youth in the Town of *Cirrhajaton*, in the Neighbourhood of *Arpinum*. By this Place, the *Greek* Historian plainly means the Town, or little City of *Cereale*, whose Inhabitants, according to *Pliny the Naturalist*, were called *Mariani*, because *Marius's* Countrymen. *Frontinus*, in his Book Of *Aqueducts*, calls it *Cereale Marianæ*.



try and the Roman Camps had made him a perfect Savage. But *The Second Africanus* Year of  
 saw through all his Clownishness such a Fund of Understanding and Bravery, as must one ROME  
 Day raise him to the highest Dignities: And the Presages of so great a Man, embold- DCXXXIV.  
 ened him to solicit the greatest Honours. He stood for the 3<sup>d</sup> *Tribuneship*, a Plebeian L. CÆCILIVS  
 Office, from which only the Nobility were excluded. The *Metelli*, his Patrons, had METELLUS,  
 interest enough to procure him a Place in this College, which he considered only as the & L. AURE-  
 first Step to Promotion; and he discharged the Office of *Tribune of the People*, with the LIUS COTTA,  
 same Intrepidity which he had shewn in Arms, when he was only a Subaltern, and Consuls.  
 commanded Detachments.

Without fear of exasperating the Nobility, and perhaps from a Love of Regularity and  
 Order, he directed that the Bridges, over which the *Tribes* passed to give their Suffra-  
 ge, should be made narrower. He had observed, That these Ways which were made  
 of Planks, and raised to a certain height above the Ground, were too wide; and That  
 sometimes People crowded into them, who were hired by the richest and most ambi-  
 tious *Citizens* to corrupt the People as they passed. *Marius* therefore drew up a Law, by  
 which he pretended to reform an Abuse which had been injurious to himself, when he  
 stood for the *Tribuneship* the first Time. He had indeed hitherto found great Obstacles  
 in the Way of his Promotion whenever he had appeared for any publick Office. He had  
 been refused the *Curule Ædileship*, the *Plebeian Ædileship*, and the *Tribuneship*; and Val. Max. 7  
 he chose to ascribe these Miscarriages to the Intrigues of the Great, and the Corruption 6. c. 9  
 of the People, rather than to the Obscurity of his Birth. To prevent therefore these Cic. 5. 1  
 Abuses, which perhaps were not so general as he pretended, he resolved to make the Legib.  
 Bridges so narrow that only one Man could pass at a time. But as soon as this Innova-  
 tion was reported to the Senate, the *Consul Cotta*, before he set out for *Gaul*, made a De-  
 cree to put a stop to it, and cited *Marius* to appear. The *Tribune*, tho' very proud and  
 haughty, as well as poor, refused not to attend the *Conscrip't Fathers*; but appeared with the Plut. in Mario.  
 Air of a Man who was going to give Law, more than of one who was to receive it from  
 his Superiors. The young Magistrate, who had not yet signalized himself in his Office by  
 any very remarkable Act, assumed such an Ascendant over the *Consul* on this occasion, as  
 shewed what he would one Day be. He threatened the Head of the Republick, that  
 he would have him arrested, if he did not withdraw his Decree. The intimidated *Con-*  
*sul*, consulted *Metellus* the *Prince of the Senate*, what to do; and the latter, tho' the  
 Patron and Friend of *Marius*, gave his Opinion for *Cotta*, and declared against narrow-  
 ing the Bridges. Upon this, *Marius* instantly ordered one of his Officers to seize *Metellus*,  
 and carry him to Prison: and then the *Consul's* Decree was 37 disannulled, and *Ma-*  
*rius* returned a Victor from the Senate. The Boldness of *The Tribune* was astonishing to  
*The Fathers*; but it got him the Reputation of Intrepidity among the People. And  
 indeed, he had carried both his Audaciousness and his Ingratitude to a very great length.  
 Such was the Character of this *Marius*, who will act a great Part in the ensuing History.  
 His Vices; his Virtues, his Prosperity, his Misfortunes, were all excessive in their kind.  
 He had contracted a Friendship with *Jugurtha*, at the Siege of *Numantia*; but after-  
 wards became his most implacable Enemy. *Jugurtha*, about this Time, usurped the  
 Kingdom of *Numidia*, which will be explained hereafter. When *Rome* shall interest  
 her self in the *Numidian* Affairs, and send *Consuls* and Armies thither; we shall then  
 take care to give the Reader a particular Account both of the Beginning and Progress of  
 that important War.

In the mean time, *Marius* found means to persuade the Publick, in his *Tribuneship*,  
 that Partiality did not so much influence him in his Designs, as the Love of Order, and  
 the Hatred of Irregularity. He as little regarded the Interests of the People, as the Ho-

*Mariana*, to shew that it was the Birth-place of  
*Marius*, or at least that he was there brought up in  
 all the Exercises proper for his Age. And it is there-  
 fore probable, that the Text of *Plutarch* has been  
 altered by the Copyists.

36 According to *Valerius Maximus*, B. 6. *Marius* be-  
 ing excluded from all the Magisterial Offices at *Arpinum*,  
 by the meanness of his Birth, resolved to come to *Rome*.  
 The Capital of the World opened a large Field for his  
 Ambition. He seemed to have some private Presenti-  
 ments of his Success; and from thence, promising  
 himself that Fortune would favour him, he ventured  
 to appear for the *Quæstorship*. And tho' he met with

many Repulses, in the way to publick Honours, he  
 was not discouraged; and by his Perseverance at last,  
 gained the Suffrages in his Favour. Nor did he find  
 a readier access either to the *Tribunate* or *Ædileship*.  
 But by his Courage he surmounted all the Obstacles in  
 his Way, and at length brought the People into his  
 Interest.

37 *Plutarch* adds, That *Metellus* protested against  
 the Violence of *Marius*, and appealed to the whole  
 Body of the *Tribunes*; but they left him to the Mercy  
 of their Collegue. So that the Law was ratified by the  
 Consent of the Senate it self.



nour of the Senate, when he thought they were inconsistent with the publick Good. One of his Collegues, willing to flatter the Commons, which was no unusual thing with that Body, proposed a Law, for a free Distribution of a certain Quantity of Corn among the Poor. *Marius* thought an unnecessary Bounty an Abuse, and a Misapplication of the publick Treasure; and he opposed it with warmth. By this Means he acquired the Reputation of a Man of Integrity, who had nothing but Justice at Heart; and whose Firmness proceeded not from that Obstinacy which a factious Spirit inspires. But he soon undeceived the People, with regard to the Prejudices with which he now prepossessed them in his Favour.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXXXV.

M. PORCIUS  
CATO, & Q.  
MARCIUS  
REX, Consuls.  
Aul. Gell. L.  
1. c. 19.

§. XIV. The *Tribuneship* of *Marius* expired almost at the same Time that *Rome* chose new *Consuls*. These were, one *M. Porcius* <sup>38</sup> *Cato*, Grandson of the first *Cato*, but by his first Wife; and one *Q. Marcus* <sup>39</sup> *Rex*, doubtless because descended from a Relation of King *Numa*. *Jugurtha* had already raised some Troubles in *Numidia*. The Senate therefore thought fit to send one of the *Consuls* to *Africa*, and this Commission fell by Lot to *Porcius Cato*. He spent some Months in *The African Province*, which was subject to *Rome*; and there narrowly watched the Steps of *Jugurtha*. But Death surprized him, before he could make his Report to the Republick of the Danger which threatened them from the new King of the *Numidians*; and the Historians are not clear, whether another *Consul* was chosen in his Room, or *Marcus* was suffered to continue alone in his Office till his Year expired. Some Moderns think it probable, that the Vacancy was filled up by *Q. Ailius Tubero* <sup>40</sup>: But, we shall, without laying any stress on Conjectures, have regard only to what relates to *Q. Marcus*, whom the *Fasti Capitolini* make to have been the sole Head of the Republick for almost the whole Year.

The *Province* which fell to him by Lot, was *Transalpine Gaul*. Ever since the Republick had got footing there, by the Conquest of the *Salyes*, and the Reduction of the *Allobroges*, she had continually sent *Consuls* thither, at the Head of great Armies. Much was always to be feared from a warlike Nation, whose Fury she had experienced, and which she resolved to conquer by degrees. But when the *Consul* was preparing for his Departure, a Family-Misfortune kept him at *Rome*. He lost his only Son; a Youth of great Hopes, and whose Virtues much endeared him to his Father. Nevertheless, tho' every one knew how much he was afflicted with this Loss, no body could discover the least appearance of Grief in him. The Day his dear Son was carried to the funeral Pile, *Marcus* gave Audience as usual, and came to the Senate with such an Air of Composure, as betrayed not the least Mark of Sorrow. The *Romans* made the highest pitch of Virtue to consist, in the Violence they offered to their natural Affections. They affected an ostentatious show of Philosophy; and would fain have persuaded the World, that the most shocking Calamities could not weaken the Constancy, or discompose the Gravity, of the Philosopher.

Neither did he shew less Magnanimity in the Field, than in the City. His Views were much more extensive than those of his Predecessors. The *Ligures* beyond the *Alpes*, and the *Allobroges*, were already subdued; but this was only the beginning of the great Work which *Marcus* undertook. To make a Passage for the *Roman Armies* from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*, and leave the Roads open from *Marseilles* to the Mountains that divide *Spain* from *Gaul*, was a Scheme worthy of a great Commander. However, *Marcus* did not divulge it, whilst he continued *Consul*. But when the Republick had confirmed him in his Government for a second Year, in quality of *Pro-Consul*; and he found he should continue long enough at the Head of his *Legions*, to undertake a Work of so much Danger, he crossed the *Rhone*, and left the subdued *Allobroges* behind him. Then he advanced towards Mount <sup>41</sup> *Cemmenus*, to which the *Gauls* sometimes gave the Name

Epit. Liv.  
Cros. L. 5.

<sup>38</sup> *Aulus Gellius* commends the Eloquence of *Marcus Porcius Cato*, whom he describes as a vehement O-rator. In his Orations, adds that Author, which are still in being, we see the Taste and Genius of old *Cato* his Grandfather.

<sup>39</sup> *Quintus Marcus Rex* was Grandson to him of the same Name, who was Tribune of the People, in the Year 557. We have spoken of the *Marcian* Family elsewhere.

<sup>40</sup> *Pomponius* affirms, That *Q. Ailius Tubero* was

promoted to the *Consulate*; which supposed, the only Question is, in what Year? And as the *Roman Historians* are all silent, in this Particular, and it is impossible therefore to fix it with Certainty, the Annalists put him in the Vacancy made by the Death of *Porcius*.

<sup>41</sup> Mount *Cemmenus*, now the *Cruennes*, divided *Gallia Narbonensis* from *Gallia Aquitania*. This Chain of Mountains reaches from the Spring of the *Garonne*, thirty Leagues Northward, through the *Pyrenais*, the *Velay*, and *Gravudan*.



of *Alpes*, as well as to all other high Mountains; and there found a very fierce Nation, and very fond of Liberty. The Ancients don't agree as to the Name of these People, whom some call *Stænei* <sup>42</sup>, others *Stoni*, and others *Sarni*; and we think it most probable, that by these different Names were meant the Inhabitants of the present *Gévaudan*, and the neighbouring Countries. These *Stænei* took Arms, and defended their Country against the Invasion of the *Romans*, who made a terrible Slaughter of them; and as soon as they found they were surrounded by the *Roman Army*, they waited not to receive their Death from the Hands of their Enemies. Being fully persuaded they should enjoy another Life after this, they made no difficulty of parting with it. They first set fire to their Houses, killed their Wives and Children, and then threw themselves into the Flames; and all they who fell into the Enemy's Hands, even to the Children, killed themselves different Ways: so that not one of them survived the Loss of his Liberty.

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MARCIVS  
REX, Consuls.

When the News of this bloody Expedition was brought to *Rome*, it filled the Senate both with Admiration and Fear. They were now more sensible than ever, that the *Gauls* were no common Enemies. Their Contempt of Life made them as formidable, as they were intrepid, or furious. The Senate therefore thought it necessary to plant a Colony of *Romans* beyond the *Rhône*, which should be strong enough to keep this Nation in awe, whose Prejudices raised them above vulgar Fears. And as this was an Affair which it properly belonged to the People to determine, because they were to furnish the new Inhabitants for *Transalpine Gaul*; it was reported, and long debated in the *Comitia*. A young Orator, named *L. Crassus*, took great pains to dissuade the People from complying with the Will of the Senate; but at last, the *Fathers* succeeded, and the Colony marched beyond the *Alpes*. It was planted in the Country of the *Volcæ Tectosages* <sup>43</sup>, at some distance from the Sea; and it was called by the Name of <sup>44</sup> *Narbo-Marcus*. This was the Origin of the famous City of *Narbonne*, which long retained the Name of *Marcus* its Founder. It became in Time, the Capital of a great Country, and being peopled by *Romans*, was a convenient Place of Refreshment for the *Roman*

Cicer. pro Fonteo.  
Fast. Capitol.

<sup>42</sup> Several Copies of the *Epitomes of Livy* vary as to the Names of these People; which disagreement must be ascribed to the Ignorance of the Copyists. But happily for the Critics, *The Capitoline Marbles* are transmitted to us for their Assistance; and there we find the *Stænei*, who in the Text of the Abridger, are called sometimes *Salini*, sometimes *Samii*, and sometimes *Sarnii*. So that the Authentickness of this ancient Record dispels all Doubt, and confirms the Correction, for which we are indebted to *Pighius*. These *Marbles* in which the *Triumph of Marcus* is recorded, tell us, That the *Pro-Consul* enjoyed that Honour in the Year 636, on account of his Conquests of the *Ligures Stænei*, and on the third Day of *December*, or *The Third before the Nones of that Month*.

Q. MARCIUS. Q. F. Q. N. REX. PROCOS. AN. DCXXXVI.  
DE LIGURIBUS STOENEIS III. NON. DECEMB.

and *Toulouse* to the North; that is, the Dioceses of *Narbonne*, *Besiers*, *Carcassone*, *St. Pons*, *Aleth*, and *Toulouse*. The *Volcæ Arecomici* inhabited that Part of *Languedoc* which is next to the *Rhône*; So that their Country contained the Dioceses of *Nismes*, *Uzer*, *Montpellier*, *Lodeve*, and *Agde*.

<sup>44</sup> *Narbonne*, according to *Pomponius Mela*, was from the Time of the Republick, esteemed the most considerable City then subject to the *Romans* in the Province of *Gaul*. Besides the Name of *Narbo-Marcus*, which was taken from the Consul, *Marcus Rex*, its second Founder; the *Latin Historians* and *Geographers* call it, *Colonia Atacinarum*, from the River *Aude*, which waters its Territory; and *Colonia Decumanorum*, because a Part of its Lands were divided among the Soldiers of the *tenth Legion*. It was also called *Colonia Julia paterna*, after *Julius Cæsar* the adoptive Father of *Augustus*, had carried thither a new *Roman Colony*. We learn from *Strabo*, That this City was anciently so enriched by its Commerce, that it became the chief Port and Magazine of the *Gauls*. He says, its advantageous Situation drew Merchandizes thither from all Parts. When the *Romans* were become Masters of it, they erected there a *Capitol* in honour to *Jupiter*, after the Model of that at *Rome*. And afterwards, they adorned it with an *Amphitheatre*, and built *Baths* there for the publick Use.

They who place *Narbonne* in the Country of the *Volcæ Arecomici*, build on *Strabo's* Authority. But don't consider, that according to this ancient Author himself, *Nismes* was the Capital of the *Arecomici*. *Μητρόπολις τῶν Αἰεκαμικῶν τοῖ Νίσαυσις*. Whereas, in order to have been consistent, he ought to have given the first Rank to *Narbonne*, which in his Opinion, was superiour to *Nismes*. So that he does in reality no more favour the Defenders of this Opinion than *Protony*, who places *Narbonne* among the Cities which belonged to the *Tectosages*.

All that remains then is to find out what Canton these *Stænei* inhabited. Some ancient Writers seem to have placed them at the Foot of *The maritime Alpes*, in *Liguria Cisalpina*; particularly, *Stephen of Byzantium*. At least, he mentions a *Ligurian City* which he calls *Stoinos*. *Στοῖνος πόλις Λιγυρῶν*. Several of the Moderns have derived this Name from a City of *Stonia*, which is no longer in Being. *Pliny the Naturalist* says, it was the Capital of the Country of the *Euganei*, who formerly inhabited a Part of *Bressan*, *Tarentin*, *Burgamasque*, and *Valtelline*. But the *Stænei* of *Liguria* had no relation to those of the *Gevennes*. The ancient Writers were unfortunately ignorant of the latter; at least, they say nothing of them; and their Silence puts it out of our Power, to form any solid Judgment, concerning a Point of Geography, into which the *Historians* give us no light.

<sup>43</sup> The *Volcæ Tectosages* anciently possessed all that Land which lays between the *Pyrenées* to the South,

Armies,



Year of  
ROME  
DCXXXVI.

L. CÆCILIUS  
METELLUS,  
& Q. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA,  
Consuls.  
Fast. Capit.

Jul. Obseq.  
c. 96.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXXXVII.

C. LICINIUS  
GETA, & Q.  
FABIUS E-  
BURNUS,  
Consuls.  
Cic. Orat. pro  
Mur.

Armies; which by that means more easily passed from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*, and from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alpes*. When *Marcus* returned, the Republick thought the Conquest of this Part of *Gaul*, and the Foundation of *Narbonne* so considerable Works, that she honoured him with a *Triumph* for it; which he enjoyed, on *The Third of the Nones of December*, in the Year of *Rome* 636.

§. XV. The new *Consuls*, *L. Cæcilius* <sup>45</sup> *Metellus*, and *Q. Mucius* <sup>45</sup> *Scævola*, were already near the end of their *Consulship*, when *Marcus* triumphed on account of the *Stænei Ligures* <sup>47</sup>, that is, as I conjecture, the Inhabitants of that slip of Land which reaches along the Shore of the *Mediterranean Sea*, from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*. The Republick was in *Tranquillity* all the Year. *Jugurtha* indeed raised Troubles in *Numidia*; but *Rome* yet concealed her Concern, or at least discovered it only by Negotiations. Whereas *Gaul* found Employment for one of the *Consuls*. It was necessary to support the new Colony at *Narbonne*, and preserve *Marius's* Conquests there: And this was the only Employment of the *Romans* abroad, in this peaceful Time, in which the Thoughts of the People were much turned to superstitious Observations. *Rome* was full of Rumours of Prodigies. The Lightning had often fallen near the City. It was pretended, That it had rained Milk at <sup>48</sup> *Præneste*. It was reported, that the Lance with which the Statue of *Mars* was armed, had been seen to shake of it self. An Earthquake had opened a Pit, of the bigness of 7 Acres of Land, at <sup>49</sup> *Privernum*. And lastly, there was found in *Italy*, a Child of ten Years old, which had the Marks of both Sexes. This the *Romans* thought a Monster which foreboded ill to their State; and the Child was thrown into the Sea, and the City expiated by Hymns, sung by a Choir of 27 Maids of Distinction, in the Cross-ways, and in the Temples.

The succeeding *Consuls*, who had as little Opportunity as their Predecessors to acquire Glory, in *Italy* and *Gaul* their respective Provinces, were *C. Licinius Geta*, and *Q. Fabius Eburnus* <sup>50</sup>. The latter succeeded against *M. Æmilius Scaurus* his Competitor, a Senator of Reputation and Merit; which he could not have done without great Interest among the People. The *Prætorship* was more warmly contended for than the *Consulship*. The famous *C. Marius*, whose Character we have already touched upon, and who will appear to be one of the Heroes of this History, was a Candidate. Strange indeed! That a Man, the Meanness of whose Extraction excluded him from the lowest Offices in *Arpinum*, a little City in whose District was the Village which had given him birth, should have the Boldness to stand for the *Prætorship* at *Rome*! What Qualifications had he for a Post, which no Man could fill with Credit, without Eloquence, and a

<sup>45</sup> *Lucius Metellus* was the second Son of the illustrious *Metellus Macedonicus*. An Ulcer which had disfigured his Forehead, obliged him to wear a Fillet to hide the Wound; and he was from thence called *Diadematus*: as appears from *Plutarch*, *Pliny*, and the other Historians who mention him. The Term alludes to the *Diadems* worn by the eastern Kings. Some Moderns have, by mistake, confounded him with his Cousin *Lucius Metellus Dalmaticus*; who was the Son of *Metellus Calvus*, as we have before observed.

<sup>46</sup> The Father of *Quintus Mucius Scævola* was *Quintus Scævola*, one of the *Consuls* for the Year 579. The ancient Historians have celebrated the Merit of this great Man with the highest Encomiums. They agree, That *Scævola* was a Pattern of Wisdom as a Magistrate, and of Probity as a private Man. He learnt from the *Stoic Philosophy* which he professed, that rigid Virtue, which was the Characteristick of the first *Romans*. And to these eminent Qualities he added that of being the most able *Civilian* in *Rome*. So that his Determinations passed for Oracles. Most of the young Lawyers had recourse to him, for Instruction; and among these was *Cicero*, as he himself informs us in his *Treatise Of Friendship*. I had scarce put on the *Virile Robe*, says he, when my Father introduced me to this venerable old Man, to learn from him the Principles of the *Roman Law*. Every one gloried in having been formed by the Hand of this great Master. Notwithstanding his avocations abroad, he found Time to apply himself so closely to *The Civil Law*, and other Parts of Learning, that he excelled all that went before him, in the Extent of his Knowledge. He was ho-

noured with the Dignity of the *Consulate*; and Authors call him *The Augur*, to distinguish him from the *Pontifex Maximus* of the same Name. To which some Moderns do not attend, when they make them both the same Person. This great Man was Son-in-Law to *Gaius Lælius* surnamed *The Wise*, and afterwards became Father-in-Law to the famous Orator *Lucius Crassus*.

<sup>47</sup> By the *Ligures* of *Gaul*, the *Roman* Historians mean the People who were nearest to *Liguria Cisalpina*; that is to say, those who inhabited the maritime Parts of *Provence*, from the *Var* to the *Rhone*. The maritime *Alpes* divide the *Liguria* of the *Gauls*, or *Liguria Transalpina*, from that which was in *Italy*, and therefore called *Cisalpina*, with respect to *Rome*.

<sup>48</sup> *Præneste*, a City of ancient *Latium*, stood at a little distance from the Place, where we now find *Palestrina*. See Vol. I. p. 242. Note 27.

<sup>49</sup> We have spoken of the ancient City of *Privernum*, Vol. 2. p. 102. Note 47. It stood according to *Olivier*, in that Part of the Country of the *Volsi*, where we now see the little City of *Piperno*.

<sup>50</sup> It is conjectured, That *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, the *Consul* for the Year 637, was Brother to *Quintus Fabius* the Conqueror of the *Allobroges*. His Surname of *Eburnus*, was taken from the Fairness of his Complexion, which was as white as *Ivory*. *Festus* says, he was struck with Lightning, but received no damage; and this Prodigy gave occasion to say, That he was the Favourite of *Jupiter*: for which Reason, he was commonly called *Pullus Jovis*.



Knowledge of the Law? He neither had any Talents for Oratory, nor had studied the Laws, nor had any Experience at the Bar. Besides, his having been refused both the *Ædile* Magistracies immediately after one another, was a strong Prejudice against admitting him to that of *Prætor*.

But when Ambition has once got Possession of a Man of no Education, it makes him audacious. Having no Honour of his own or his Family to preserve, he becomes enterprising even to Effrontery. And such was *Marius*. He again applied to the People for their Suffrages, without Fear of new Affronts; and carried on his Canvass in a shameful manner. This Reformer of the Bridges over which the Voters passed into the Inclosure to vote, introduced a faithful Slave of one *Cassius Sabaco*, a Senator, and his Friend, into the Inclosure it self. This Slave, by Money or Promises, corrupted the People as fast as they came in; and by this Management, tho' with Difficulty, *Marius* at last prevailed, to get himself nominated *Prætor*. But these Proceedings of the ambitious *Prætor* incensed his Competitors, and they prosecuted him for it. He was cited to appear before the People, to be tried for having procured his Office by corrupt Means. *Sabaco*, when interrogated concerning his Slave who was taken in the Inclosure, found out this Evasion; *That he was very thirsty when he went to vote, and took his Slave with him to carry drink for him.* This some thought a sufficient, others a trifling Excuse; and the Opinions being thereby divided, *Marius* was acquitted. But as for *Sabaco*, the *Censors* some time after recollected this Affair, and punished the Master for the Act of his Slave. *If you carried him, said they, into the Inclosure with a factious Intent, you have broken the Law. If you did it that he might carry your Liquor, a Man of such Intemperance is unworthy of a Seat in the Senate.* And he was struck out of the Senators Roll.

Another Accident which happened in the same Prosecution against *Marius*, will likewise help to give us a true Idea of his Character. *Herennius*, a Man of Distinction in the Republick, was cited to be a Witness concerning the Behaviour of the accused; and as it was evident, that *Herennius*, as Patron of *Marius's* Family, could not but give his Testimony in favour of his Client, it was an Act of Friendship to cite him to appear in the Cause. But the Vanity of the Accused had a greater Influence upon him than his Interest. *I acknowledge no Man to be my Patron,* cried *Marius*; *the Prætorship I am invested with raises me above the Rank of a Client:* And this stopped the Mouth of *Herennius*. He would not speak in favour of an arrogant Man, who despised his Protection. So that his Cause, which before was certain, now became doubtful; and he had very like to have sunk under the Accusation.

But after all, he had such a fund of natural Equity and good Sense, that he presided in the Court of Judicature which was assigned him, as *Prætor*, without Reproach: And it falling to his Lot to go and govern *Further Spain* the next Year, he there acquired Fame by his Exploits. He cleared his Government of the Troops of *Banditti* that infested it, and cured these People who were yet *Barbarians*, of their inveterate Love of living only by Rapine. These were the first publick Acts of *Marius*, whose Life was, upon the whole, both very glorious, and very unfortunate.

§. XVI. In the mean time, That *Æmilius Scaurus* who had failed of the *Consulate* the last Year, at length prevailed; and had for his Collegue, *L. Cæcilius Metellus*. The latter was one of the four Sons of *Metellus Macedonicus*, who is famous in History for his Happiness in Life, and who at his Death left his Family advanced to the greatest Honours. *Scaurus* was the Man who raised his Branch of the illustrious *Æmilian* Family from the Dust. His Father was so reduced, as to be by Trade a Collier. The Son<sup>51</sup> found those Sentiments revive in his Breast which the Nobility of his Ancestors inspired; and doubted not, of being able to raise his Family to Honour, both by Letters and Arms. The Gift of Eloquence, joined with a Knowledge of the Laws, were now a sure way to the highest Offices in *Rome*. *Scaurus*<sup>52</sup> had therefore applied himself to

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXXVII.

C. LICINIUS  
GETA, & Q.  
FABIUS E-  
BURNUS,  
Consuls.  
Val. Max. L.  
c. 9.  
Plut. in *Mario*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXXVIII.

M. ÆMILIUS  
SCAURUS, &  
L. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, Consuls.

Cic. in *Brut*.

<sup>51</sup> *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* being reduced to a very obscure Life, considered to what he should apply himself; and the low State of his Family, says *Aurelius Victor*, made him first turn Banker, to get Money to supply their Wants. But Ambition afterwards raised his Views, and the Hopes of recovering the Glory of his Family, engaged him in more noble Pursuits. He served as a private *Legionary* in the Armies in *Spain* and *Sardinia*; and was there honoured with the military Rewards which the Generals give

to the valiant.

<sup>52</sup> *Scaurus's* Orations were in being in the Time of *Cicero*; and the Air of Authority and Assurance with which he spoke them, gave new Strength to what he said, and prejudiced the Judges in favour of those he defended. He wrote the History of his own Life, which he dedicated to his Friend *Lucius Fufidius*. But *Cicero* says, That this Work, tho' a pretty good Piece, was read by nobody.



Year of  
R-O-M-E  
DCXXXVIII.  
M. ÆMILIUS  
SCAURUS, &  
L. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, Consuls.

Author. de Vir.  
Illustr. c. 72.

Oratory, and made such Progress in it, that the personal Honours he acquired fell not short of the Esteem which the *Romans* had for his Family; and in War, he had successively acquired the Reputation of an intrepid Soldier, and a brave Officer. Till at length he obtained a Place in the Senate; and rising by degrees through the *Curule* Offices, was now promoted to the *Consulate*.

No Man ever maintained his Dignity with more Grandeur and Constancy, than the wife *Æmilius Scaurus*. Nevertheless, his former Poverty in his Youth, might perhaps be the Cause, which drew upon him some Contempt from the *Prætors*, now his Inferiors. At least its certain, that one of them was wanting in respect to him. The same *Publius Decius Mus*, who had accused *Opimius*, after the Death of *Gracchus*, had passed from the *Tribuneship* to the *Prætorship*: He was very arrogant, and being supported by the Favour of the People, thought himself equal to the greatest Man in the Republick: And *Scaurus* therefore took pleasure in humbling his Pride. One Day, the *Consul* and *Prætor* met in the same Street, both in their *Curule* Chairs; and the ancient Custom had been on such Occasions, for the inferior Magistrate to give the Way to the superior, and rise to do him Honour. But *Decius* neglected this Ceremonial. He proudly kept his Seat in the *Consul's* Presence; and his Insolence was punished upon the Spot. *Scaurus* ordered his *Lictors* to fall on those that attended the *Prætor*, force him to alight from his Chair, break the Chair in pieces, and rent his Cloaths. Nor was this all. To make the Punishment the more exemplary, the *Consul* interdicted the *Prætor* from the Exercise of his Office, and forbade the Pleaders to carry any Causes into his Court. By this means he revived the ancient Custom, which the Vanity of the inferior Officers had in some measure destroyed.

By this bold Step, the *Consul* also acquired the Character of a Man of Resolution. The *Consular* Authority which had been diminished by the Attempts of the *Tribunes of the People*, was re-established. And now, he even ventured to propose Laws; a Privilege which the *Tribunes* had for some time engrossed to themselves. He mounted the *Rostra*, and proposed two, which the People passed in the *Comitia*, in respect to the Proposer. As Riches increased at *Rome*, the *Romans* grew very sumptuous and expensive in their Tables; and common <sup>53</sup> Meats were not good enough to satisfy the Delicacy of the voluptuous. The only Rules of judging what was good, were the Dearness and Scarcity of Things. The most exquisite Meats that the Forests, or Seas, or Rivers, of *Italy* produced, were all thought insipid. Nothing could satisfy the present Taste, but what was brought from beyond Sea at a great Expence. Nevertheless, *Scaurus* did not attempt to lessen the Plenty of Tables, but only to retrench their far-fetched Delicacies. By his first Law, he expressly forbade the eating of fat Dormice, foreign Shell-fish, and such Birds as were brought from far, and unknown in *Italy*.

Plut. L. 8. c.  
57.

By his second, which was in appearance not so judicious, but made necessary by the Circumstances of the Times, the *Consul* restored the *Freed-men* to their ancient Privilege. They had some time since been confined to the *Esquiline Tribe* <sup>54</sup> only. But now, the Masters had been so liberal of their Freedoms, that one *Tribe* was not sufficient to contain the great Numbers of *Freed-men*; and by the *Consul's* Law, they were left at Liberty to enroll themselves in any of the four *City-Tribes*, which they liked best. Thus, by the Prudence and Example of *Scaurus*, some little Remains of good Manners, and

Author. de vi-  
ris Illustr. c. 72.

<sup>53</sup> We may judge of the Intemperance of the ancient *Romans*, by the Excesses with which *C. Titius* reproached them, so early as in the Year of *Rome* 592; that is, before they had extended their Conquests into *Asia* and *Africa*. In a Fragment of his Speech, as related by *Macrobius*, he cries out, That even the Judges appeared upon the Bench loaded with Wine, and bestialised with excessive Debaucheries. As the Gluttons come to the Court, says he, they talk of nothing but their delicious eating, and the number of Bottles they drunk at one Repast: And when they are there, they grudge the necessary Time for the Dispatch of Business. They lament the Loss of Time spent there, which they say might be much better employed over a Bottle of *Greek Wine*, and an exquisite Dish, which waits their Return.

Gluttony and Drunkenness were then carried to such an enormous height, that several young *Romans* of good Families, sold themselves for Money to gratify

their Tastes. In the Assemblies of the People, who were to give Judgment in Matters on which the Safety of their Country depended, the greatest Part of the Voters were drunk, or at least intoxicated with Wine. *Macrobius* gives us these Particulars from *Sammonius Serenus*.

The *C. Titius* here quoted, and mentioned Vol. 4. p. 534, was both an Orator, and a Poet. *Cicero* says, in his *Brutus*, That he made a pretty good Progress in Eloquence, for one who did not understand *Greek*. His Style was concise and polite. But he did not succeed so well, in the Tragedies he wrote for the *Roman Stage*. By his *Points* and Antitheses he enervated his Characters and Sentiments.

<sup>54</sup> *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, the Father of the *Gracchi*, and *Caius Claudius Pulcher*, had, in their *Censorship*, in the Year 581, reduced most of the *Freed-men*, to The *Esquiline Tribe*. See Vol. 4. p. 414. Note 57.



good Order were still preserved in the Republick. And the Firmness of the *Consul* was well seconded by the Zeal of the *Censors*, *Lucius Metellus Dalmaticus*, and *Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus*.

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They were both venerable Men, for their *Consulships*; and their *Triumphs*; and their Courage was impregnable, when they came to purge the Senate of its unworthy Members. They struck thirty two out of the Rolls, and among them *Licinius Geta*<sup>55</sup> the late *Consul*, and *Cassius Sabaco*. They also proscribed Games of Hazard, and Concerts of Musick. They granted new Leases of the Lands belonging to the Publick; and finished their Office with a *Census* of the People, in which were enumerated 394336 *Citizens* able to bear Arms. But after all, tho' their whole Administration was laudable, their highest piece of Wisdom was their nominating this *Consul Scaurus*, to be *Prince*, that is, *President of the Senate*. This was investing him with a great Authority for Life, who appeared to be the Man in the World best qualified to govern a great State.

M. ÆMILIUS  
SCAURUS, &  
L. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, *Consuls*.  
*Plut. in Mario.*  
*Epit. Liv.*  
*Cassiodor.*

§. XVII. Yet still, in order to compleat the Glory of his *Consulate*, *Scaurus* wanted both a Victory, and a *Triumph*; and he had the Happiness not to fail of either. The two *Consuls* drew Lots for their *Provinces*. *Sardinia* fell to *Cæcilius Metellus*, whose Business was to appease new Troubles there; and he set sail for his Island, from whence he did not return till two Years after, and then triumphed. *Gaul* fell to *Scaurus*; but it is extremely difficult to determine exactly, who were the People of *Celtic Gaul* with whom he made War, and whom he brought under the *Roman Yoke*. One Historian calls them *Gantisci*, and makes them a Part of the *Ligures*. The *Fasti Capitolini* give them the Name of *Carni*<sup>56</sup>. Nevertheless, it is very improbable, that the Inhabitants of the present *Friuli* and *Carniola*, whom the ancient Geographers call *Carni*, were then Enemies to *Rome*. This Hypothesis disagrees with the rest of the History. For my own part, I can scarce doubt, but these *Gantisci*, or *Carni*, whom *Scaurus* conquered, possessed a Part of *Transalpine Gaul*, and of that Country, through which the *Romans* were now endeavouring to make themselves a Way from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*: And therefore if I may be allowed to offer my own Conjecture, it is, That these *Gauls* were a People of *Bearn*, perhaps in the Neighbourhood of *Gantum*<sup>57</sup>, and therefore called *Gantisci*.

*Auth. de Vir*  
*Illustr. c. 72.*

But be that as it will, the Expedition of *Scaurus* was neither long, nor difficult. He soon brought his Army back over the *Alpes* into *Italy*; and in his Passage through *Insu-bria*, he formed a Design worthy of himself. The Roads from *Rome* to the *Alpes* had always been in a manner impassible. Nevertheless, since the *Romans* had got a footing in *Transalpine Gaul*, it was become necessary to send Troops continually from one Country to the other, tho' with inconceivable Difficulty. This *Hannibal* had formerly experienced, where his whole Army had like to have perished in endeavouring to pass from the Banks of the *Po* into *Hetruria*; and himself had narrowly escaped, with the Loss of one of his Eyes. The Cause of this were the Inundations of the *Trebia*, and other Rivers, which filled the marshy Grounds so full of Water, that Horses could not pass without danger: And the Foot had still more difficulty, to make their way through this wet and miry Ground, which greatly fatigued and retarded them in their march. *Scaurus* therefore formed a Design to employ the Remains of his *Consular Army*, in making good Roads through this dirty Country.

*Strabo L. 5.*

No General had ever preserved a greater Authority over his Troops, than *Scaurus*. Prodigious Things are related of the perfect Obedience they paid to their General's Orders. He had pitched his Camp near an Orchard, full of ripe Fruit; and so strict was the Discipline of his Army, that when he decamped, not one Man had taken any one Piece of Fruit. *Scaurus* therefore had Reason to depend on the ready Compliance of his *Legionaries*, and doubted not by their Means to put his Design in execution. Accordingly, he dug Canals all the Way from *Placentia* to *Parma*, big enough to receive the overflowings of the Rivers, and the other Waters which ran down from the Mountains

*Front. Strat.*  
*L. 4. c. 3.*

<sup>55</sup> Nevertheless, *Caius Licinius Geta* must have been afterwards restored to his Dignity, since both *Cicero* in his *Oration for Cluentius*, and *Valerius Maximus B. 2. ch. 9*, say, That he was promoted to the Dignity of *Censor*.

<sup>56</sup> *Strabo* places the Nation of the *Carni*, in that Part of *Gallia Transpadana* which borders on the *Alpes Penninae*, from The Great St. Bernard to mount

*Adula*, now *St. Godard*; and which is at present the eastern Part of *Friuli*, a little Part of *Istria*, and the County of *Goritz*. The Cities of *Aquileia*, *Grado*, and *Trieste* belong to this Province.

<sup>57</sup> *Gantum* or *Gant*, is now only a small Town belonging to *Bearn*. It stands on the little River of *Nis*, a League and a half to the South of the City of *Pau*.



in great abundance; and the Republick was indebted to him for the fine Road, which reached from the Port of *Luna* to *Dertona*. If the *Romans* so long delayed opening a free Passage between *Rome* and *Gaul*, it was not so much out of Negligence, as Policy. As long as they had any Reason to fear the *Ultramontan Gauls*, the Republick thought the badness of the Roads would obstruct their Incursions. But as soon as *Rome* had got a Barrier within *Gaul* it self, she made great Roads to the very *Alpes*, for the more convenient Marches of her Armies. And as she was indebted to *Scaurus* both for the Design, and for putting it in Execution; a *Triumph* was unanimously decreed him. The People and Senate had therein more regard to the important Services he and his Men had done the Republick in *Italy*, than to the easy Victory he had gained over the *Gantisci* or *Carni*, a Nation otherwise little known.

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M' ACILIUS  
BALBUS, &  
C. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

Jul. Caf.  
Com. de Bell.  
Gall. L. 8.

Strabo L. 7.

Plin. L. 3.  
Athen. 6. 5.  
Florus L. 3.  
c. 3.  
Diod. Sic. a-  
pud Valisf.

§. XVIII. At his Return, He found *M' Acilius*<sup>58</sup> *Balbus* and *Caius Porcius*<sup>59</sup> *Cato* advanced to the *Consulship*. The Province which fell by Lot to the former was *Italy*, and that of the latter *Macedon*; so that *Gaul* now ceased to be a *Consular Province*. Great Armies were no longer necessary there, since *Scaurus* had by his late Conquests, joined the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*. All the *Gallic Nations*, which reached from the *Mediterranean Sea* inwards, as far as the Country of the *Rutheni* and *Arverni*, were become *Romans*, and accustomed to bear the Yoke without Reluctance. This great Extent of conquered Countries, was therefore now made a *Prætorian Province*, and *Narbonne* appointed for the *Prætor's* Residence. The *Cisalpine* and *Transalpine Gauls* were from this Time distinguished by different Names among the *Romans*; and each of the two Provinces had every Year its own *Prætor*. The different Names given to the Gauls on each side of the *Alpes*, were taken from their different Habits. The *Transalpines* were called *Braccati*<sup>60</sup>, from their wearing long Breeches (called *Bracæ*) which reached from their Waists to their Heels; and the *Cisalpines* were called *Togati*, because they, like the *Romans*, wore a lighter Habit, and used the *Toga* for their City-dress. Whether all the Country which reaches from the *Alpes* to the *Pyrenees*, was now called *Provincia*<sup>61</sup> *Romana*, a Name afterwards appropriated to *Provence* only, is not certain: neither is it known, who was the first *Prætor*, that *Rome* sent to govern *Transalpine Gaul*. But we know, That he very well supported his Authority there; and That those restless *Gauls* were long kept in a forced Obedience.

And though *Transalpine Gaul* was now subdued, yet it was the Fate of *Rome*, to have *Gauls* to fight with in other Places. The *Scordisci*<sup>62</sup> who inhabited a Part of *Thrace*, were originally *Gauls*. Whether they were of the Number of those *Celtæ*, who had followed *Segovesus* cross the  *Hercynian Forest*; or having entered *Italy* by the *Alpes*, had settled themselves beyond the *Veneti*, and reached as far as the Banks of the *Save* and *The Danube*; it is certain, they came originally from *Gaul*. The ancient Traditions make them to have been the unfortunate Remains of those *Celtæ*, who had the Audaciousness under the Command of *Brennus*, sacrilegiously to plunder the Temple of *Delphi*. Being obliged to abandon the Places they had prophaned, the Wretches had settled themselves, under the Conduct of *Bathanatus* at the Conflux of the *Save* and *Danube*: and had extended themselves, on one side almost to *Pannonia*<sup>63</sup>; and on the other,

<sup>58</sup> It is not improbable, that this *Manius Acilius Balbus* was the Son of him who was *Consul*, in the Year 603.

<sup>59</sup> *Caius Porcius Cato* was the Grandson of *Cato the Censor*, by his Father *Marcus Cato*; and of *Paulus Æmilius*, by his Mother *Æmia*, the Sister of *Scipio Æmilianus*.

<sup>60</sup> The Surname of *Braccati* was appropriated to the People of *Gallia Narbonensis*, which was for this Reason called *Gallia Braccata*, till the Reign of *Augustus*. It comprehended all the Countries between the *Mediterranean*, the *Alpes*, the Lake of *Geneva*, and the *Pyrenees*; that is, *Upper and Lower Languedoc*, *Provence*, *Comtat*, *Dauphiné*, *Savoy*, *Chablais*, and *Genevois*. The rest of *Transalpine Gaul* was distinguished by the Name of *Gallia Comata*, because all the Nations that inhabited it wore long Hair. See Vol. 2.

<sup>61</sup> *Pliny the Naturalist* observes, That most Latin Authors call *Gallia Narbonensis* by the Appellation of

*Provincia Romana*: either because it was the first Conquest of the *Romans*; or because the Republick sent thither so many Colonies from *Rome*, that it might pass for an *Italian Province*.

<sup>62</sup> See our Account of the Origin and different Habitations of the *Scordisci*, Vol. 2.

<sup>63</sup> Old *Pannonia* comprehended those vast Countries which reach from the northern Course of the *Danube* to the Mouth of the *Save*. *Pliny* gives it almost the same Limits. He observes, B. 3, That *Dalmatia* and *Illyricum* bordered on the *Adriatick Sea*; whereas, says he, *Pannonia* lies to the North of these two great Provinces, and reaches to the *Danube*. *Strabo* says it bordered on *Dalmatia*; and *Dio Cassius* is more express when he affirms, B. 49, That the *Pannonians* inhabited the Country which lies beyond the *Danube*, between *Noricum* and *Mysia* in *Europe*. *Jornandes*, in his first Book of the *Gothic Wars*, affirms, That the exact Limits of *Pannonia* were, *Upper Mæsia* to the East, *Noricum* to the West, *Dalmatia* to the South,



far as *Thrace*, of which their Country was now become the Boundary. In Barbarity they equalled, if not surpassed, the *Thracians* themselves. Their Cruelty to the Enemies they took in War was enormous. They offered up their Blood to the Gods in Sacrifice; often burnt them alive for Burnt-offerings, and made Cups of their Skulls for Libations, and for drinking Vessels at their Feasts. And in point of Avarice they were insatiable. Indeed their Misfortunes had taught them to despise Gold. Their Fathers had worn Gold-necklaces and Gold-bracelets, which had raised the Covetousness of their Enemies; and for this Reason they had proscribed Gold. But they were greedy of Silver. All the neighbouring Countries became a Prey to them; and those subject to the *Romans* did not escape their Hostilities.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXXIX.  
M<sup>r</sup> ACILIUS  
BALBUS, &  
C. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

*Macedon* had long been in Peace under the Government of a *Prætor*, and this had created too much Security. The Frontiers were destitute of Garrisons, and a *Prætorian* Army, consisting of only one *Legion*, was not sufficient to guard so great a Province. And indeed, in so vast an extent of Country, as *Rome* now possessed in the three Quarters of the World, how was it well possible for her, to be always ready to guard against the Insults of her many jealous, or active, Enemies? These *Scordisci* therefore, or as some Historians chuse to call them, these *Thracians*, penetrated into the Heart of *Macedon*, and there committed their usual Robberies. And as it was customary for *Rome* to send *Consular* Armies into such of her *Provinces* as could not be defended by the Troops on the Spot; the Senate had regard to the Complaints of the *Macedonians*, and the People ordered that War should be made with those who disturbed their Peace. The Conduct of this War fell to the Lot of the new *Consul*, *Porcius Cato*; and it was the only one *Rome* had to maintain. *Jugurtha* indeed, had already raised Disturbances in *Numidia*; but they were not yet come to be of Consequence enough, for *Rome* to declare War with him.

The *Consul Porcius* set out with that number of *Legions*, which struck Terror wherever they came. Nothing was more formidable than a *Consular* Army. But these fine Troops wanted a General to command them who knew the Country, and the Stratagems of the Enemy. The *Scordisci* drew him into a Country full of Rocks, Forests, and narrow Passes, and encompassed with Precipices; and there surrounded him so well, that not one of his Soldiers escaped the Darts of those Barbarians. *Porcius* alone saved himself by flight. It was no unusual thing, for the *Roman* Generals to meet with Repulses when they first engaged with new Enemies, to whose way of fighting they were Strangers; but the Republick had not for a long Time suffered such a Defeat as this. The Historians speak of it with Astonishment. The People of *Rome*, say they, would have been as much terrified at it, as they were at the Battle of *Cannæ*, if it had been fought in the Heart of *Italy*. However, the Devastation of the *Roman Provinces* was the sure Consequence of this fatal Day. The *Scordisci* <sup>64</sup> entered *Macedon* by *Dalmatia*, and spread themselves into *Thessaly*, and on all the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea. There, these Barbarians, who came from inland Countries, to their great surprize, found a vast Extent of Waters which put a stop to their Incursions; and to revenge themselves on the Sea, they threw a Shower of Darts at it.

*Florus* L. 3.  
*Epit. Liv.*

*Diod. Sic. apud*  
*Vales.*

*Florus* L. 3. c.  
3.  
*Sex. Rufus.*

But whilst the *Scordisci* were dispersing themselves far on the Coast, *T. Didius* avenged the Cause of *Rome*. He was *Prætor* in *Illyricum*, and had heard with Concern of the Ravages the Barbarians committed, even to the Confines of his Province. Fired therefore with a just Resentment, he assembled Troops, joined them to the *Legion* he

and the *Danube* to the North; and *Ptolomy* affirms, That this vast Country was 3000 *Stadia*, that is, 375 *French* Miles, or 125 *Leagues*, in length, from Mount *Cælius* to *Belgrade*; and in breadth, 1500 *Stadia*, or 63 *Leagues*, from the northern Bed of the *Danube* to Mount *Alban*, which divides it from *Illyricum*. The River *Arabo*, now the *Rab*, divided *Pannonia* into *The Upper* and *The Lower*. The former contained *Garniola*, the County of *Cilly*, a Part of *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Vindismark*, *Croatia*, and *Sclavonia*; the latter, which lay more to the South, contained a Great Part of *Hungary*, *Sclavonia*, *Bosnia*, and *Serbia*. *Appian* is the only Author who has confounded the Nation of the *Pannonii* with the *Pavonii*; a People who came originally from *Thrace*, and spread themselves into several Parts of *Macedon*, as we have elsewhere observed.

64 The *Scordisci* who vanquished *Porcius*, gained a second Victory in sight of *Heraclea* in *Macedon*, over one *Lucullus*, who commanded the Garrison of that City. They had lain in Ambush behind a Hill, whilst a Detachment of their Horse hovered round the Walls of *Heraclea*, with a Design to draw the Governor into the open Country. They pretended to carry away some Cattle from that Neighbourhood. *Lucullus* immediately made a Sally at the Head of his Troops, to give chase to the Robbers. They, in a feigned flight, rode full speed to the Ambuscade. The Commander pursued them with warmth, and fell into the Share the *Scordisci* had laid for him. He was surrounded on all sides, and cut in pieces with his whole Garrison, which consisted of 800 Men. Our Authority for this Fact is *Frontinus Stratag.* L. 3.



Year of *ROME* *DCXXXIX.*  
*M' ACILIUS*  
*BALBUS, &*  
*C. PORCIUS*  
*CATO, Con-*  
*fuls.*  
*Tab. Triumph.*

commanded, and marched to meet the Enemy. The Senate sent him Orders to purge *Macedon* of these Robbers, and a Commission to exercise the Office of *Consul*, till another should come; and the brave General soon repaired the Losses of his Republick. He surprized the *Scordisci*, defeated them, and drove them back to the Banks of the *Danube* which they had deserted. *Rome* therefore rewarded his Zeal with Pleasure; and as soon as he returned, crowned his Victory with the Honours of a *Triumph*.

As for *Porcius Cato*, *Rome* did not expressly condemn him for what the Republick had suffered by his Defeat. The Times were past, when she made her Generals responsible for the unforeseen Accidents that happened in their Engagements. But she quarrelled with him about Trifles. During his *Consulship*, and his Residence in *Macedon*, he had received about 4000 *Sesterces*, as a Present from the Inhabitants of the Country; which was so moderate<sup>65</sup> a Sum, that if it had been taken by any other Man, or at any less critical Time, it would not have been thought to deserve the Notice of the Judges. But *Porcius* was become the Object of publick Hatred and Contempt. Tho' the Grandson of the famous *Cato the Censor*, and Nephew by the Mother's side to *Scipio Africanus*, he was condemned for Oppression, and banished to *Tarragona* in *Spain*, where he settled ever after. A Punishment not so just, as in point of Prudence necessary; in order to make the *Roman* Generals afraid for the future of rashly exposing their Troops to the Mercy of Barbarians, in unknown Places.

§. XIX. And now, the *Consular* Year was ready to have expired, when a fatal Accident accompanied with some *Roman* Superstition, led the way to a Discovery, which caused a great deal of Disturbance. A Knight, named *P. Helvius*, had carried his Daughter to the *Roman Games*, to entertain her with the Show; and as he was returning to *Apulia*, his usual Place of Abode, he was overtaken by a Storm, in the middle of a Plain called *Stellates*<sup>66</sup>. It grew dark on a sudden, and thundered; and at length, the Lightning fell upon the young Lady, struck her dead off her Horse, and rent her Furniture. But the Stroke which killed her, did not expose her. She was found with her Cloaths decently about her. Upon this Misfortune, as was usual on the smallest Accidents, recourse was had to the *Augurs*; who answered, That the Year would be fatal both to the Maids, and the *Roman Knights*; and the Prediction happened to prove true.

It was not long before a Discovery was made, that a *Roman Knight*, named *L. Betucius*<sup>67</sup> *Barrus*, maintained an infamous Commerce with a *Vestal* of a noble Family. He was a professed Debauchee, and gloried in corrupting Women of the greatest Families and best Characters. The Difficulty he found in executing his criminal Designs quickened him in the pursuit of them. The more unlawful the Attempt was, the more violently he was bent upon it. He cast his Eyes therefore on a *Vestal* named *Æmilia*, and seduced her as he had done many others: And whilst the criminal Correspondence was confined to *Æmilia* and her Seducer, it was kept very secret. But the Contagion soon spread from one *Vestal* to another. *Æmilia* had two Companions, whom her Example, and loose Discourses, and the Corruption of their own Hearts, had made her Associates in Iniquity; one of which was *Licina*, and the other *Marcia*. However, the latter preserved some kind of Decency in her wicked Intrigues; inasmuch as she conversed with only one *Roman Knight*, and carried on her Amour with the Privacy only of her two Companions. But *Æmilia* and *Licina* found more than one Gallant rash enough to engage in an Attempt, in which all the Accomplices had ever been punished with great Severity. *Æmilius*, the Brother of *Æmilia*, was criminally conversant with *Licina*; and *Licinius* her Brother, with *Æmilia*. So that it seems strange that *Barrus*, when he saw himself attacked by several Rivals, did not break out; but the Fear of Punishment made him bear with Patience what it was so dangerous to divulge.

<sup>65</sup> *Cicero* advances this Sum to 18000 *Little Sesterces*; which at the rate of 2 *Sols* and an half to a *Sesterce*, make 2250 *Livres*.

<sup>66</sup> The Plain *Stellates* in *Campania*, was bounded on one side by Mount *Callicula* which divided it from the Plains of *Falernum*; and it was watered by the *Vulturnus*, and the *Savone*. See Vol. 2. p. 297. Note 17. We must take care not to confound this little Territory with another of the same Name, which we

have mentioned Vol. 2. The latter gave Name to the Tribe *Stellatina*, and lay between the Cities of *Capua*, *Veii*, and *Falerii*. See Vol. 1.

<sup>67</sup> *Orosius* gives this *Roman Knight* the Name of *Veturius*; which Mistake is rectified by *Fabricius* in his Notes on that Author. *Porphyrio*, the old Commentator on *Horace* tells us, That the Name of the Criminal was *Betucius*.



However, it is easy to imagine, that many Arts must have been used, and many wicked Agents employed, to elude the Vigilance of the *Pontifices*, whose Eyes were always fixed on the Behaviour of the *Vestals*: And among the latter was a Slave named *Manius*, whom *Barrus*, the first Author of this Violation of the Sanctuary of *Vesta*, made use of, to carry on his Intrigues. His Freedom was, no doubt, the least Part of the Reward he was to expect from his Master, who probably would have kept his Word with the Confident of his Amours. But he took it in his Head, to make his Agent responsible for all the Mortifications *Æmilia* gave him. He revenged them on the unfortunate *Manius*, who suffered very severely for his Master's Jealousy: And this produced a Discovery of all the Abominations which their Fears had made them artfully conceal. The Slave, provoked by this ill Usage, went and accused his Master; and there was no Reply to be made to his Accusation, because he had it in his Power to prove the Charge. *Æmilia*, *Licinia*, and *Marcia*, were therefore cited to appear before the *Pontifices* with their Accomplices; and the abominable Incest of *Æmilia* and *Barrus* being confessed, they were condemned to the usual Punishment. But, tho' *Licinia* and *Marcia* were not less guilty, the *Pontifices*, shocked at the Scandal it would bring on the whole *Sacerdotal* Order, to have so many Criminals punished at once, and hoping to avoid some part of the Reproach, by lessening the Number of the condemned, acquitted them, and reinstated them in their *Sacerdotal* Offices: And this Indulgence raised great Murmurs among the People. There was a general Outcry, That the Misfortunes of the Republick were wholly owing to the Prophanations of the incestuous *Vestals*. *It is the Gods*, said the People, *that have stirred up the Scordisci to march out of their own Country, massacre our Legionaries, and plunder our Provinces. It is not so much their Avarice, as our Wickedness, that has brought them to the Borders of Italy. To suffer the rest of the Criminals to escape unpunished, is to lay up in store against our selves a greater Share of that divine Vengeance which has already been so signally inflicted upon us: And we already see the Cimbri, a Nation till now unknown, threatening our Frontiers with a speedy Inundation.* And indeed, the Barbarians on the Side of Germany, were already in motion; and assembling together in order to some Expedition, which the Republick had Reason to fear.

§. XX. But tho' the Clamours of the People generally had the desired Effect, the present Affair was a Matter of Religion, of which the *Pontifices* were sole Judges, and their Determinations without Appeal. Nevertheless, one of the *Tribunes of the People* had Courage enough to bring the Affair of *Licinia* and *Marcia* before the assembled *Tribes*. *Sex-tus Peduceius* declaimed bitterly against the Incontinence of the *Vestals*, aggravated their Crimes, and shewed the Iniquity of the Judgment of the *Pontifices*. *This is not the first Time*, said he, *that Crimes against Religion have been brought before the Tribunal of the People. We have formerly seen a Censor assume a Right of consecrating a Statue to Concord, in order to its being publicly worshipped; and tho' the Worship of a Goddess was in question, the Affair was brought before the Comitia. A Vestal once thought fit to build an Oratory without the Consent of the Roman People, and You ordered it to be demolished. Is then the revival of the Prosecution of the Vestals a Matter of less Consequence to you? Will not the prophane Licentiousness of the two mad Virgins fall directly on all the People? It is We, it is the whole Republick, that will bear the Punishment of it. The ill Consequences of the War that threatens us, and the Miseries of the Famine, will fall much heavier on the common People, than on the rich Pontifices, who are exempted, if they please, from going to the Frontiers to fight. We already see manifest Signs of the Wrath of Heaven. In the northern Countries, Nations, whose Names we knew not, are whetting their Swords against a Republick which is regardless of the Honour due to the Gods. It was by our Regard for Religion that we extended our Frontiers; and if we would preserve our Conquests, it must be by the same Means. Whereas now, the very Patrons of Religion desert it; and they who ought to avenge, betray its Cause. If only one Vestal had polluted herself, it is a Crime which our Legislators have thought to deserve the most terrible of Punishments. Numa had no regard to the Levity and Weakness of the Sex. He condemned every such Criminal without Mercy. And now, the Incest has been repeated, has spread like a Contagion, and infected one half of the College. This is therefore an execrable Prophanation, which the Publick ought zealously and exemplarily to punish: And since their Ministers will not, it is your Business to revenge the Affronts offered to the Gods.*

Thus

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXXIX.  
M<sup>r</sup> ACILIUS  
BALBUS, & C.  
PORCIUS CA-  
TO, Consuls.



Year of  
ROME.  
DCXXXIX.

M' ACILIUS  
BALBUS, & C.  
PORCIUS CA-  
TO, Consuls.  
Cic. in Bruto.

Val. Max. L.  
3.

Jul. Obseq.  
Ovid. Fast.  
L. 5.

Val. Max.  
L. 8.

Thus spake *Peduceius*; and his Motion was approved. It was determined by the People, That the Sentence given by *Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, was a very partial one; and That *Licinia* and *Marcia* should be prosecuted afresh. The *Comitia* also nominated a *Prætor*, to whom they gave an extraordinary Commission to hear the Cause again, and finally and absolutely determine it. This *Prætor* was the famous *Lucius<sup>68</sup> Cassius*, a Man of known Integrity; but so severe, that his Court was called, *the Wreck of Criminals*. He had no regard, to the Birth of the Accused, or the Sentence passed in their Favour, or the Rights of the *Pontifical* College, or the Eloquence of *Lucius Crassus<sup>69</sup>*, who pleaded for his Relation *Licinia*. He condemned the two *Vestals* to be buried alive, and their Accomplices to be whipped to death. Who then can describe the mournful Silence which reigned in *Rome*, when the infamous Priestesses were led to the Place of Punishment? Compassion was visible in the Faces of the People; but their Hearts were full of Indignation. At least, it appeared, That the Love of Chastity which had at all Times so much distinguished the *Romans*, was not yet lost. Some particular Persons had been corrupted, but the Publick declared for Continence; and their virtuous Inclinations were yet supported by the Laws.

In order to wipe off, in some measure, the mighty Scandal which the *Vestals* had given, *Rome* built a Temple to *Venus*, at the publick Expence, and gave her the Appellation of *Verticordia*; because they designed here to implore the Assistance of the Goddess, to turn the Hearts of the *Roman* Women and their Daughters, to Virtue. So that *Venus* was now invoked for Chastity. And when the Statue came to be consecrated, the *Romans* thought fit to do Honour to the most chaste of the *Roman* Ladies. They first chose out one Hundred of the most unblemished Characters; then reduced those Hundred to Ten; and among them, conferred the Honour of the Consecration on *Sulpicia*, the Daughter of *Serv. Sulpicius Paterculus*. Tho' very young, and lately married to *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus*, she had given Proofs of an extraordinary Modesty: And the Honour now done her, was not inferior to that of *Scipio Nasica*, who had been, by a Decree of the Senate, declared to be the most virtuous of the *Romans*.

<sup>68</sup> This *Lucius Cassius*, who was so formidable to the accused, had been *Consul* in the Year 626, and *Censor* in the Year 628. To which it may be objected, That if he was the same Man who, when he was *Tribune of the People*, had made the Law about the manner of voting, and had been successively raised to those Offices; he must then have condescended, contrary to Custom, to accept of an inferior Office, twelve Years after he had enjoyed the two highest Dignities in *Rome*, the *Consulate* and *Censorship*.

To which we answer, that he was now elected *Prætor* out of course. This was an extraordinary Commission with which the People entrusted him, to rehear the Sentence passed by the *Pontifex Maximus* in favour of the accused *Vestals*. Besides, we may have observed several, in the Course of the History, who accepted of the *Prætorship*, after they had been *Consuls*. Nay, they who were past the *Consular* Chair, did not think it beneath them to accept of the *Quæstorship*; an Office much below that of *Prætor*, because it had no Jurisdiction. It may be remembered, that *Quintius Capitolinus* was *Quæstor* with *Marcus Valerius*; tho' he had been three Times *Consul*. So that there is no Reason for not believing, that *Lucius Cassius*, who was *Tribune of the People* in 616, *Consul* in 626, and *Censor* in 628, had this extraordinary Commission in 640, to re-hear the Cause of the Priestesses of *Vesta*.

By *Cicero's* Account of him, he appears to have been a very severe Judge, who made Criminals tremble. His inflexible Severity was in a manner hereditary in the *Cassian* Family; according to the *Roman* Orator, in his second Oration against *Verres*. *Lucius Cassius ex familia, tum ad cæteras res, tum ad judicandum Severissima*. It was probably this *Cassius*, who gave rise to the famous Maxim of *CUI BONO*; which he applied to the Discovery of the Innocent from the Guilty. Indeed

Interest, or the Hope of some Good, is generally the Motive upon which Criminals act. It seldom happens, that they do Mischief, purely for the sake of doing it. So that generally speaking, the Presumption is against the Accused, when he might have reaped any Benefit from the Crime laid to his Charge. But nevertheless, this Rule is only to be admitted in doubtful Cases. It would be ridiculous to acquit a Man manifestly proved guilty of an Assassination, upon this Maxim of *CUI BONO*. For to what purpose would it be to urge, that it was not his Interest to commit the Murder? This Argument is not to be admitted against the full Evidence of a Fact. Add to this, That *Cassius's* Severity became proverbial. All severe Judges were, according to *Cicero* and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, from his Name called *Cassiani Judices*.

<sup>69</sup> *Cicero* says, That *Crassus* was then 27 Years of Age.

<sup>70</sup> It may seem strange, that the *Romans* should have recourse to *Venus*, to put a stop to the Debauchery of the *Roman* Women. Since, according to the Doctrine of *Paganism*, she was the Goddess of Pleasure, the Incontinence of the condemned *Vestals*, should rather seem to have been the Work of the unchaste Goddess. But the Senate, for that very Reason, because she was the Cause of these Disorders, thought it necessary to make court to her, by the Consecration of a new Image, and solemn Vows. She being allowed to be the sovereign Directress of the Heart, they flattered themselves, that she might be prevailed on to guard it against Seduction. The Title of *VERTICORDIA*, or *Converter of Hearts*, ascribed to the Goddess on this Occasion, answers to that of *APOSTROPHIA*, or *Turner of Hearts*; under which Appellation *Harmonia*, the Wife of *Cadmus*, according to *Pausanias*, erected a Statue to *Venus*, in the City of *Thebes*.



§. XXI. In the mean time, it appeared that the Apprehensions the Republick had entertained of an Inundation of Barbarians, were not purely imaginary. At the further end of *Germany*, that is, in the most northern Parts of it, there was a Nation, who were said to have been originally descended from the *Asiatick Cimmerians*<sup>71</sup>, and to have taken the Name of *Cimbri*, when they changed their old Habitations. These People were now settled near the Ocean, in the *Peninsula*, which we call<sup>72</sup> *Jutland*, and the Ancients *Cimbrica Chersonesus*; and were tired of cultivating a cold Country, shut up between

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXXXIX.

M<sup>r</sup> ACILIUS  
BALBUS, &  
C. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.  
Strabo L. 7.

<sup>71</sup> The ancient Geographers, among the rest, *Strabo*, *Pliny*, *Ptolomy*, and *Pomponius Mela*, agree, That the *Cimmerii* came originally from *Scythia in Asia*; and That they inhabited the Countries near the *Palus Mæotis*, and the *Taurica Chersonesus*, (now possessed by the *Little Tartars*) and the *Bosphorus*, which from them was called *Cimmerian*. It is now the *Vospero*, or the *Streights of Caffa*. And lastly, the same Authors agree, That a Swarm of these People left their native Country, to go and settle between *Colchis* and *Iberia*. These People made themselves formidable to all *Asia* by their Robberies, as early as in the Days of *Homer*. Being driven out of their own Country by the *Scythian Nomades*, they ravaged the finest Countries in the East. *Æolis*, *Ionia*, the Kingdoms of *Pontus*, *Lydia*, and *Paphlagonia*, felt their Fury. They took the City of *Sardis* by Force, and subjected it to their Dominion. *Autandros*, a City at the Foot of Mount *Ida* underwent the same Fate. At least, *Pliny* says, That this City was inhabited by *Cimmerii*, who changed its first Name into that of *Cimmeris*. The Death of *Lygdamis* their General, who was killed in *Gilicia*, stopped these Barbarians in the midst of their Course. After they had been vanquished by *Alyates* King of *Lydia*, according to *Herodotus*; some of them returned homewards, and others, as most Historians conjecture, advanced towards the North, as far as the *Baltic*. It is natural to suppose, that the City of *Cimmerium* which *Strabo* mentions, situated in the *Taurica Chersonesus*, near the *Bosphorus* and *Palus Mæotis*, belonged to them. This ancient Geographer affirms, That the Inhabitants had fortified this Place with a Rampart, and a wide Ditch, to shut up the entrance into the *Isthmus* which joins the *Peninsula* to the Continent. Near it was *The Cimmerian Promontory*, now known by the Name of *The Cape of St. Cross*.

The Ancients have represented the Country of the *Cimmerii* as an ungrateful Soil, covered with thick Forests, and almost continual Fogs, which the Rays of the Sun could not break through. This frightful Description gave room to *Cicero* and *Ovid* to say, That an eternal Night reigned in this gloomy Climate; and That Sleep had taken up his abode there: And from thence, according to *Lactantius*, the *Cimmerian Darkness* became Proverbial, to signify a gloomy, stupid Mind.

*Lycophron*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, *Eustathius*, *Servius*, &c. have planted a Colony of *Cimmerians* in *Campania*, between *Cumæ* and *Baiæ*, near the *Lake Avernus*; and they say, That the Sun never shined in this little Canton, which is surrounded on all sides by high Mountains. Others, particularly *Ephorus*, who is quoted by *Strabo*, imagined, That the *Cimmerii* were a sort of Savages, which chose to live near *Cumæ*, in the subterraneous Caverns, which the Poets considered as the Passages which led to Hell. But *Strabo*, who had too much Judgment to give Credit to these puerile Fictions, acknowledges no other *Cimmerii*, but those who inhabited *Scythia in Asia*, and *Scythia in Europe*, near the *Palus Mæotis* and *Taurica Chersonesus*.

Add to this, that the *Cimmerii* were the most superstitious of all the Nations in *Asia*. They worshipped Woods, Rivers, and Fountains. As far as we can judge by *Hesychius's* Testimony, and the Epithet of *Cimmeris*, which he gives to *Cybele*, this Goddess

seems to have been one of the chief Objects of their Worship.

<sup>72</sup> Most of the Ancients agree, That the *Cimbri* did make themselves Masters of that Part of the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, which we now call *Jutland*. But they don't agree as to the Origin of these People. Some, as *Festus*, contend, That by *Cimbri*, we are to understand a Company of Robbers, which extended themselves as far as to the *Palus Mæotis*, and from thence to the northern Countries of *Europe*; and they support this Opinion by the Etymology of the Word *Cimbre*, which in the ancient *German* Language signifies a Robber. Others confound them with the *Germanians*, who lived on the Banks of the *Elbe*. Some have affirmed, without any Proof, That the Name of *Cimbri* was common to the People of *Germany*, of the *Gauls*, and of *Great Britain*. And all these Authors, in order to support their Conjectures, have amassed together a Multitude of Fables, which are below the Dignity of History.

The greatest Part infer from the Similitude of the Names, That they were the same People with the *Cimmerii* mentioned in the preceding Note. However, these Differences of Opinion disable us from saying any thing certain of their Transmigrations. All we know is, That they inhabited the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*, long before the *Cæsars* Time; and That from them the *Cape of Scagen* in *Denmark*, was called *Promontorium Cimbrorum*, or *The Promontory of the Cimbri*.

However it is certain, from the Account of *Pliny the Naturalist*, That these Barbarians were a rambling unsettled Nation, like the *Nomades* and *Scythians*. They had no other Lodgings, according to him, than covered Waggon; and he says, That after *Marius's* Victory, the Dogs, which in great Numbers followed the *Cimbri* to War, defended the Entrances into these moveable Houses against the *Romans*, till they died on the Spot. No Man will dispute with *Pliny* the Truth of a Fact, which is so agreeable to the Genius of the ancient northern Nations, and to the Relations of the gravest Authors of Antiquity. But we cannot form the same Judgment of a Fable, which that Historian vends for a matter of Fact. He says, That the Clattering of the Arms, and the Sound of the Trumpets in the Heat of the Battle which the *Romans* gave the *Cimbri*, were heard to *Rome*; that is, above 100 Leagues from the Field of Battle. He should have added likewise the Noise of the Drums; for *Strabo* at least assures us, That the *Cimbri* used them in their Armies. A Fable which has not the least shadow of Truth. To which we shall add here, another Mistake of *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Marius*, concerning the Situation of the *Cimbrica Chersonesus*. He took it for granted, that in this *Peninsula*, which now contains *Jutland*, and *Holsace* or *Holslein*, the longest Days, as well as the longest Nights, were 24 Hours. Which being supposed, it will follow, that the Country of the *Cimbri* must have lain under the *Polar Circle*, that is, in the 24th Climate; and the Elevation of the Pole with regard to them, must have been 66 Degrees and 30 Minutes. But it is easy to see the Miscalculation of the *Greek* Author. *Denmark*, a Part of which belonged to the *Cimbri*, lies between the 54th and 58th Degrees of North Latitude; and consequently, the longest Night at the Winter *Solstice*, and the longest Day at the Sum-



Year of  
R O M E.  
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M' ACILIUS  
BALBUS, &  
C. PORCIUS  
CATO, Con-  
suls.

between two Seas. They therefore formed a Design to change their Habitations again, and seek their Fortune elsewhere. It was no uncommon thing for the northern Nations to spread themselves towards the South, and get themselves new Settlements by Conquest. Accordingly, the *Cimbri* left their *Peninsula*; and, joining with the *Teutones* <sup>73</sup> a neighbouring Nation, they all with their Wives and Children took their Journey Southward, and fell upon the Country which the *Boian Gauls* had long possessed, not far from the *Hercynian* <sup>74</sup> Forest. But this Army of *Cimbri*, was more formidable for their Numbers, and the Ravages they committed, than their Valour. The *Boij* <sup>75</sup> (who are the present *Bavarians*) soon got rid of them, and forced them to carry War and Devastation into other Places. Then they fell on the *Scordisci*, whom *Didius* had just driven back to the Banks of the *Danube*; and from thence advancing still nearer to the *Roman Provinces*, they penetrated into *Vindelicia* <sup>76</sup>; there ravaged the Country of the *Taurisci* <sup>77</sup>, and exercised their Robberies and Cruelties on the Banks of the *Drave* <sup>78</sup>. In-somuch, that the Approach of these Barbarians made *Rome* her self tremble, and both Senate and People resolved to put a stop to their Incurfions, and disperse this terrible Number of Vagabonds.

Year of  
R O M E.  
DCXL.  
C. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & CN.  
PAPIRIUS  
CARBO, Con-  
suls.  
*Vell. Patere.*  
L. 2.

As soon then as the new *Consuls*, *Caius Cæcilius* <sup>79</sup> *Metellus*, and *Cn. Papirius* <sup>80</sup> *Carbo* were chosen, the *Conscript Fathers* made it their first Concern, to send one of them to meet the *Cimbri*. They drew Lots for their Provinces; and it fell to *Metellus* to go into *Macedon*, to finish the War with the *Scordisci*. The Allotment of *Papirius* was *Illyricum*; and he had Orders to wait for the *Cimbri* at the furthest Part of the *Eastern Alpes*, and stop the Passes against them.

The *Consuls* immediately set out for their Stations, and made War there with very different Success. *Metellus* found the *Scordisci* already fatigued by the Incurfions of the *Cimbri*; and he drove them from Post to Post, and weakened them by repeated Battles, till at length he so reduced them, as to put them out of a Condition to make any new Attempts against the *Roman Provinces*. So successful was his Campaign, that the *Legionaries* gave him upon the Spot, the Title of *Imperator*, which was not given to all Generals; and at his Return, his Services were rewarded with the Honours of a *Triumph*, in which there was one particular Circumstance which doubled his Joy on that Occasion. His Brother, who was *Consul* before him, had been sent, as we have observed, to suppress the Rebellion in *Sardinia* and *Corfica*; and this brave General being now returned to *Rome*, after two Years Labours and Victories, the Senate and People agreed, That the two Generals should triumph together: One for having conquered the *Thracians*, the other for having reduced the two rebellious Islands. A great Honour indeed for the *Cæcilian Family*! which had been distinguished by as many, if not more publick Ho-

mer *Solstice*, is no more than 18 Hours, in the most northern Part of the Kingdom.

<sup>73</sup> The *Teutones* which some ancient Authors say came originally from *Scythia* in *Asia*, settled near the *Baltic*. They possessed the Islands near *Denmark*, particularly those of *Funen*, and *Zeeland*, in which stands *Copenhagen*, the Capital of the Kingdom.

<sup>74</sup> See what we have said of the *Hercynian Forest*. Vol. 2. p. 4. Note 17.

<sup>75</sup> The *Boii*, a People who came originally from *Bourbonnois* and the neighbouring Provinces, as we have observed in Vol. 2, followed *Segovesus* into *Germany*, whilst his Brother *Bellovesus* made himself a Way over the *Alpes* into *Italy*. The *Gallie* Nation which composed that General's Army, dispersed themselves into several Provinces in *Germany*, and there settled. *Bohemia* fell to the *Boii*. But they were driven out, in the Reign of *Augustus*, by the *Marcomani*, whose Country was bounded by the Springs of the *Rhine* and the *Danube*; and when they were forced to abandon their first Conquest, they settled between the Rivers *Ini* and *Isere*, in lower *Bavaria*, which from them was called the Country of the *Boii*, or *Boiariois*, and by corruption *Bavarois*, or *Bavarians*.

<sup>76</sup> *Vindelicia* which some ancient Geographers make the same Country with *Rætia*, formerly contained a Part of the Bishoprick of *Constance*, of the *Tirol*, of the Bishoprick of *Passau*, all Upper *Bavaria*, and part of *Lower*. To which some add, the Dutchy

of *Neubourg*, the Marquisate of *Burgon*, &c. In a Word, all the Lands between the River *Ins* and the Lake of *Bregentz* belonged to *Vindelicia*.

<sup>77</sup> The Ancients gave the Name of *Taurisci* to those Nations of *Vindelicia* and *Noricum*, which lived nearest to the *Alpes*.

<sup>78</sup> The *Drave* rises in the Territory of *Salzburg*; from thence it crosses *Lower Austria*, *Carinthia*, and *Stiria*; and at length falls into the *Danube*, in *Hungary*.

<sup>79</sup> *Caius Cæcilius Metellus* was the fourth Son of *Quintus Metellus Macedonicus*. His Rusticity and ill-breeding procured him the Surname of *Caprarius* or *The Goat-herd*. He first bore Arms in the *Numantian War*; in which he behaved himself so ill, that *Scipio Æmilianus* his General reproached him severely for his Dilatoriness and Stupidity; and said, according to *Cicero*, That if his Mother bore another male Child, it must be an *Ass*. By which he insinuated, That the *Metelli* were less and less endowed with natural Talents, according to their Birth. So that *Metellus Caprarius* was wholly indebted to the Merit of his Father, and the Splendor of his Family, for the highest Dignities in the Republick.

<sup>80</sup> *Cicero* observes, in a Letter to *Papirius Pater*, That *Cneius Carbo* was the Son of the seditious *Caius Carbo*, who raised so many Disturbances in the Republick. He was the Father of one *Cneius Carbo*, who perished in the Civil Wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*.

nours;



nours, than any other *Patrician* Family, in so short a Space of Time. Above twelve Year of *Cæcili* had been successively raised either to the *Consulate*, or *Censorship*, and many of *R O M E* them honoured with *Triumphs*, in less than twelve Years. DCXL.

§. XXII. The *Consul Papirius* was not so successful. He came and encamped at *Noreia*<sup>81</sup>, a Village in *Carinthia*<sup>82</sup>, at some distance from *Aquileia*; and there waited for these formidable *Cimbri*, whose Name struck more Terror the nearer they advanced towards *Italy*. At length they appeared in the Country of the *Norici*<sup>83</sup>, there exercised their usual Robberies, and this put *Papirius* in Motion. He hastened to the Defence of a People in Alliance, as he affirmed, with his Republick; and sent notice to the General of the *Cimbri* to put a stop to Hostilities against a Nation which was under the Protection of *Rome*. But tho' the *Romans* maintained the Rights of Hospitality with the *Norici*, this did not oblige *Rome* to appear in their Defence; so that if the Republick declared against the *Cimbri*, it was not so much out of Regard to the *Norici*, as to her own Safety. The *Cimbri* answered, That they knew not what Engagements the Republick had entered into with the *Norici*; That They, who came from so great a distance, had not troubled themselves about looking into the reciprocal Interests and Alliances of Nations; and lastly, That the *Cimbrian* Army knew no Law but that of the strongest Party. *Nevertheless*, added they, *we have a great Veneration for the powerful People of Rome. The Name of these Conquerors has reached even to the northern Regions; and in respect to Rome, we will commit no more Hostilities in the Places which she protects. The Earth is big enough to furnish a Subsistence for Men accustomed to ramble, without fixing their Habitations in any particular Place. Provided we may be permitted to make War or Peace, as we please, in all those Parts of the World, to which the Alliances of Rome do not extend, we will turn our Arms against those Countries of Germany, which have no Relation to her. Perhaps we may have the good Fortune to facilitate the Conquest of the Countries through which we pass, for the Romans, by our Incursions.*

C. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & CN.  
PAPIRIUS  
CARBO, Con-  
suls.  
*Strabo*, L. 5.  
*Plin.* L. 3.  
*Appian.*  
*Epit. Liv.*

*Papirius* pretended to be satisfied with the Declarations the *Cimbri* made, of their Inclinations to cultivate the Friendship of the *Romans*; but he only waited for their Departure, in order to prepare Ambushes for them with the greater Safety. When he saw them ready to quit the Country of the *Norici*, he corrupted the Guides which were to have led them another Way; and the Traitors made them take a large Compass, and brought them to the Plain of *Noreia*, where the *Consul* and his *Legions* were in Expectation of them. There the *Cimbri* encamped, without perceiving that the *Roman* Army was so near, and quietly gave themselves up to rest. *Papirius* came upon them, surrounded their Camp, and promised himself a certain Victory. But what Difficulties cannot a warlike People surmount, when actuated by Despair and Indignation! They ran to Arms, and fought like Desperado's, in defence of their Wives and Children: And after they had first made a vigorous Resistance, they became Aggressors. They fell on the *Romans* with such Fury, that they put them into Disorder; and the *Legions* would have been entirely defeated, if they had not saved themselves by flight. The *Roman* Soldiers fled in Confusion to the neighbouring Forests for Refuge, and there dispersed themselves so much, that they were three Days assembling together.

And who could have imagined, but this fatal Overthrow must have produced the ravaging of *Italy*, and perhaps the taking and Destruction of *Rome* itself? The Consternation there was universal. All expected to see the *Barbarians* immediately pass the *Alpes*, and over-run the Provinces nearest to the Capital, like a Torrent. But the *Cimbri*, upon what Motive is very difficult to say, neglected to reap the Advantages of their

<sup>81</sup> *Noreia* was formerly a City, or if you will, a Village of *Carniola*, which with *Carinthia* anciently made but one Province; of which the *Carni*, who came originally from *Celtic Gaul*, made themselves Masters. *Strabo* places this City on the Banks of the *Tilaventus*, now the *Taiamento*, which rises in the *Julian Alpes*, and falls into the *Adriatick Sea*, 15 Miles from *Aquileia*. *Cluver* conjectures, with a good deal of Probability, That *Noreia* was in the Neighbourhood of another City, which is now called *Venzoné*. *Pliny* will have it to have stood in the Country of the *Taurisci*. *Cæsar* places it in *Noricum*. But they both meant the same Country, tho' they call it by different Names. The *Taurisci* had seized that Part of *Illyricum* which

made old *Noricum*, and possessed it a great while. *Strabo* ranks these People among the *Celtic Gauls*; who left their Country in search of new ones, and seized *Carniola*, *Carinthia*, and the neighbouring Provinces.

<sup>82</sup> *Carinthia*, now a Province of the *Circle of Austria*, formerly belonged to the *Carni*, as well as *Carniola*.

<sup>83</sup> The Country of the *Norici* contained a Part of *Bavaria* from the River *Inn*, all *Upper Austria*, *Carinthia*, and *Stiria*. *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and several other Geographers comprehend this Country within the Bounds of old *Illyricum*.



Year of *ROME* DCXL. *C. CÆCILIVS METELLVS, & CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO, Consuls.* Victory. Whether they revered the Authority of the sovereign Republick; or feared the Forces of a People, who had extended their Dominion so far into the three Parts of the World; or whether it was the good Pleasure of Providence, to reward the Zeal *Rome* had shewn in avenging the Violations of the sacrilegious Virgins, in this manner; whatever was the Cause or Motive, the *Cimbri*, by a kind of Miracle, turned their Arms elsewhere. They marched towards the Country of the *Helvetii*<sup>84</sup>, and from thence entered *Transalpine Gaul*, which they filled with Desolation and Slaughter. So that *Rome* had, at least, some Time to breathe; tho' her Fears were not entirely dispelled, till one of the bravest of her Generals had totally destroyed the whole Nation of the *Cimbri*, as shall be related in due time.

*Val. Max. L. 3. c. 7; & L. 6. c. 8.*

§. XXIII. In the mean while, the Deliverance of *Italy* which the *Cimbri* had threatened, quickened the Zeal of the *Romans*, in the Prosecution of those *Knights*, who had had any share in the late Guilt. The famous Orator, *M. Antonius*, the Grandfather of that *Mark Anthony*, who afterwards disputed the Empire with *Augustus*, was then in the Flower of his Age; and being more gallant than vicious, had given some room for a Suspicion, that he had kept some unlawful Commerce with the condemned *Vestals*. He was now just entered on publick Offices for the first Time. He had been very lately nominated to the *Quæstorship* of *Asia*, and was already got to *Brundisium*, in order to embark for *Pergamus*. There Advice was brought him, That he was cited to appear before the severe *Prætor Cassius*; That his Reputation was attacked; and That he was in great danger of being condemned to a very severe Punishment. And had he been conscious of any Guilt, he might have continued his Journey, and have enjoyed, during his *Quæstorship*, the Privilege of the Law, which exempted the Magistrates of the Provinces, from all Obligations to appear in a Court of Justice. But *Anthony*, secure in his Innocence, immediately returned to *Rome*, appeared before the *Prætor*, and desired that his Cause might be heard without delay. The Judge endeavoured at first to intimidate him, by threatening to put the young Slave to the Torture, who was said to be the Confidant of his Amours; and it was to be feared, That the violence of the Torments would extort from the young Child a false Accusation against his Master. But the Courage<sup>85</sup> of the Slave revived *Antonius*. He offered himself to the Torture with an Assurance, which induced the Judges to spare him. The *Quæstor* of *Asia* was acquitted; and set out for his Province with more Honour, than if he had not been accused.

And now, the Punishment of these Iniquities, and the Departure of the *Cimbri*, had settled *Rome* in greater Tranquillity, than she had long enjoyed. There was only one War to finish, with the *Scordisci*; who were already weakened, but still very haughty, and ready to take Arms again, as soon as the *Roman* Armies should leave *Macedon*, for any more necessary Expeditions. Besides, it was easy to foresee, that *Numidia* would soon become the Seat of War. The Steps taken by *Jugurtha* became daily more and more suspicious; and the War in *Africa* would soon become a Matter of the greatest Importance. It was therefore necessary for the *Romans* to dispatch the Affair of the *Scordisci*, and deliver themselves from these troublesome Enemies, by utterly destroying them:

84 The *Helvetii*, at the Time we are speaking of, and for some Ages after, were included among the *Gallie* Nations. *Strabo*, and *Cæsar*, after having supposed that their Country was a Part of *Gaul*, divide it into four Cantons. The first call'd *Tigurinus Pagus*, contained the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Appenzell*, *Schaffhausen*, and *Rhintall*. The second, called *Tugenus Pagus*, contained the Cantons of *Zug*, *Glaris*, *Schwitz*, and *Uri*. The third, which belonged to the *Ambrones*, contained a little Part of the Canton of *Friburg*, and the whole Cantons of *Lucern*, *Bern*, *Solothurn*, and *Underwald*. And lastly, the fourth, which was near the River *Orbe*, and a City named *Urba* in *Antoninus's Itinerary*, and therefore called *Urbigenus Pagus*, contained the Principality of *Neuschattel*, and the greatest Part of the Canton of *Friburg*, and of the *Pais Roman*. The Country of the *Rauraci*, now *The Canton of Basle*, was afterwards added to the *Hevetic* Body. In the most early Times, a numerous Colony of *Helvetii* had, according to *Tacitus*, made an Irruption into *Germany*, and got Possession of the Provinces which lay between the *Danube*, the *Rhine*, the *Maine*, and the *Forest of Bohemia*. But it is difficult to ascertain

the Time of this Expedition. Some place it in the Year of *Rome* 150, under the Reign of *Tarquin the Elder*. At least, we learn from *Livy*, that the *Boii*, a People of *Celtic Gaul*, then penetrated into *Bohemia*, and reduced it under their Dominion. The *Helvetii* maintained themselves in their ancient Dominions, till the Reign of *Honorius*. In those Times of Trouble and Confusion, the *Germans* entered the Country of the *Helvetii*, which was then a Part of *Gaul*, Sword in Hand; and driving out the lawful Possessors, settled themselves in all the *Swiss Cantons*. And from the Time of this Conquest, the New-comers became Members of the *Germanic Body*, and the Country they usurped, was no longer reckoned among the Provinces of *Gaul*.

85 *Valerius Maximus* says expressly, *B. 6. c. 8*. That the Slave was accused of having lighted his Master in the Night with a Flambeaux, to the Place of Meeting; and adds, That the faithful Servant endured the most cruel Tortures, by scourging, burning Plates of Metal, and the wooden Horse, with an Intrepidity which surprized the Judges.



And this was their great Point in view, when *M. Livius Drusus* <sup>85</sup>, and *L. Calpurnius Piso*, were raised to the *Consulate*. *Macedon* fell to the Lot of the one, and *Illyricum* of the other. *Drusus* went to finish the Affair of the *Scordisci*; and *Piso* to cover Italy against the Invasion of the *Cimbri*, whose Return was still dreaded. *Illyricum* was in Peace, so that *Drusus* had nothing to do, but with the *Scordisci*; and they foresaw the utter Ruin of their Country, as soon as the *Consul* appeared on the *Save*. Inſomuch that he prevailed on them, partly by Force, and partly by Capitulation, to quit the Country they poſſeſſed, and repaſs the *Danube*. There they ſettled ever after, ſo that this great River was a Barrier between them and the *Roman Provinces*. But it is probable, That *Drusus* ſpent more than one Year in this Expedition; and That he did not return to *Rome*, where he was adjudged to have deſerved a *Triumph*, till after his *Conſulſhip* was expired, and he was become a *Proconſul*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXLI.  
M. LIVIUS  
DRUSIUS, &  
L. CALPURNIUS  
PIſO,  
Epit. Liv.  
Suet. in vita  
Tiberii.  
Cic. in Verr.  
de ſignis.

Thus was the Republick delivered from all her Enemies; for ſhe looked on the little Commotions in *Further Spain*, where *Lucius Piſo* <sup>87</sup> *Frugi* the *Prætor*, loſt his Life, as nothing. The Tranquillity was ſo general in all the States ſubject to the *Romans*, that they would have at laſt determined to have ſhut the Temple of *Janus*, if they had not thought *Jugurtha* a formidable Enemy. His Wars indeed are a very remarkable Part of this Hiſtory, and we muſt therefore trace them a little farther back, in order to give a more full and diſtinct Relation of them.

86 *Marcus Livius Drusus* was the Brother of the famous Civilian, *Gaius Livius Drusus Claudianus*, who was tranſplanted from the *Claudian* Family into the *Livian*, by Adoption. The latter was Uncle to the Empreſs *Livia*, the Wife of *Augustus Cæſar*, and Mother of *Tiberius*. He lived, according to *Cicero* in his 9th Book *Of Tuſculan Queſtions*, to an extreme old Age; and was blind for ſome Years before his Death. But tho' reduced to lead a private Life, by his great Age and Infirmities, he loſt nothing of the Eſteem he had acquired by his Wiſdom and profound Learning. His Houſe became a ſort of publick School to which the *Romans* reſorted in Crowds, to be inſtructed in the Knowledge of the Laws, and for his Deciſions in par-

ticular Caſes. *Valerius Maximus* ſays, That for the Benefit of the Publick, he wrote ſeveral Books on the *Roman Law*. His Brother *Marcus Livius*, the *Conſul* for this Year 641, lived in a very ſtrict Friendſhip with him. He had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his Eloquence, in the Speech which he ſpoke againſt *Caius Cornelius Gracchus* his Collegue in the *Tribuneſhip*; and according to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, his adopted Brother *Claudianus* was not inferior to him in the Art of ſpeaking.

87 The *Prætor Piſo* was the Son of the famous *Lucius Piſo*, who procured the firſt Law againſt oppreſſive Magiſtrates.





# THE

# Roman History.

## BOOK LIII.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXLI.  
M. LIVIUS  
DRUSUS, &  
L. CALPURNIUS  
PISO,  
Consuls.

§. I. **N**UMIDIA took its Name from the great Number of *Nomades*<sup>1</sup> or *Shepherds*, who lived there; and who led their Flocks about from Pasture to Pasture, without having any fixed Habitations. It reached from the River *Ampsaga*, which divided the *Numidians* from the *Mauritanians*, along the *Numidian Gulph* to *Africa*<sup>5</sup> *Propria*; and to the Land side, a Part of *Lybia*, which lay with-

<sup>1</sup> *Pliny* and *Strabo* give the Name of *Nomades*, not only to the People of *Numidia*, but also to those of *European Tartary*, and to some Nations who lived near the *Caspian Sea*. As to the *Nomades* settled in *Africa*, *Sallust* pretends that they were originally descended from some eastern Adventurers who came from *Media*, *Persia*, and *Armenia*, into *Spain* with *Hercules*. After his Death, they rambled some time without a Leader, and at length resolved to cross the *Streights* which divide *Spain* from *Africa*. Some of them seized the Lands next to the *Mediterranean*. The *Persians* spread themselves along the Coasts of the *Ocean*, or *Atlantick Sea*. There they at first proposed to build themselves Barracks, or Hutts, to shelter themselves from the Weather. But they could find no Wood in that Neighbourhood, and were too poor to buy any of the Natives. To supply this Want, they turned their Ships Keel upwards, and lodged under them, till they could procure themselves better Habitations. Then they placed these their first Edifices upright, and left them standing like Hulks, in Memory of their Settlement. And *Sallust* says, That this sort of Building continued in Use among the *Numidians*; and That their Hutts were built in this manner in his Time. Afterwards, the new Colony of *Persians* joined with the *Gætuli*, who inhabited the Lands to the South of *Carthage*, and made themselves Masters of the Provinces which were to the West of that City; and then this Country was called *Numidia*, from the People who inhabited it. As for the *Armenians* and *Medes*, they spread themselves near the *Mediterranean*, and joined with the *Libyans*, who were in Possession of the Country; which after this Union was called *Mauritania*.

<sup>2</sup> The River *Ampsaga*, now the *Suf-Gemar*, divides the Kingdom of *Tunis* from *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, and falls into the Gulph of *Numidia*. See Vol. 3. p. 526. Note 52.

<sup>3</sup> *Numidia* had not always the same Boundaries. They were different in the Times of the Republick of *Carthage*, and under the first *Cæsars*. According to *Pomponius Mela* this great Country was divided between *The Eastern Massylians*, and *The Western Massylians*, who bordered upon the *Moors*. *Livy*, B. 27, observes, That they inhabited that Part of *Africa*,

which is opposite to *New Carthage*, or *Carthage*, a maritime City in the Kingdom of *Murcia*. *Pliny*, by *Numidia*, means no more than the Country which reaches from the *Ampsaga*, to the *Tusca*, now the *Guadilbarbar*; which runs into the Kingdom of *Tunis*, and falls into the *Mediterranean* near *Tabarca*. The same Author, and after him *Ptolomy*, places the Country of the *Massylians* in *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, between the *Ampsaga*, and the *Mulucha*, which *Strabo* calls the *Molochat*. *Mela*, by placing the *Massylians*, and the *Massesylians* in *Numidia*, implies that *Massyliana* was bounded by those two Rivers. But he adds, That the *Mulucha* divided it from *Mauritania*, which he seems to confine within narrower Bounds, contrary to *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*. Nevertheless he acknowledges, That the City of *Carthage* was in *Numidia*, tho' it stood beyond the *Ampsaga*. The *Greeks* called the Country of the *Numidians*, *Metagonitis*; as *Pliny* and *Mela* have observed: And they derive the Name from the Promontory of *Metagonium* near *Hippo-Regius*. *Strabo* gives this Cape the Name of *Triton*, which is now called *Capo di Ferro*; and is different from another Promontory of *Metagonium*, which is mentioned by *Ptolomy* and *Strabo*. The latter is in the Kingdom of *Fez* near Mount *Abyla*, and the City of *Ceuta*; and is now called *Capo di Forcas*. It ought to be observed here, that most of the Historians and Geographers call *Massyliana*, *Numidia Nova*, or *New Numidia*; either to distinguish it from *Massesyliana*, or in opposition to the *Carthaginian State*, which the *Romans* called *Provincia Prætoris*, or *The old Province*, as *Appian* expressly says, *Bell. Civ. B. 4*. Some Moderns think that the northern Parts of *Billedulgerid* were inhabited by the ancient *Numidians*.

As for the *Mauritanians*, or *Moors*, whom the *Greeks* called *Maurusians*, they inhabited those great Provinces of *Africa* which now make the western Part of *Barbary*. *Mauritania*, according to *Pliny*, was 1039000 Paces, that is about 347 *French Leagues* in length; and 467000, or near 156 *French Leagues* in breadth. This vast Country was afterwards known by the Name of *Mauritania Tingitana*, and *Mauritania Cæsariensis*. The former which lay more Westward, reached North and South, from the City of *Tingitana*.







# A MAP OF PART OF THE ROMAN PROVINCE.





in the old Territory of *Carthage*, and reached to <sup>7</sup> *Cyrenaica*, belonged to it. The En- Year of  
largement of this Kingdom, which was formerly confined within very narrow Bounds, ROME  
was the Work of *Massinissa*; the King who had been so remarkably devoted to the Ro- DCXLI.  
*mans*, and who had kept up a friendly Correspondence with the two *Scipio*'s surnamed M. LIVIUS  
*Africanus*, to his Death. When this King died, he left three Sons, who shared the re- DRUSUS, &  
gal Functions between them, without dividing their Father's Kingdom; and they long L. CALPURNIUS  
lived in perfect Amity. At length, *Micipsa*, surviving his two Brothers *Manastabal* and PISO,  
*Galussa*, possessed alone the Throne of *Numidia*; and this good King had two legiti- Confuls.  
mate Sons, who were the true Heirs of his Crown. Indeed, *Manastabal*, *Micipsa*'s  
Brother, had left behind him two Sons, *Jugurtha* and *Gauda*, by two different Mis-  
tresses; and *Gulussa* had had a Son in his Youth, named *Massiva*, by a Concubine. But  
no Bastard had any Right to the Inheritance of his Father. So that the *Numidian*  
Throne strictly speaking, belonged only to *Adherbal*, and *Hiempsal*, who were both  
born to the Purple; whereas *Jugurtha*, *Gauda*, and *Massiva*, the natural Sons of *Gulussa*  
and *Manastabal*, were excluded from the Crown by their illegitimacy. And there-  
fore, tho' *Jugurtha* was born before the Death of his Grandfather *Massinissa*, this wise  
Prince had never acknowledged him to be a Prince of the Blood, but had condemned  
him to a private Life.

§. II. Nevertheless, *Micipsa*, (as has been already observed) had so much Regard for *Manastabal*, that he caused *Jugurtha* to be brought up in the same Palace, with the *Princes* his Children; and the illegitimate Youth gained greatly the Ascendant over the *two Heirs* to the Crown, in all Exercises of Body and Mind. This raised the Jealousy  
of the King, and he sent *Jugurtha* to the Siege of *Numantia*, not doubting but the  
hazards of War, or his own Valour, would soon take him out of the Way of his Family.  
But Heaven determined otherwise. *Jugurtha* returned to *Numidia* loaded with Glory,  
and brought with him recommendatory Letters, from *Scipio* the Destroyer of *Numan-*  
*tia*, to *Micipsa*. And now, Age, and Interest had in appearance put a stop to his  
youthful Sallies. He was so far from giving umbrage to the King; that he found means,  
by a prudent Conduct, to become a Favourite with him, altho' he had already formed  
the Design of extorting the Crown by Force from his Sons. During the Time that he  
served in *Spain*, under the Command of *Scipio*, he had contracted Friendships among  
the young *Roman* Officers, who had given him such Advice, as might well rouse his  
Ambition. They had represented to him, That as he was a King's Son, he had but one  
Step to take, in order to mount the Throne: That the *Princes* his Cousins were young, and  
had no Merit; That the old King their Father, would soon die, and leave it vacant; and  
That then he would have nothing to do, but boldly to seize it: And lastly, That he would  
find Friends and Protectors enough at Rome, where Money and Interest would do any  
thing, the Senate it self not being incapable of Corruption.

*Jugurtha* returned home with these Sentiments, which he had imbibed in *Spain*; and  
so effectually cultivated the Friendship of *Micipsa*, that this easy Prince adopted him, two

*Tingis*, now *Tangier*, to the most southern Part of  
Mount *Atlas*. To the West it was bounded by *The*  
*Streights of Gibraltar*; and the River *Malva*, now the  
*Muluwai*, bounded it to the East, and divided it from  
*Mauritania Cæsariensis*: which was bounded to the  
East by *Massylyia*, or a Part of *Numidia*, to the North  
by the *Mediterranean*, to the South by *Getulia*, and  
to the West by the River *Muluwia*. *Tingitana* con-  
tained the present Kingdoms of *Fez* and *Morocco*; and  
*Cæsariensis*, the present Kingdoms of *Algiers* and *Tre-*  
*mezen*. *Pliny* ascribes the Division of the two *Mau-*  
*ritania's* to *Caius Cæsar Caligula*; but according to  
*Dio Cassius*, it was made by the Emperor *Claudius*.  
*Sextus Rufus* speaks of *Mauritania Sitifa*, so called  
from the Name of its Metropolis. This Province,  
which was a Part of *Mauritania Cæsariensis*, Eastward,  
made a third Division, in the Empire of *Honorius*.

4 *The Numidian Gulph*, is what the Modern Geo-  
graphers call indifferently *The Gulph of Colle*, and *The*  
*Gulph of Stora*, on account of its nearness to two Ci-  
ties of *Africa* of those Names. *Mela* seems not to  
distinguish this Gulph from that which he calls *Sinus*  
*Laturus*.

5 From all that the Geographers have said of *Africa*  
*Propria*, it follows, that it reached from the River

*Tusca*, in the extreme Parts of *Numidia*, to the Mouth  
of the River *Triton*, near the *Little Syrtis*. This is the  
River which *Marmol* calls *Capes*, or *Rio-di-Capi*. This  
Country contained the *Zeugitan Province*, and *Bisa-*  
*sene*, which formerly made the *Carthaginian Province*.  
As for the Countries between the two *Syrtes*, as the  
*Romans* were never in peaceable Possession of them,  
they ought not to be reckoned Parts of *Africa Pro-*  
*pria*.

6 *Libya*, considered in its greatest Extent, contain-  
ed according to *Pliny*, the half of *Africa*; that is, all  
the Provinces that lay between the *Mediterranean*,  
the *Atlantick Ocean*, and *Ethiopia*. Both ancient and  
modern Geographers divide it into two Parts; and call  
the one *Outer* or *Hither Libya*, and the other *Inner*  
or *Further Libya*. The former contained all *Mauri-*  
*tania*, and *Africa Propria*; that is, the Kingdoms of  
*Fez*, *Morocco*, *Tripoli*, *Tauris*, and *Barca*, which  
was formerly called *Barbarica*, and was the Part of  
*Libya* next to *Egypt*. *Inner Libya* which was scarce  
known to the Ancients, contained *Nigritia*, the  
Country of the *Garamantes*, *Guinea*, *The Desert of*  
*Zaara*, &c.

7 *Cyrenaica* is now called *Misrate*, and belongs to  
the State of *Tripoli*. See Vol. 4. p. 477. Note 8.



Year of Years before his Death, and thereby made him capable of succeeding to a Share of his  
 ROME Dominions, or at least of discharging the Functions of a King. At length, in the Year  
 DCXLI. of Rome 635, *Micipsa* being seized with the Distemper of which he died, called for his  
 Children, and among the rest, for his adopted Son *Jugurtha*, and addressed himself to  
 M. LIVIUS them, in this manner. *I gave you a Right, Jugurtha, to the Inheritance of my Kingdom*  
 DRUSUS, & *at a Time, when you was fatherless, and without either Wealth, or Hope; upon a Pre-*  
 L. CALPURNIUS PISO, *sumption, that my Benefactions would endear me as much to you, as the natural Relation of*  
 Confuls. *a Father would have done. And indeed, that Presumption has not deceived me. For not*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *to mention other great and signal Services, you have upon your late Return from Numan-*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *tia, brought great Glory both to me and to my Kingdom. And now that I am going to pay*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *the last Debt to Nature, I solemnly adjure you ever to hold these dear, who are by Blood*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *your Relations, and through my Friendship your Brothers. I leave you a strong Kingdom,*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *if you continue good; but if bad, a weak one. By Concord the smallest States flourish; by*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *Discord the greatest Empires are brought to ruin. And as your Age and Experience, Ju-*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *gurtha, are greater than theirs, it will be more especially incumbent upon you, to prevent*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *those Evils, which will at last recoil upon your self. For in all Disputes, the strongest*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *Party, tho' really injured, is generally suspected to have been the Aggressor. As for you*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *Adherbal and Hiempsal, do you do honour to this valuable Man, and imitate his Virtues.*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *Let it not appear to the World, that my adopted Son is more worthy of a Crown than my*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *own Children. And as for Gauda, whom I have not adopted, he shall not succeed to the*  
 Sallust. Ibid. *Crown, but after, and in default of Issue from, my three Sons.*

§. III. *Jugurtha* answered with Tears and feigned Protestations; but his Ambition  
 shewed it self, almost as soon as the King's Eyes were closed. After some Days had  
 been decently spent in Mourning, the three Heirs of the Kingdom assembled, to delibe-  
 rate on the Affairs of the new Government; and at their first meeting the Scene opened,  
 and Disputes arose, which began to sow Discord among them. *Jugurtha*, being old-  
 est, seated himself in the middle of the Throne prepared for the new Kings; and the  
 middle place being by the *Numidians*, as well as many other People, deemed the most  
 Honourable, *Hiempsal* who was the youngest, and proudest of the three, thought him-  
 self injured by the Superiority which *Jugurtha* assumed. He looked with Contempt on  
 a Man, who notwithstanding the Stains of his Birth, took place of the lawful Heirs of  
 the Crown of *Numidia*; and seated himself by *Adherbal's* Side, in order to give him the  
 Place of Honour. It was not without great difficulty that his Brother prevailed on him,  
 to pay some Regard to superior Age, and remove to *Jugurtha's* Left-hand.

As soon as the Disputes about the Ceremonial were ended, *Jugurtha* proposed to dis-  
 annul all the Edicts, and Acts which the late King had published within the last five  
 Years; under Pretence, That *Micipsa* being then old, and his Understanding almost  
 gone, had issued many Ordinances which were prejudicial to the Publick. To which  
*Hiempsal* replied with a disdainful Air, *I am very ready to come into the Proposal; and*  
*we will begin with disannulling the Act of Adoption whereby you was associated with us in*  
*the Inheritance of the Crown. This was done but three Years ago, within the Time that*  
*you have fixed for my Father's Weakness.* Words which sunk so deep into *Jugurtha's*  
 Mind, that he never forgot them. His Silence shewed both his Surprize and his Con-  
 cern; and he from thenceforth thought of nothing but Revenge. He made it his whole  
 Business, to find out an Opportunity to rid himself privately of a young Prince, who  
 might thwart him in his ambitious Schemes; and he soon found Means to gratify his  
 Hatred, and deliver himself from the most troublesome of his two Rivals.

*Micipsa*, had hid his Treasures in several Parts of his Dominions; and the first Ob-  
 ject that raised the Desires, and employed the Attention of the three Brothers, was his  
 Money. Before they divided the Provinces between them, they made it their chief Bu-  
 siness to seize the Places, where the late King had deposited his Effects. To this end  
*Hiempsal* set out for <sup>8</sup> *Thirmida*, a City where *Micipsa* was said to have treasured up the  
 greatest Part of his Riches; and if we may give credit to a celebrated Historian, *Jugur-*  
*tha* overtook him and gave him Battle, and *Hiempsal* was slain in it. But we have a bet-  
 ter Authority for affirming, That *Hiempsal* did not perish by the Arms, but by the  
 T. Liv. in Epit. Snares, of *Jugurtha*. The latter happened to have very near him, a Man who was very  
 Sallust. Ibid. Sallust. Ibid.

<sup>8</sup> We know nothing certain of the Situation of *Thirmida*, more than that it was a City of *Numidia*. Induced *Micipsa* to deposit part of his Treasure there.  
 Probably the Strength of its Fortifications was what



capable of executing the Fratricide which he had in view. The chief Officer of his Guard was an Inhabitant of *Thirmida*; and King *Hiempsal*, by I know not what Fidelity, had chosen this Man's House for his Residence. *Jugurtha* therefore seized the Opportunity, and made use of his chief *Lictor*, as the Instrument to execute his Revenge. The Officer got false Keys to all the Doors of his House, and under pretence of going to see his own Country, returned to *Thirmida*, with a Detachment of Soldiers devoted to *Jugurtha*. He arrived at a Time when sleep had closed all Eyes, and when *Hiempsal* was at rest in his borrowed House, with all the Keys by him. But the Assassin and his Company easily found entrance, put all they met to the Sword, and the King with great Difficulty escaped to the Cottage of a Slave. There they surrounded and surprized the defenceless Prince; and there he lost his Life in the Flower of his Age, to the great Grief of the *Numidians*, who founded their Hopes on his Activity and Courage. His Head was carried to *Jugurtha*, who saw this first Victim to his Ambition, with Joy.

Year of  
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PISO,  
Consuls.

But tho', this Cruelty and Perfidiousness ought to have driven all into a Revolt, and made *Jugurtha* universally odious, yet the *Numidians* were divided. The ambitious, and they who delighted in publick Confusions, were for him; whilst the wise and the virtuous, who aspired at nothing more than to see good Order and Equity flourish, followed the Fortunes of the pacifick *Adherbal*. But the latter were the weakest Party; so that *Adherbal's* only Refuge was in the Protection of the *Romans*. *Numidia* had long been in Alliance with their Republick; and paid a Submission to the Orders of the Senate, little inferior to that of the *Roman Provinces*. And as nothing could threaten more danger to the Interests of *Rome*, than the having an absolute and independent King on the *Numidian Throne*; *Adherbal*, tho' not very sagacious, had Penetration enough to see, That his only recourse was to the Republick, and That *Jugurtha* could not but be suspected there. He therefore informed the *Conscript Fathers* of the base Assassination of *Hiempsal*, and of the other Violences of his adopted Brother: And at the same time, foreseeing that the Deliberations of the Senate would take up much Time, he immediately began to levy Troops, and put himself upon his Defence, against the Hostilities of *Jugurtha*. But this warlike King soon got all Advantages over his surviving Rival, besieged some Cities, took Possession of others by Capitulation, and in short, made himself in a manner, Master of the whole Kingdom. Insomuch, that the dethroned *Adherbal* having no *Asylum* but *Rome*, he immediately transported himself thither, in order to lay his Complaints before the Senate.

§. IV. As for *Jugurtha*, as soon as the first Fire of the War had given place to reflection, the rapid Conqueror considered, That his Successes could last no longer, than during the Pleasure of the sovereign Republick; and therefore he also did his utmost to gain her over to his Interests. Having been long perswaded, that all Things were venal at *Rome*, he sent over Ambassadors thither, and furnished them with a good Part of those Treasures which he had inherited. Their Orders were, to spare no Expence in gaining their Master all the new Friends they could, and to cultivate the Friendships he formerly had contracted, when in *Spain*: And they arrived very seasonably. The Senate were already very strongly prepossessed against the Usurper; and it was necessary for the Ambassadors to make many private Friends, before the *Fathers* could be brought to overlook the Interests of the Publick. But nevertheless, *Jugurtha's* Ministers discharged their Commission with Success. They found very few Senators who were Proof against their Presents. At length the Day came, when *Adherbal* and the Ambassadors were admitted into the Senate, to lay their Grievances before them, and the King was first heard; but he had brought nothing to *Rome*, but his Right and mournful Complaints.

*Conscript Fathers*, said he, when my Father *Micipsa* died, he commanded me to consider myself, as only your Procurator in the Kingdom of *Numidia*; and enjoined me to promote your Interests by all the Means I could, both at Home and Abroad. And whilst I was preparing to do this, I was dethroned by the most abandoned and wicked of Men, in open Defiance of your Authority. I would willingly have deserved your Favours before I asked them; and the most grievous Circumstance of my Afflictions is, that I am compelled to be burdensome, before I could be serviceable to you. And therefore I come not in my own Name, but in the Name of my Father, to implore your Assistance. Surely, *Massinissa* is not yet forgotten in this Place. The Assistance he lent when you thought it necessary to humble, and to destroy *Carthage*, is still fresh in your Memories. You rewarded his Fidelity with enlarging his Dominions; it is your Favours that have been torn from me by open Violence;

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.*



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L. CALPURNIUS  
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Consuls.  
Sallust. Bell.  
Jugurth.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

which Violence offered to me, your Friend, is an Act of Contempt to your selves. Alas Micipsa! Are these the Returns made for thy Benefactions? Is he become the Enemy, nay, the Butcher of thy own Children, whom thou hadst raised to a level with them, and made Joint-heir of thy Kingdom? And is our Family doomed to be never at rest; but always involved in Violence and Blood? Whilst Carthage was in Being, our Sufferings were naturally to be expected. Our Enemies were near; You, our Friends, at a great distance; and our only Hope was in the Success of our Arms. And now that this Plague is driven out of Africa, Jugurtha starts up, kills my Brother, makes his Kingdom a Prey, and carries his Violences to such a height, as to make it safer for me to be in any other Country, than in my own Dominions. I ever thought with my Father, That whoever exposed themselves to any Dangers or Fatigues to cultivate your Friendship, might be confident, that under your Protection, they should be safe from all their Enemies: And shall I by Experience find, that that Confidence was groundless? My Father is dead, my Brother basely murdered, my Friends and Relations destroyed, or imprisoned; and to whom then can I have recourse? Shall I apply myself to those, whom our Friendship for Rome has made our inveterate Enemies? Massinissa instructed us to cultivate no Friendship but with you. He assured us, That if the Republick prospered, her Friendship would be an abundant Protection to us; and that if she failed, we should perish with her. And since by the Blessing of the Gods, you are very Rich, and very Powerful; you can with the greater ease remedy the Injuries I suffer. Shall then the Artifices of Jugurtha, and his private Friends, induce you to delay Redress, under pretence that my Complaints are false, and my Flight feigned? His Usurpation is notorious, and his Crimes avowed. O Hiempsal! O my Brother! How much more happy is even thy Fate than mine! Murdered indeed, by vile Assassins! But by that very Means delivered from the Flight, the Banishment, the Miseries to which I am exposed! I am driven from my Kingdom in Shame and Misery, and exposed a Spectacle to Mankind. And since I can neither live, nor die, with Honour: I implore you, Conscript Fathers, for your own and your Fore-fathers Sakes, and in regard to the Majesty of the Roman People, That you would avenge my Sufferings; and not suffer your own Kingdom of Numidia to be destroyed, by the same wicked Hands that are imbrued in the Blood of my Family.

As soon as the King had done speaking, Jugurtha's Ambassadors appeared; and depending more on their Interest than their Cause, were very short in their Reply. They represented, That Hiempsal had by his own cruel Temper, stirred up some Malecontents against him; and That Jugurtha ought not to be made responsible, either for the Faults of his Associate, or for the Attempts of an handful of Rebels. That Adherbal had had recourse to Arms upon groundless Suspicions; and That, since the Gods had not prospered his Designs, his Fall and his Flight were to be ascribed only to himself. That Jugurtha was the same now, as they had known him at the Siege of Numantia; and That neither his Probity nor Valour were less, than Scipio had represented them to be. That as Micipsa himself had borne Testimony to his Conduct, so Adherbal had felt the Effects of his Courage; and That since these were his only Crimes, they readily left it to the Fathers to judge, Whether there had been just Cause given for accusing him at their Tribunal, and whether he ought to be made odious by mournful Complaints.

When Adherbal and the Ambassadors were withdrawn, the Senate deliberated on the Affair; and by the Debates of the Conscript Fathers it was easy to perceive, what Effects had been wrought by Jugurtha's Money. The major part of them even discovered their Corruption by their Speeches. The Complaints of Adherbal were despised, his Brother's Courage extolled, and his Crimes applauded. M. Æmilius Scaurus indeed, then President, had more regard to Equity and the true Interest of the Republick, than to the Offers of the Usurper. Not because he was above Corruption; for he loved Money, and afterwards sufficiently discovered his Avarice: But as he was at the Head of this venerable Body, his Ambition led him to conceal the Depravity of his Heart. In short, he was for Adherbal; but the Majority were against him. And therefore, without either pronouncing any Sentence concerning the Death of Hiempsal, or doing Justice to Adherbal for the Injuries he had suffered, the Senate, only resolved, That ten Commissioners should be sent from Rome to Numidia, to settle the Division of the Kingdom between the two Brothers. Lucius Opimius, the old Consul, who was so famous for his Zeal against the Faction of Caius Gracchus, was at the Head of these Commissioners, and they all set out for Africa.



§. V. The *Romans* concluded that the Differences between the two Kings would soon be adjusted by their Advice. — But *Jugurtha* found Means, by his Artifices and Money, to involve them in a new War. *Opimius* had declared himself at *Rome*, on the Side of Justice; so that *Jugurtha* had Reason to fear his arrival, and his Determinations. But by his Caresses and his Presents, he softened this formidable Judge. He, who had avenged the Cause of the Republick against the *Gracchi* and their Parties, was not Proof against the immense Sums which were sent him by *Jugurtha*; and as the rest of the Commissioners, at least the Majority, suffered themselves to be corrupted the same way, the Sentence they pronounced was altogether to the Advantage of the adopted Son, and to the Prejudice of the true Son of *Micipsa*. They assigned to *Jugurtha* that Part of the Kingdom which was best peopled with warlike Men, and most fruitful in Grain; that is, the western Part of *Numidia*, where it joined to *Mauritania*: And they gave *Adherbal* the eastern Part, which was indeed adorned with more Country-Seats, but poorer, more barren, and less populous, tho' better furnished with Sea-Ports. And this unjust Distribution it self, encouraged the furious *Jugurtha* to take up Arms again, and renew the War. Whereas *Adherbal* submitted to the Judgment of the Commissioners, and was wholly intent on reigning in Peace over the Subjects which *Rome* had assigned him. He was a pacifick Prince, of a very mild Disposition, more inclined to suffer Injuries than repel them.

Scarce were the ten Commissioners arrived at *Utica* in order to embark, when *Jugurtha* made such Preparations, as justly raised Suspicions. He had found it so easy to corrupt the *Romans*, that this encouraged him to stick at nothing, in order to make himself Master of all *Numidia*. His Troops entered the Frontiers of his Brother's Kingdom in Arms, committed Hostilities there, laid waste the Country with Fire and Sword, and plundered the Villages. His Design was to draw *Adherbal* to a Battle. But the timorous Prince contented himself with sending an Embassy to *Jugurtha*, to complain of the Injustice of his Proceedings. Nor could even the ill-treatment his Ambassadors received at his Brother's Court, provoke him to take Arms. He was patient to an Excess, and depended wholly on the Equity of the *Romans*; taking it for granted, that his Complaints to the Senate would be more effectual, than Force and Violence. A poor Refuge indeed for the Unfortunate! to rely on the Protection of a Republick, where all Things were venal, and which was ready to sell it self to the highest Bidder! *Jugurtha* judged much better of her. He laid more stress on his military Expeditions, than on the Menaces of the *Romans*. He well knew, That his Treasury would sufficiently enable him to guard against their Resentments.

And therefore, from insulting his Brother with small Detachments, and by Incursions into his Country, he proceeded to enter it at the Head of a great Army, and came and encamped near *Cirtba*. And then Fear and extream Danger, roused *Adherbal* at last from his Lethargy. Being forced either to flee his Country, a second Time, or to give Battle, he thought it better to run any Hazards, than trouble *Rome* again with his Complaints. He assembled his Troops, and coming in sight of the Enemy, when the Day was so far closed, that it was too late to engage, he encamped in haste and rested his Troops. But *Jugurtha* did not wait the return of the Day. He attacked his Brother's Trenches in the dead of the Night, and the Alarm was so sudden and unexpected, that it struck his Men when scarce awake, and led by a young and unexperienced General, with a Panick. *Adherbal's* Army was dispersed in an instant, and the King himself forced to take Refuge in *Cirtba*, his Capital. *Jugurtha* pursued him in his flight; but some *Italian Cohorts* which he had in his Army happily covered his Retreat, and hindered the Conqueror from entering the City with the pursued. Had it not been for this seasonable Relief, the War had been begun and ended the same Day.

§. VI. However, the Siege of *Cirtba* was not delayed a Moment. *Jugurtha* immediately began it, and well remembered the Lessons he had learnt from *Scipio* before *Numantia*. He prepared *Mantelets* and *Covered Galleries*, raised *Cavaliers*, and built *Moveable Towers*. Nevertheless, the Valour of the *Italian* Troops protracted the Siege longer than he had expected. When the News came to *Rome*, the Faction the Usurper had gained by his Money, prevailed that nothing should be done, except the sending to *Numidia* three young Magistrates, Men of no Distinction or Credit, with Instructions, to order the two Kings to put an end to Hostilities, both for their own Sakes, and in re-

<sup>9</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 508. Note 10.



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gard to the Publick. And *Jugurtha* was untractable. He answered the Deputies, That his Conduct would be approved by the oldest, and most eminent Senators ; That *Scipio* had known him, and borne Testimony to his Integrity ; That *Adherbal* having made an Attempt upon his Life, he made War only to guard against the Villainy of a Brother who was an Assassin ; and That the Republick was too equitable to disapprove of a just Defence, which was agreeable to the Laws of Nations. After this useless Audience, the Envoys returned, without having been able to come to a Conference with *Adherbal*, who was shut up in the besieged City.

As soon as the three *Romans* were gone, the Siege was carried on with fresh Vigour. Indeed, *Jugurtha* no longer made use of his *Rams* and other Machines, in order to make Breaches, and take the Place by Assault. He resolved to reduce it by Famine. To this end, he encompassed it with a wide Ditch, and a Rampart guarded with Towers at proper distances, to keep out Succours and Convoys. This was the Method which he had seen *Scipio* take in *Spain* ; and it struck Terror into the City. *Adherbal* was intimidated by it ; and in this Extremity, he prevailed on two Soldiers of the Garrison, to cross the Enemy's Trenches by Night, and carry the following Letter to *Rome*.

*It is Necessity only, Conscript Fathers, that obliges me to become troublesome to you, a second time. Your Commissioners settled Peace between me and Jugurtha, and I acquiesced in their Determinations, tho' they assigned to me the least Share, and to him all the valuable Part of these Dominions. But Jugurtha is too ambitious to be content with your Decisions. Nothing will satisfy him but my Blood. He has now kept me, your Friend, and your Ally, five Months shut up and besieged in Cirta, where I am in great Danger of perishing, either by the Sword or by Famine : Not that I shall run out into Invectives against him ; I have already experienced, how little Credit is to be given to the Unfortunate when they declaim against their Oppressors. But this I must declare, That if he thirsts for my Life, it is only in order to deliver himself from the Roman Yoke. Numidia is now subject to you ; but his Aim is to reign alone and independent. And what can prevent his succeeding herein, but your Power ? He has already possessed himself of your Kingdom by Force of Arms ; and how little Regard he shews to your Ambassadors, my Dangers demonstrate. My personal Sufferings indeed are nothing to you ; and what I deprecate, is not Sufferings or Death, but Torture. Consult then at least, the Interests of your own Kingdom ; and deliver me I adjure you, from the Tyranny of my Enemy, and the cruel Torments, which are prepared for me.*

*Sallust. in Bell. Jugurth.*  
*Ibid.*  
*Ibid.*  
*Ibid.*  
*Ibid.*  
*Ibid.*

This affecting Letter made an Impression on all those of the Senators, in whom the Love of their Country prevailed over sordid Views of Interest ; and some voted for marching an Army instantly against the Usurper ; others for immediately beginning a Prosecution against him, for his notorious Disobedience to the Orders of the Senate. But the venal Senators were most numerous, and they reduced the Decree to this single Point ; That an Embassy should be sent to *Jugurtha* consisting of Magistrates more eminent and more venerable for their Age than the last, and That *M. Scaurus*, the President of the Senate should be at the Head of it. It should seem therefore, that *Jugurtha* with all his Artifices, must sink under the Weight of these three Men, who were famous for their great Integrity ; and as the Affair required dispatch, they were ready to set out in three Days ; soon crossed over to *Utica*, and summoned him to appear before them. The Conqueror, who was upon the Point of reducing *Cirta*, and forcing the King his Rival, to surrender or perish, was thunderstruck with this Order, and it gave him great Uneasiness. Besides, his Pride was touched, at being summoned to appear out of his Dominions ; and he could not resolve to quit the Blockade of a City which was just ready to fall into his Hands. Thus his Fear, Honour, and Interest, each distracted him in its turn, and for some time suspended his Determination. At length he resolved to make a general Assault on the Place, and not to appear before the *Roman* Ambassadors till he had compleated his Conquest, which perhaps might screen him from their Resentments. But he did not succeed in his Attack ; his Soldiers were repulsed by the *Italian* Troops that defended the Walls.

§. VII. In the mean time, *Scaurus* began to be tired with these Delays ; and as it was dangerous to provoke him, *Jugurtha* at last resolved to obey. He left his Camp, with a slight Guard of Horse, and came, not with empty hands, to plead his Cause before the Ambassadors. *Scaurus* at first broke out into bitter Reflections on the vile Attempts of the *Numidian* King, and reproached him with assassinating one of his Brothers, and shutting up the other, whom he was obstinately bent on destroying by Fa-



mine in the besieged City. But both the Threatnings and the Anger of the *Romans* soon abated. They heard *Jugurtha's* Excuses with great Composure, acquiesced in the frivolous Accusations he brought against his Rivals; and in short, returned home, without so much as ordering the ambitious King to raise the Siege, and to return into his own Kingdom. This sudden Departure therefore, and this fruitless Negotiation, made *Scaurus* suspected of having sacrificed the publick Good to his private Interest; and his Conduct afterwards confirmed these Suspicions.

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And now, *Jugurtha*, being rid of these troublesome Ambassadors, returned before *Cirta*, and shut it up with more care than ever. The Famine began to be very great there, and the *Italian* Troops grew tired with the length of a Siege, in which they were ready to perish for Want. They therefore persuaded *Adherbal* to capitulate, and thereby secure his Life, leaving the rest to the *Roman* Republick, which was concerned in Interest to re-establish him in that Part of his Dominions, which she had allotted him. This was the wisest Advice they could give him, provided *Jugurtha's* Word could be depended on; and *Adherbal*, tho' with the utmost Reluctance, resolved at last to surrender upon Terms. How could he resist the Desires of armed Troops, who had it in their Power to compel him to comply? He therefore treated with the Enemy, and agreed to deliver up the Place, on Condition that he and his Garrison should have their Lives saved. He likewise probably included the Inhabitants in the same Condition; and it was agreeable to the Laws of Nations that the Burghers should have Quarter, when their City surrendered by Capitulation. But *Jugurtha* was above all Law. Without any Regard to his Promise, he entered *Cirta*, as if he had taken it by Assault, put all those he found in Arms to the Sword, extended his Fury even to the foreign Merchants, and to compleat the Scene, murdered *Adherbal* in his Palace. Nay, his Cruelty went so far, as to put the King to variety of Torture, before he would suffer him to die. So great was the Usurper's Confidence, in the Interest he had got at *Rome* with his Money!

§. VIII. A Crime so enormous could not long be unknown in the Capital of the World. The News of it was brought to the Senate, and all those Senators, who were not sold to commit Iniquity, heard the Relation with horror. But *Jugurtha's* Friends endeavoured to pacify people's Minds, and laboured to get the Determination postponed. They hoped, That Time would abate this first Heat; and they, by numberless Chicaneries, and some foolish Debates, found Means to put off the Decree which was ready to pass. In short, the Villain would have escaped publick Vengeance, if the Commons had not exclaimed against the base Indulgence of the Senate. A zealous Tribune of the People named *Caius Memmius*, perhaps in Indignation and Hatred to the Senators, related to the *Comitia*, the heinous Crimes, with which the *Numidian* King had polluted his Throne. He also exclaimed bitterly against the venality of the Senate, and convinced the People, that the Prevarication of the *Patricians* was the Effect of the Artifices of *Jugurtha*, and of the Money which his Emissaries knew how to dispose of, for his Advantage. Upon this, the People resolved to bring the Affair before their own Tribunal; and not to spare those corrupt Judges, which were a Dishonour to the *Roman* Name. It was therefore necessary that the *Conscript Fathers* should at least take some Steps against the Usurper, in order to avoid the Reproach of a scandalous Censure themselves; and they decreed, That one of the new *Consuls* which should be chosen, should have *Numidia* for his Province. This was declaring, that they would make War with *Jugurtha* the next Year; and therefore this is looked on by the Historians, as the Epocha of the Expeditions of the Republick, in *Numidia*. The Disputes between the three Brothers had lasted six Years, from the Death of *Micipsa*; and *Rome* had hitherto neglected to concern herself in them, as she now seemed resolved to do. The Fear the Senators were in of the People, a little revived their Zeal; tho' it did not put an end to all those Disorders, which *Jugurtha's* Money had caused among the *Patricians*.

The assembled Tribes gave the *Consular Fasces*, for the Year of *Rome* 642, to *Lucius Calpurnius Piso Bestia*, and *Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica*, two Men of very opposite Characters. *Nasica* possessed all the Virtues of his Ancestors, and fell not short in Character of his Great Grandfather himself, whom the Senate had adjudged the most virtu-

<sup>10</sup> Cicero, in his *Brutus*, speaks of this *Caius Memmius*, and one *Lucius Memmius*, who is thought to have been the Brother of him here mentioned; and says of both, That with small Talents for Eloquence,

they made themselves formidable by the vigorous Prosecutions they carried on against Persons suspected of Crimes. To which he adds, That they were seldom employed in the Defence of the Guilty.



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ous of the *Romans*. He publicly professed Wisdom; but his Philosophy consisted not barely in outward Appearances and ranting Discourses. He gave a much stronger Testimony of it, by refusing the Offers *Jugurtha* made him. No Man shewed a greater Detestation of the general Corruption, of which the Senate was suspected. Not that he was either ill-bred, or ill-natured. He was on the contrary always in good Humour, and joined great Politeness of Behaviour, with a lively and unaffected Eloquence. Whereas all *Bestia's* Merit consisted in an impetuosity of Temper, and strength of Body, which were proper Qualifications for a Soldier. He was naturally brave, active, and vigilant; and consequently could strike Fear into his Enemies, and command Respect from his own Troops. But these valuable Qualities were much eclipsed by a very great Fault. He loved Money to such excess, that his Heart was not proof against the least Temptation of Interest. So that, all Things considered, *Nasica* was the more proper Man to begin the War in *Numidia*; since it was not *Jugurtha's* Forces that were to be feared, so much as the Avarice of the General who should be sent against him. Nevertheless, it fell to *Bestia's* Lot to command in *Numidia*; and *Italy* became *Nasica's* Province.

§. IX. Immediately the *Consul* designed for *Africa*, made it his whole Business to raise Troops, and prepare for his Expedition; not forgetting to draw from the Treasury the Sums that were necessary for paying his Forces. In the mean time, *Jugurtha*, who had his Spies at *Rome*, was informed that a *Consular* Army was raising against him, and that *Calpurnius Bestia* was to command it. This struck him with Terror; nevertheless he still had great dependance on the resistless Power of his Money; and sent his Son, with two Confidants to *Rome*, with Orders to spare no Expence. But the arrival of the young *Numidian* Prince, and his two Collegues, was not agreeable to the *Consul Bestia*. He was afraid, that by their Intrigues and Presents, they would divert the Blow, from which he expected to reap great Riches or Honour; and he opposed the new Embassy with all his Interest, and made it of no Effect. By his Advice, the Senate ordered, That *Jugurtha's* Son and his Attendants should not be suffered to enter *Rome*, unless they were expressly empowered to deliver up the King of *Numidia* and all his Dominions to the Republick, by way of *Dedition*. And upon their Refusal to do this, the *Consul* notified to them the Order that had been made, That they should leave *Italy* in ten Days.

After the Departure of the Ambassadors, *Bestia* lost no Time in hastening his Embarkation. The Officers, he chose for his Council and Lieutenant Generals, were for the most part factious, but eminent Men, on whom he might throw some of the Odium of his future Misconduct, and screen himself under their Names. *Scaurus*, whose Vices he knew, though he affected to conceal them, appeared to him a very proper Man for this Purpose; since both his extreme Avarice, and his Weight in the Senate, were proper Qualifications for it. And *Scaurus* readily consented to follow the *Consul*, promising himself a plentiful Harvest from a fresh Country which had never yet been entered by any *Roman* Armies. As soon then as these two covetous Persons were agreed, the *Legions* marched by Land to *Rhegium*, there embarked for *Sicily*, and from thence sailed to *Africa*. In order to bring *Jugurtha* into their Measures, they thought it necessary to begin briskly, with some violent Acts of Hostility: And accordingly, *Bestia* reduced Cities by Force, took Castles, and made great numbers Prisoners. Nevertheless these first Assaults did not mightily affect the King of *Numidia*. Tho' he was not sufficiently acquainted with the *Consul's* Character, he conceived great Hopes from the Presence of *Scaurus*, to whose Covetousness he was no Stranger, and whom he expected to gain by his usual Artifices. This *Prince of the Senate* had only dissembled when he had appeared to be his Enemy at *Rome*; and the King well knew the Way to his Heart; and therefore he sent a Deputation to the *Consul*, to desire a Conference, promising to come himself to the *Roman* Camp, upon an assurance of Safety to his Person. The Offer was accepted; *Scaurus* had greater Expectations than *Bestia* himself, that he should find his private Account in the Conference; and from that Moment there was a Suspension of Arms.

II *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, says, That the *Consul Publius Scipio* had more of the Purty of the *Latin* Tongue, than any other *Roman* Orator. His Orations were enlivened with smart Sayings, and ingenious

Raillery, which favoured of the Chearfulness and Delicacy of his Mind. Nevertheless he spoke but seldom in publick.



All that now remained was to find out some Expedient, for bringing the *Numidian* Year of King to the Conference he had desired, and yet to save Appearances; and it was *ROME* resolved to send the *Quæstor* *P. Sextius* to <sup>12</sup> *Vacca*, the City where *Jugurtha* resided. *DCXLII.* The Pretence of his going, was to get the Corn *Jugurtha* had promised, in order to obtain the Truce; but the real Intent was, That he should be an Hostage for the King's Safety. Upon this Proof of their Sincerity, the *Numidian* came to the *Consul's* Camp; and the Council of War was assembled to hear his Proposals. But he there only made some Excuses for the Reproaches that had been cast upon him, and dropped a few Words about a *Dedition*. All the rest was settled between *Bestia*, *Scaurus*, and himself, in private Conferences; and it is easy to imagine, that the Interests of *Rome* were there sold to him for Money. At least, these two Chiefs gave the King Terms so very advantageous, that there was Reason to presume that they had betrayed their Country.

P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA, & L. CALPURNIUS PISO BESTIA, *Consuls.*

§. X. The next Day, the *Consul* assembled the *Legionaries*, who, in a *Roman* Camp, represented the *Comitia by Tribes*, as their Officers did the Senate. Nothing could lawfully be settled by the General without the Consent of a Majority of both; and *Bestia* artfully proposed to them the Peace he desired to make with *Jugurtha*, only in general Terms. He barely told them, That the King of *Numidia* surrendered himself at Discretion; and they approved of the Thing in general, leaving it to him to settle the Particulars of the Agreement. Which Particulars were only, That *Jugurtha* should give the Republick 30 Elephants, a certain Quantity of Cattle and Horses, and a very moderate Sum of Money. Very favourable Terms indeed, for one who had assassinated two Kings, and was a Fratricide, and an Usurper! And all Men therefore suspected, That *Jugurtha* had paid the *Consul* and his Lieutenant very dear, for a Peace which was so little to the Honour of the *Roman* Name. As soon as the News came to *Rome*, the honest Part of the Senate murmured at it; nevertheless their Respect for *Scaurus* kept the House in suspense, and no one dared to propose the disannulling of the Treaty made in *Numidia*, tho' not yet confirmed, either by the Consent of the *Roman* People, or the Approbation of the Senate. During these Delays, the Time for the great Elections approached, and the Death of *Scipio Nasica* hastened them. And as there was now but one *Consul* alive, and his Presence was very necessary, to preside in the *Comitia*, *Bestia* was recalled to *Rome*, and *Scaurus* followed him, both greatly enriched with the Bounties of *Jugurtha*. *Cic. in Brut.*

Thus *Scipio Nasica* died, possessed of the highest Honours, and had the Consolation to have governed *Rome* in perfect Tranquillity. There was only one Accident which gave the least Interruption to the publick Happiness, during his *Consulship*. A Fire broke out on the Hill *Palatinus*, by some unknown Accident, and burnt down Part of the City. The Temple of *Cybele*, whose Image had been brought from *Pessinus*, was destroyed by it; but, which the *Romans* thought a Prodigy, the Statue of the *Vestal Claudia* which stood near the Temple, received no Damage. This was the *Claudia*, who was said to have drawn the Ship off from the Sand with her Girdle, which brought to *Rome* The Mother of the Gods. So that *Cybele*, who could not save her own Image, preserved the Statue of her Benefactress from the Flames. And tho' the Pagan *Pontifices* may have been the Inventors of this Fable, thus much at least may be said for them, That these imaginary Miracles tended greatly to the Honour of Chastity. This was long the peculiar Virtue of the *Romans*; and their great Regard for it may well be thought to have drawn upon them the Blessing of Heaven. But to return.

*Val. Max. L. 1. c. 8. & alii.*

§. XI. *Calpurnius Bestia* held the Assembly for choosing *Consuls*, as soon as he returned from *Numidia*, and the Choice fell on *M. Minucius Rufus*, and *Sp. Postumius Albinus*. The different Provinces that fell to their Lots, were *Numidia* to *Postumius*, and *Macedon* to *Minucius*. The latter marched against the <sup>13</sup> *Scordisci*, who tho' driven

ven

<sup>12</sup> *Sallust* speaks of *Vacca*, as made one of the wealthiest Cities in the Kingdom of *Numidia*, by its great and extensive Trade.

<sup>13</sup> If we credit the Testimony of *Strabo* L. 7, *Justin* L. 32, *Liv. Epit.* L. 63, and *Athenæus* L. 6, we must believe, That the *Scordisci* came originally from *Transalpine Gaul*; That being joined with the several Swarms of *Gauls*, that composed the Army of *Brennus*, they had attempted the Conquest of *Greece* and *Macedon*; That after they had pillaged the Temple of *Del-*

*phi*, they alone escaped the Vengeance of the Gods, who were exasperated against the Prophaners of the Temple of *Apollo*; That these Remains of an Army, which had consisted of above 200000 Men, then sought for new Habitations; That they fixed on the Banks of the *Danube*, near the Place where the *Save* runs into it; and That there they made the main Body of a Nation, under the Name of *Scordisci*. A part of them had stayed in *Thrace*, according to *Justin*, and had returned from thence to *Gaul*, their old Country.



Year of ven back beyond the *Danube*, repassed that <sup>14</sup> River every Winter, over the Ice, and  
 ROME laid waste the *Roman Provinces*. The *Triballi*, <sup>15</sup> a People of *Lower Mæsia* and the <sup>16</sup>  
 DCXLIII. *Daci* of *Upper Mæsia* had joined them, and they had all penetrated together as far as  
 M. MINUCI- *Macedon*, and committed their Depredations there. *Minucius* therefore came to sup-  
 US RUFUS, &  
 SP. POSTU-  
 MIUS ALBI-  
 NUS, Consuls.

Country. *Florus*, *Sextus Rufus*, and *Strabo* acknow-  
 ledge, That there were *Scordisci* among the *Thracians*;  
 and the latter adds, That this Nation made themselves  
 formidable to their Neighbours, extended their Do-  
 minions to the Frontiers of *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*, and  
 the adjacent Provinces, and being at length vanquished  
 by the *Daci*, dispersed themselves in different Coun-  
 tries.

These frequent Transmigrations have divided the  
 Historians concerning the Situation of the Country of  
 the *Scordisci*. *Stephen of Byzantium*, *Pliny*, and *Pto-  
 lomy* place them in *Lower Pannonia*, in the Neigh-  
 bourhood of the ancient City of *Sirmium*. *Strabo*  
 considers them as a rambling People, several Colonies  
 of whom separated from the rest and settled in *Thrace*,  
 and near the *Danube*, in the Countries bordering on those  
 of the *Triballi*. Nevertheless he acknowledges, That in  
 his Time, the *Scordisci*, after many Revolutions, had  
 been almost extirpated; and That the few that were left  
 of them, were confounded with the *Illyricans*. *Appian*  
 in his Fragment Of the Wars of *Illyricum*, derives the  
 Name of *Scordisci* from *Scordiscus*, whom he supposes  
 to have been the Son of one *Autarius*, and the Grand-  
 son of *Poliphemus* and *Galatea*. But would it not be  
 more natural, without having recourse to Fable, to  
 derive the Appellation of *Scordisci* from Mount *Scor-  
 drus*, or *Scardus*, and the City of *Scodra* now *Scutari*,  
 the Capital of the Province? According to the Greek  
 Historian, these People joined themselves with the  
*Medes* and *Dardanians*, spread themselves in *Greece*  
 and *Macedon* which were then subject to the *Romans*,  
 laid these rich Countries waste with their Ravages, and  
 plundered the Temple at *Delphi* a second time, thirty  
 two Years after the first *Roman Expedition* against  
 the *Cimbri*. But this Company of Barbarians could  
 not withstand the Attacks of the *Roman Army*, com-  
 manded by one *Lucius Scipio*. The *Scordisci*, aban-  
 doned by the *Medes* and *Dardanians*, their Fellow-  
 Robbers, almost all perished by the Sword of the Con-  
 querors; the rest saved themselves by a precipitate  
 flight to the Banks and Isles of the *Danube*. *Appian*,  
 who alone affirms this Fact, without entering into the  
 Circumstances of it, relates another Fact, which the  
 other Historians seem to have been ignorant of. *Lucius  
 Scipio*, says he, the Conqueror of the *Scordisci*, suffer-  
 ed himself to be corrupted by the Gold of the Temple  
 of *Delphi*, with which the *Medes* and *Dardanians*  
 dazzled his Eyes; and he sold them the Treaty of Peace  
 he made with them, for some of the Treasure taken  
 out of that Temple. So that the General, adds our  
 Author, shared with these Barbarians the Hatred and the  
 Fruit of this enormous Sacrilege; this impious Conni-  
 vance, enraged the Gods against the Republick; and  
 They, to avenge the Crime of one Man, stirred up an hor-  
 rible Train of civil Wars, in which millions of *Citizens*  
 perished: till at length *Rome*, from being a Republican  
 State, became Monarchical.

<sup>14</sup> The ancient Geographers call the *Danube*, *Ister*,  
 from a certain distance to the *Euxine Sea*; but don't  
 agree among themselves on the Place where it begins  
 to change its Name. The *Danube*, say some, is the  
 western Part of the River, the *Ister* the Eastern.  
*Ptolomy* calls it *Ister*, from the ancient City of *Axi-  
 polis* where it turns, and runs from South to North.  
*Pliny* says, it loses the Name of *Danube* in the Neigh-  
 bourhood of *Illyricum*. Nevertheless it is certain, that  
*Old Illyricum* did not reach as far as to the *Danube*: And  
*Pliny* could not speak of that of the middle Age. *Aga-  
 thamorus*, B. 4. of his Geography, begins the Course

of the *Ister*, at *Vienna* in *Austria*. *Strabo* fixes it to  
 the Cataracts of that River, between the Country  
 of the *Daci* and that of the *Getæ*. But, notwithstand-  
 ing what *Le Noir* says of it, there is no Fall of Water  
 to be found within that space. Perhaps he meant that  
 which is above *Lintz* in *Austria*. *Xiphilin* makes the  
*Ister* begin at *Trajan's Bridge* near *Upper Mæsia*. In  
 this contrariety of Opinions, it is not easy to say, which  
 is to be preferred.

Nor are the Ancients more agreed about the Num-  
 ber of Mouths by which the *Danube* discharges it self  
 into the *Euxine Sea*. Some, as *Ephorus* quoted by  
*Strabo*, reckon five. Others, as *Pliny*, say six. *Mela*  
 gives it seven, as well as to the *Nile*: And *Strabo*,  
*Ptolomy*, and *Ammianus Marcellinus*, agree with him.  
 But be that as it will, the *Danube* now empties it self  
 into the Sea, by only two Mouths. The others are  
 filled up with Mud and Sand. We also know, That  
 this River rises near *Doneschingen*, in the Principality of  
*Furtemberg*, near a Mountain anciently called *Abnoba*.  
 It runs through vast Countries, in its Way from West  
 to East, as far as to the *Euxine Sea*.

<sup>15</sup> The Canton of *Bulgaria* which lies between  
 the *Danube* and *Romania*, was inhabited by the *Tri-  
 balli* at the Time we are now speaking of. Indeed  
*Strabo* places these People in *Thrace*. But it ought to  
 be observed, that the Ancients extended the Bounds of  
*Thrace* far beyond the River *Strymon* which divided  
 it from *Macedon*, and Mount *Hæmus* which is its  
 Boundary on the side of *Mæsia*.

*Herodotus* speaks of *Thrace* as the largest Country in  
 the World except *The Indies*. *Pliny* carries its Fron-  
 tiers to the *Danube*, and *Appian* joins it to *Illyricum*.  
 And *Stephen of Byzantium* therefore reckons the *Tri-  
 balli* among the *Illyrican Nations*.

The Geographers generally assign these People for  
 their Habitations, the western Parts of *Lower Mæsia*,  
 from the *Ciabrus*, now the *Morava*, which runs into  
 the *Danube*. In *Appian's* Time, the *Triballi* were  
 no longer a distinct Nation. They were scarce known  
 by their ancient Name; but were probably confounded  
 with the *Scythians*, *Mæsiens*, and *Daci*.

As to *Mæsia*, which the Ancients call *European  
 Mysia*, to distinguish it from the *Asiatick Mysia*, it  
 was bounded, to the West by the Mouth of the *Sava*  
 towards the extream Parts of *Pannonia*; to the  
 East, by the *Euxine Sea*; to the South, by the Moun-  
 tains of *Dalmatia*; and to the North, by Mount  
*Hæmus*. It was divided into *Upper* and *Lower Mæ-  
 sia*. The former contained all the Country that lies be-  
 tween the *Ciabrus* or the *Morava*, and the Conflux  
 of the *Danube* and the *Sava*, near *Belgrade*. The rest  
 of the Country to the *Euxine Sea*, or at least much  
 the greatest Part of it, belonged to the latter. The  
 Time when this Division was made cannot be ascer-  
 tained. *Tacitus* and *Pliny* seem not to have known it.  
*Suetonius*, in his Life of *Vitellius*, is the first that men-  
 tions two *Mæsia's*. *Sextus Rufus* includes both with-  
 in the Provinces of *Thrace*. And we must at least say,  
 That the *Mæsiens* came originally from that Country,  
 since according to *Strabo*, they had preserved the Mo-  
 ther-Tongue of it. Most of the ancient Geographers  
 seem to make the *Scythians* and *Mæsiens* but one Peo-  
 ple; either perhaps because *Mæsia* had formerly been  
 a Part of *European Scythia*, or because the *Scythians*  
 had settled there by a Right of Conquest. The two  
*Mæsia's*, now lie in *Russia*, *Servia*, and *Bulgaria*.

<sup>16</sup> The Geographers generally place *Dacia* be-  
 tween the *Boristhenes* and *European Sarmatia* to the  
 North.



press their Insolence. His *Consular* Army was indeed inferior in Number to that of the Year of  
Barbarians; but he made use of Stratagem with Success. In a Battle which he gave ROME  
them between Rocks and Mountains, on the Banks of the <sup>17</sup> *Hebrus*, he sent his Horse DCXLIII.  
with such Expedition from one Summit to another, and ordered them to sound so great  
a number of Trumpets, that the Enemy thought they were going to be surrounded by  
an innumerable Multitude of Troops, and fled. And as the Pillagers were returning  
cross the *Hebrus* on the Ice, it broke under them; and the River swallowed up a Part of  
them with their Booty. So that *Minucius*, after a two Years successful Expedition  
against them, returned to *Rome* to triumph there; and the triumphant Victor built  
with the Spoils of the Enemy some stately <sup>18</sup> *Portico's*, which transmitted his Name to  
Posterity.

M. MINUCI-  
US RUFUS, &  
SP. POSTU-  
MIUS ALBI-  
NUS, Consuls.  
*Epit. Liv.*  
*Entrop. L. 4.*  
*Front Stratag.*  
*L. 2.*  
*Vell. Patere.*  
*L. 2.*

§. XII. But these northern Wars, how successful soever, did but little affect the Re-  
publick. All the Attention of the People was turned towards *Numidia*. The Peace  
lately sold to *Jugurtha*, by *Bestia* and *Scaurus*, was looked on with detestation at *Rome*;  
and tho' the Senators continued silent, in respect to their Head, a generous *Tribune of the*  
*People* had the Courage to repair the Injuries, which they had done the Publick by their  
Cowardice. C. <sup>19</sup> *Memmius* addressed himself to the *Comitia*; and his Speech, which is

*Sall. de Bell.*  
*Jugurth.*

yet

North; *Upper Hungria*, to the West; the *Danube*  
to the South; and the River *Pruth* and the *Euxine*  
*Sea*, to the East. This vast Country which is now a  
Part of the Kingdom of *Hungary*, *Transilvania*, *Mol-*  
*davia*, and *Walachia*, was afterwards enlarged, when  
the Emperor *Aurelian* removed the *Daci* beyond the  
*Danube*, between the two *Mæsia's*. This Removal  
occasioned the Division of *Dacia* into three Provin-  
ces, which the Geographers call *Dacia Alpestris*, *Da-*  
*cia Ripensis*, and *Dacia Mediterranea*. The first was  
called *Alpestris*, because it was nearest to Mount *Car-*  
*pates*. It is well known, and has been observed, that  
the Ancients called all high Mountains *Alpes*. The se-  
cond was nearer the Banks of the *Danube*, the *Teisse*,  
and the *Maros*, either on one Side, or the other:  
For the Geographers don't exactly agree about the Si-  
tuation of the three *Dacia's*. And the third was in the  
middle, and therefore called *Mediterranea*. We  
shall not examine the different Opinions of the Mo-  
derns, concerning the true Bounds of the three Pro-  
vinces, but keep to that of Father *Briet*, which we  
think the most probable. He assigns to *Dacia Ripen-*  
*sis*, some Parts of *Upper Hungary*, *Transilvania*, *Ras-*  
*tia*, and particularly the County of *Temeswaer*; to  
*Dacia Alpestris*, *Walachia* and *Moldavia*; and to  
*Dacia Mediterranea*, a little Part of *Upper Hungary*,  
and the greatest Part of *Transilvania*.

Thus much of *Dacia* properly so called, including  
the Country to which the *Daci* were removed by the  
Emperor *Aurelian*. But *Dio* places in *Dacia* all the  
Countries on both sides the *Danube*, as far as to the  
Mouth of that River, and to Mount *Hæmus*. He al-  
so speaks of a Colony of *Daci*, who inhabited Mount  
*Rhodope* in *Thrace*. So that this Historian looks on the  
*Mæsiens* and *Getæ* as Nations of *Dacia*. *Eutropius*  
makes this Country a million of Paces, that is, about  
350 *French Leagues*, in compass. *Ptolomy* makes it to  
reach in length, from the northern Elbow of the *Da-*  
*nube*, to the Promontory of *Pterum*, where *Jenicala*  
now stands; which is 5000 *Stadia*, or above 208  
*French Leagues*: And he makes its breadth to be,  
from Mount *Carpates* 3500 *Stadia*, that is, near 146  
*French Leagues*. And *Pliny* agrees with *Dio*. He  
makes the *Daci* and *Getæ* who inhabited *European*  
*Scythia*, near the *Euxine Sea*, but one Nation; with  
this Remark, That the People who were called *Getæ*  
by the *Greeks*, were called *Daci* by the *Latins*. *Justin*  
*L. 30*, supposes them to have had the same Origin,  
and makes no difference between them. *Stephen of*  
*Byzantium* thinks the *Daci* were indifferently called  
*Dabæ*, or *Dai*. But *Strabo* differs from him, since he  
places the *Dabæ* in *Asiatick Scythia*, near the Sea of  
*Hyrcania*. Nevertheless these two Authors agree in  
this, That the *Daci* were formerly called *Davi*.

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Which they infer from the Names of *Davus* and *Gætæ*,  
which the Ancients gave their Slaves, as appears by  
the Comedies of *Plautus* and *Terence*. *Cato*, in his  
Book *De Originibus*, falsely pretends, That the *Daci*  
were called both *Dani*, and *Davi*; by which he seems  
to imply, That these People and the *Danes* were the  
same Nation. *Ovid* and *Strabo* who rank them among  
the *Thracians* and *Scythians*, have given us a more  
just Account. All the Nations that lay between the  
*Propontis*, the *Danube*, and *Dalmatia*, were deemed  
so many Colonies from *Thrace*, and *European Scythia*.  
In after Ages, the *Daci* were known by the Name of  
*Gepidæ*, a Name, which according to *Jornandes*, im-  
ports in the *Gothick* Language, the slowness and stupi-  
dity of these Barbarians. If *Ovid* has given us a true  
Account of the *Daci* and neighbouring Nations, they  
must have been the most fierce and hideous of all Peo-  
ple. They were situated, says the Poet, in an un-  
grateful and barren Country, and had never tasted the  
Sweets of the Spring, or the Gifts of *Flora* and *Pomo-*  
*na*. Nevertheless, *Solinus* tells us, That the two *Mæ-*  
*sia's* were so fruitful in Corn, that the *Romans* called  
them *The Granary of Ceres*. *Ovid*, who was ba-  
nished to *Pontus*, on the Banks of the *Euxine Sea*,  
found none of the Pleasures, and Delights he used to  
enjoy at *Rome*, in the Place of his Banishment; and  
has doubtless much exasperated Things in his Account,  
and put them in stronger Lights than they deserved, in  
order to affect *Augustus* with his Misfortunes. Not-  
withstanding this Barbarity of the *Daci*, *Strabo* tells us,  
on the Authority of *Possidonius*, That some of them  
made it matter of Merit, to live in Coelibacy all their  
Days. *Josephus* mentions them, and compares their  
manner of Life, with that of the *Essenes* among the  
*Jews*, who professed to lead more perfect Lives than  
others. These Philosophers, who denied themselves  
all sensual Pleasures, were, according to those Authors,  
in great Esteem among the *Daci*. *Pliny* observes,  
*L. 22*, That these People marked their Bodies with dif-  
ferent Figures; as is done to this Day by the Savages  
in *America*. And he affirms, *L. 7*, as certain matter of  
Fact, That the *Daci* carried on their Arms, but only  
to the fourth Generation in a direct Line, natural  
Marks, which shewed their Origin.

<sup>17</sup> The *Hebrus* is a River of *Thrace*, which *Leun-*  
*clavius* calls *Marizza*. It rises at Mount *Hæmus*;  
and after it has watered *Adrianople*, and several o-  
ther Cities of *Thrace*, it falls into the *Ægean Sea*.

<sup>18</sup> These *Portico's* are not now in Being. In the  
Description which *Victor* and *Rufus* have given us of  
*Old Rome*, they place them at a little distance from  
the *Flaminian Circus*.

<sup>19</sup> *Cicero*, *L. 2. De Oratore*, speaks of an Accu-  
sation brought against *Bestia*, by *Caius Memmius*, but  
does

H h h



Year of yet preserved, shews both his Zeal for the publick Good, and his Hatred to the Senators.  
 ROME Shall I speak, Romans, said he, or be silent? If silent, I shall betray the Interest of my  
 DCXLIII. Country. If I speak, I shall bring a Prosecution on my self. Faction now does every thing  
 M. MINUCI- at Rome. Right is a vain Title, and Innocence a weak Support. Justice is banished from  
 US RUFUS, & the Senate, and has no Retreat but among the People. Nay, the factious Great pursue  
 SP. POSTU- her thither, in order to oppress her. What tragical Things have we not seen transacted  
 MIUS ALBI- within these 15 Years! Your Defenders have perished in your Arms, and your Fears seem  
 NUS, Consuls. to have increased to a Stupefaction. You are intimidated by a small Number of audacious  
 Men, whom you have Power enough to make tremble. Not that I advise a recourse to  
 Arms, or a new Separation, or the cutting the Senators in pieces. Indeed the Death of  
 the Gracchi is not avenged. But I speak not of Acts of Violence; let us lay aside open Force. I  
 will suppose for the present, that your Tyrants have re-established you in all your Rights and  
 Privileges. But will you therefore suffer the publick Treasure to become a Prey to them?  
 Shall the Tributes of Kings, and the Revenues of Provinces, be given up to the Avarice  
 of the Great; and their Riches be suffered to increase in infinitum? Nay, Will you tamely  
 see the Majesty of the Roman People dishonoured, their Reputation prostituted for Money,  
 and their Right of making Peace or War usurped and betrayed, to serve the sordid Views  
 of particular Men? Yet these avaritious, rich Men, triumph over your Resentments with  
 Impunity. They canvass for civil and sacred Offices, and appear with most Zeal for the  
 Consulate. Even Slaves that are ill used, will complain of the too great Severity of  
 their Masters: And will You, who are born to give Law, not dare to rescue yourselves  
 from the Slavery to which you are reduced? Who then are these Tyrants, that strike you  
 with so much dread? Men loaded with Crimes, who have formerly been guilty of murdering  
 your Tribunes, and lately of having sacrificed the Republick to Jugurtha for Money. But  
 alas! Their Crimes are their Support, and their Riches their Protection! Are not you  
 then Romans, as industrious to shake off the Yoke, as they are to fix it upon you? You  
 have Power by your Suffrages to exalt and depress whom you please. Why then don't you  
 leave these Villains in the Dust, and confer your Dignities only on Men of Probity? This is  
 a safer Remedy, and more worthy of you, than that used by your Forefathers. Think not of  
 Violence, or a Separation. It would become you much better to summon Jugurtha to ap-  
 pear before you. If his Dedition be not a feint only, he will obey you; and if he does not,  
 you will then have no room to doubt, but he has fraudulently and basely bought this pretend-  
 ed Peace.

Thus spake Memmius, and the People assented to the Force of his Reasons. There  
 plainly appeared to be another Advantage in the Examination which the King of Numi-  
 dia was intended to undergo. It was from his Mouth only that the People could with  
 certainty know, whether Scaurus, or Bestia, or Opimius, had been corrupted by his  
 Money. But it was necessary to find out a Man, in whom Jugurtha could so much  
 confide, as to resolve to leave Numidia and come to Rome, upon his Parole; and the  
 Prætor Cassius was thought a proper Person for such a Negotiation. He was a severe  
 Judge, but a Man of great Address, and of unspotted Probity: And he carried to Nu-  
 midia the Decree of the Roman People, which had been made at the Motion, and was  
 agreeable to the Intentions, of their Tribune Mummius.

§. XIII. When he landed in Africa, he found great Disorders in the Army there,  
 which was universally corrupted by Avarice. The inferior Officers, and the private  
 Men, following the Example of their General, thought of nothing but growing rich.  
 Some had sold to Jugurtha the 30 Elephants he had given the Romans, upon the Trea-  
 ty of Peace. Others had set the Deserters at Liberty for Money. And others had gone  
 upon free Booty in the Country of an Ally. In short, whatever and wherever they  
 could plunder, they did. But as the correcting these Disorders was no part of his Com-  
 mission, he applied himself wholly to cure Jugurtha of his Suspicions, and to per-  
 swade him to come to Rome, and acknowledge the Authority of the Masters of the  
 World.

does not say that it related to the Affair of Jugurtha. Scaurus undertook the Defence of the Criminal. Whilst the two Orators were pleading for, and against the accused, a Noise was heard of a funeral Procession which was passing by, and this gave Caius Memmius an occasion to throw out this ill-natur'd Reflection on his Adversary. Scaurus, said he, there is a dead Man carrying to his Grave; be sure, don't lose

the Opportunity, but take care to get Possession of his Estate: Alluding to the Reproach generally cast upon him, of having unjustly possessed himself of the Effects of a rich Man, named Phrygio-Pompeius, perhaps because an Embroiderer by Trade. Cicero says, That this Man died suddenly, and left no Will, or at least that Scaurus was not in it.

He



He had many Difficulties to struggle with in *Jugurtha's* Breast. The Indignity this would bring on Majesty, the Reproaches of his own Conscience, the Fear of being detained a Captive at *Rome*, or even of being severely punished there, were great Obstacles to his pursuing the Measures proposed. But nevertheless, he resolved to comply with the Orders of the *Roman People*, depending more on *Cassius's* Word, than on the publick Faith; and as soon as his Resolution was known at *Rome*, his Party there were struck with Terror. However, the King came, under the Conduct of *Cassius*; and to raise the more Compassion, entered the City without any Pomp or Attendance, and dressed in a very negligent manner. A great Honour indeed to the *Roman People*, to see the powerful King of *Numidia* groveling at their Feet, and acknowledging their Sovereignty! Several Kings had pleaded their Causes before the Senate; but none had ever yet acknowledged the Jurisdiction of the *Roman Tribes*, or submitted to be examined and tried by them, in a capital Case. This was new. Nevertheless, *Jugurtha* knew how to conduct his Affair with all possible dexterity. He was not ignorant, That all Causes brought before the assembled People depended on the *Tribunes*, and That the securing one of them was sufficient to put a stop to all Proceedings; and therefore immediately gained one of the ten with his Money. This was *Caius Bæbius Salca*, a Man impudently bold, and yet more Covetous than Audacious.

When the *Comitia* were assembled, *Jugurtha* appeared before them; and was himself a Witness of the Hatred which the Publick bore him. Some cried out for dragging him to Prison, and others for putting him to death, if he did not discover those Accomplices whom he had in his pay at *Rome*. The *Tribune Mummius* however, appeased this first Disturbance; and then juridically cited the King to appear, and required him to answer. He, in the first place, reproached him with his ill Conduct towards *Micipsa*, his adoptive Father, and with the Uneasiness he had given him; but insisted most strongly on the Murder of *Hiempsal*, and the Massacre in which *Adherbal* perished. And when he saw the King began to be intimidated, *Mummius* added; *Your Audaciousness indeed could never have been carried to so great an excess, if you had not known that you were supported by a Roman Faction, whose Protection you had purchased. We know them all. Their Zeal to serve you, and their Partiality to your Interests have pulled off the Mask. Nevertheless it concerns us to have their Names from the Person himself who has set them at work; and I dare engage, That the publick Faith shall be strictly kept with you, if you honestly declare to us, without any Evasions, the Persons who have supported you in your Iniquities. Speak, and answer the Expectations of the Roman People.* But whilst *Jugurtha* was preparing to reply, *Bæbius* stood up and opposed it. The mercenary *Tribune*, whom the King had purchased said, *Tho' they press you to speak, Jugurtha, I enjoin you silence.* And tho' this raised such Murmurings and Clamours as might have affrighted, or confounded, a Man of less Effrontery and Intrepidity than *Bæbius*, yet he persisted in his Opposition: And so great was the Respect of the People for the Person of their *Tribune*, that they durst not over-rule it. In short, *Scaurus* and *Bestia* were by this means extricated out of the Affair, and became much more attached to *Jugurtha* than ever.

§. XIV. Impunity likewise made the King himself more enterprizing. He now carried on his Villainies to an excess scarce to be imagined. We have before observed, that one of *Micipsa's* Brothers, and his Associate on the Throne with *Manastabal*, had left an illegitimate Son, named *Massiva*; who had neither been much advanced by *Gulussa* his Father, nor adopted by *Micipsa*. So that tho' he was of the Blood Royal, and Grandson to *Massinissa*, he was reduced to the State of a private Life. It may therefore well be imagined, that he could not but envy the good Fortune of *Jugurtha*, who, tho' the Son of a Concubine as well as himself, had found Means to get a Share in the Crown, and had had the boldness to take all *Numidia* from the two Brothers, who had been assassinated by his Orders: And whilst *Adherbal* lived, *Massiva* had adhered to his Cause, as the most just. But after the taking of *Cirthea*, and the cruel Death of the King his Relation, he had fled for Refuge to *Rome*; and there the few Men of Honour whom *Jugurtha* could not corrupt, espoused his Interests. The *Consul Postumius Albinus*, to whose Lot *Numidia* was now fallen, was his avowed Friend, and most zealous Protector. He told him, That he was the only Remains of the Royal Blood of *Numidia*, after *Jugurtha*; That, that perfidious Relation of his was ready to sink, and might, without much difficulty, be brought to ruin; and That if he would but make the Attempt, he might easily obtain the Kingdom. This *Consul*, who was appointed to carry on the War

Year of  
ROME  
DCXLIII.  
M. MINUCI-  
US RUFUS, &  
SP. POSTU-  
MIUS, ALBI-  
NUS, Consuls.

*Sallust. de Bell.  
Jugurth.*

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.*



Year of War in *Numidia*, was afraid that the Peace his Predecessor had made with *Jugurtha* would be confirmed, infamous as it was; made it his Business to disconcert the King's Measures, and frustrate the Attempts of those whom he so dearly paid at *Rome*; and at his Persuasion, *Massiva* demanded of the Senate and People of *Rome* the Crown of his Ancestors, which *Jugurtha* had forfeited by his Treacheries.

M. MINUCI-  
US RUFUS, &  
SP. POSTU-  
MIUS ALBI-  
NUS, Consuls.

Epit. Liv.  
Florus, L. 3.  
Oros. L. 5.  
Eutropius.  
Sallust.

This Attempt could not be unknown to his Rival; and as the ambitious Man is capable of any Villainy when he thinks himself out of the reach of Punishment, *Jugurtha* resolved to get *Massiva* assassinated, in the Face of the Republick, even in *Rome* it self. *Bomilcar* his Friend and Confident, whom he had brought into *Italy*, under the publick Faith, was his Agent in this Iniquity; and the base Minister, after much enquiry, found Assassines who took his Money, and he appointed them the Place and Time proper for the Execution. But one of them rather than the rest, inconsiderately seized the first Opportunity; and without considering his Danger, cut off *Massiva's* Head. Which the Wretch had no sooner done, but he was instantly taken and brought before the *Prætor*; to whom he confessed that he had done nothing without *Bomilcar's* Orders, who had hired him to commit the Murder. This Deposition exceedingly embarrassed *Jugurtha*, on whom all the Odium of the Crime must at last fall; tho' *Bomilcar* only was cited to appear before the Judges. Indeed, to treat him as a Criminal was contrary to the Promise given him; but Justice required he should be punished. And what Part then had *Jugurtha* to act, in so critical a Juncture? If he exposed *Bomilcar* to the Dangers of a Trial, this would reflect dishonour upon himself, lessen him in the Esteem of all his Subjects, and disoblige the Friends he had in *Rome*. He therefore resolved immediately to contrive his Escape, and send him to *Africa*. Accordingly, the Confident disappeared; and this turned all Suspicions on the Master. Insomuch, that Informations were privately given in against him, and Preparations making for arresting him. Then, stung with the Remorses of his own Conscience, yet more alarmed with the Fear of the Suffrages of the People, who were not so easy to be corrupted as some of the Magistrates, and having no resource, but in flight, he went off, without taking leave of the Senate; and made all possible haste to embark at the nearest Port. And as he was on the Road, he looked back on the Capital of the World, and with great Indignation and Contempt, burst out into this Exclamation. *Thou avaritious, thou mercenary City! Thou wilt even sell thy self, as soon as thou canst find a Man rich enough to buy thee!*

§. XV. As soon as returned to *Africa*, he made it his chief Care, either to avoid, or at least suspend, the War which *Rome* now seemed determined to make with him. The Consul, *Postumius Albinus*, was soon ready to set sail for *Africa*, and there to put himself at the Head of the Army which his Predecessor had commanded. Knowing that the Year of his *Consulate* was already advanced, and that he should be obliged to preside in the *Comitia* for the Elections for the ensuing Year, he lost no Time in raising his Recruits, and receiving the necessary Sums out of the Treasury; and the Senate by Decree, disannulled the infamous Peace which *Besbia* had made with the Usurper of *Numidia*.

The Design of *Postumius* was, to finish in a few Months an Expedition which he thought by no means difficult; either by beating *Jugurtha* in one decisive Battle, or else by forcing him to surrender himself up to the *Romans* a second Time, by a voluntary *Dedition*. But he knew little of his Enemy's Character. *Jugurtha* was too wise to hazard a Battle rashly; and few Princes knew better, how to turn himself into all Shapes, in managing a Negotiation. He promised all the Consul desired in the first Conferences; and pretended to be ready to deliver up himself and his Dominions. But when he was pressed to perform this, he equivocated. Sometimes he objected a pretended Opposition from his Subjects; and sometimes, his own Fears. One Minute he acquiesced in the Peace; and the next, threatened to have recourse to Arms. By these Inconsistencies he gained Time, which he employed to the best Advantage, in the Regulation of his Affairs: And in short, he led on the Consul with one Evasion or another, till the stated Time came for his Departure.

So that *Postumius* was obliged to return to *Rome*, without compassing any Determination, either by Action, or Treaty. All he brought with him from *Numidia*, was strong Suspicions, of his having sold the Interests of his Country, as his Predecessors had done. And indeed, it was not very natural to believe, that the *Numidian* should have found Means, by Artifices alone, and without any Connivance in their General, to suspend the Motions of a large Army which *Rome* maintained in *Africa*, at a great Ex-

pence.



pence. However, *Postumius* embarked for *Rome*, where he was loaded with the Curses of the People: And to compleat his Misfortune, he left his Brother to command in *Numidia* during his absence. This new Commander soon did the Republick as much Mischief by his Rashness, as *Postumius* had done, by his Delays and Inaction.

§. XVI. At his Return, the *Consul* found very great Disturbances in the City, occasioned by the Intrigues of two *Tribunes of the People*. *P. Licinius Crassus*, *C. Manilius*, and *L. Annius*, were aiming at getting themselves continued in their Office another Year, contrary to Law. The first had with the Consent of the Senate, published an Edict against expensive Tables. By means of the Riches which flowed to *Rome* from all Parts, and particularly the late Bounties of *Jugurtha*, the *Citizens* were grown so delicate, and so profuse in their Meals, that it called for a Reformation. *Licinius* therefore went so far, as to revive the old Regulations of *Fannius*; and to put Things upon the same frugal Foot, on which they stood, whilst there was some Virtue flourishing in the Republick. His Law was in Substance this; That on the Days of the *Calends*, *Nones*, *Markets*, and *Great Games*, any Man might lay out the Sum of 30 <sup>20</sup> *Asses* on his Table; but That on other Days, no Man should have more than three Pounds of fresh Meat, and one of Salt at one Meal. To which it was added, That as to Pulse, or Herbs, and Fruits, every one might have as much of them as he pleased. This, tho' a severe Edict, met with so ready a Compliance from the *Citizens*, that they obeyed it as soon as declared by the Senate, before it was confirmed by the People; and <sup>21</sup> *Licinius*

Year of  
R O M E.  
DCXLIII.

M. MINUCI-  
US RUFUS, &  
SP. POSTU-  
MIUS ALBI-  
NUS, Consuls.  
Fast. Capit.  
Sallust.  
Macrob. L. 2.  
c. 13.

<sup>20</sup> Are we to believe *Macrobius*, or *Aulus Gellius*? The latter gives us a very different account of this Law, from that given by the former. *The Licinian Law*, says he, L. 2. c. 24, revived the Law which had been passed 50 Years before, by the *Consul Fannius*. The new Legislator reduced the Expence of eating for each Meal to 30 \* *Asses*. That is, he forbade that the Quantity of Meat served up at any one time, should exceed the Sum mentioned in the *Fannian Law*. Only this Clause was added, That if this was not sufficient, any Man might add as many Dishes of Pulse, and as many sorts of Fruits, as he thought proper, according to the Number and Taste of his Guests. And *Licinius* also excepted some solemn Days; such as the Festivals when the *Roman Games*, the *Plebeian Games*, the *Saturnalia*, and the *Games* dedicated to the Worship of *The Mother of the Gods*, were celebrated. Then, any Man might expend on his Table as far as 100 \* *Asses*. Days of Marriage were also excepted. He also thought that Times set apart for Joy and Pleasure, should be privileged; and therefore allowed 200 *Asses* \* to be spent on Nuptial Feasts, exclusive of Bread, Wine, Herbs, and Fruits, which were left to the Discretion of the Masters of Families. This Exception made in the *Licinian Law*, gave rise to the Expression *Cœnæ Centenariæ*, to signify a stately Entertainment.

These Precautions against the Superfluity of the *Roman* Tables put a stop to the Evil for a Time. But Effeminacy, Gluttony, Luxury, and Debauchery, soon got ground among the great and rich Men at *Rome*. This Capital of the World, being too well stored with riches, and the Delights of *Asia*, was continually offering them new Temptations to Niceness of Taste and Delicacy. The wealthy *Citizens* could not bear to be confined to live upon little, in the midst of abundance. The Magistrates had, for above these 72 Years, in vain endeavoured to bring back the *Romans* to the ancient Frugality of their Forefathers. The Laws of *Orcius*, *Fannius*, and *Didius*, which we have mentioned in the Fourth, and the former Part of this Volume, did little more than increase the Number of the refractory, without remedying the Disorder. The Tyranny of Custom, the Contagion of ill Examples, and Impunity, were too strong for the Severity of the Laws. There was a private Man, says *Macrobius*, who, in contempt of the sumptuary Laws, was not ashamed to serve up to his Table, a Boar, the Legs of which were stuffed with all sorts of eatable

Meats, as the *Trojan Horse* formerly carried in its Body a Company of armed *Greeks*. Hence the Name of *Porcus Trojanus*, which was given to these stuffed Boars. The continuance of these Excesses, stirred up from time to time, the Attention of the *Tribunes*, or *Consuls*; and they declaimed against this excessive Profuseness, had recourse to severe Laws, and confirmed the old, by new ones. But these were no more regarded than the former. Nevertheless, the Abuse was not yet so general, but that there were at *Rome* several Citizens of the first Rank, who always made it an inviolable Rule to keep within the Bounds of Temperance. In proof of this, *Aulus Gellius* quotes a Poet named *Levius*, in one of his Pieces called *Erotopœgniæ*, or *The Sports of Love*. He mentions a Master of a Family, who for fear of transgressing *The Licinian Law*, would not accept of a *Chevreuil*, which was brought him. Indeed, the Legislators had given leave to supply the want of the forbidden Meats, only with Fruits, Herbs, and Pulse, which were left at large, without any Restriction. And the Men of Taste, thought they had a Right, if they did not expressly violate the Laws, to indulge themselves in the greatest Delicacies; and made use of Art to heighten and enrich the Productions of Nature. The Men of Wealth valued themselves upon keeping good Cooks, who studied how to deceive the Eyes by disguising plain Herbs and Pulse, and by pleasing the Taste with the most exquisite Sauces. *Cicero* himself, in a Letter to *Gallus*, L. 7, confesses, That the *Romans* had found Means to supply themselves by the Skill of their Cooks, with what the sumptuary Laws had denied them. *We owe*, says he, to the Zeal of our Reformers, the Secrets which were hitherto unknown, concerning the manner of dressing Mushrooms, and other Vegetables. *Lentulus*, the other Day entertained the Augurs, and I was present at the Entertainment. High seasoned Vegetables were served up; and I ate of them to some excess. But I was soon punished for my greediness, by an Indigestion, which was followed by a Looseness and Vomiting, which has not stopped, till this Day. Thus I, who can restrain my Appetite with regard to the dearest Meats, such as Oysters and *Murænæ*, suffered my self to be overcome, by Red-Betes and Mallows.

<sup>21</sup> This *Publius Licinius Crassus* surnamed *Dives*, from his great Riches, was the Father of the famous *Marcus Crassus*, the Rival of *Pompey the Great*.

s. d.  
\* 1 11½

s. d.  
\* 6 5½

s. d.  
\* 12 11



Year of desired to be continued in his Office, that he might take the more effectual Care of the  
 ROME Observation of this Edict, and make it the more lasting.

DCXLIII.

M. MINUCI-  
 US RUFUS, &  
 SP. POSTU-  
 MIUS ALBI-  
 NUS, Consuls.

Cic. in Bruto.

Cic. Orat. pro  
 Sextio.

The *Tribune Manilius* had likewise got a new Law passed, which tho' not so exten-  
 sive as the other, was yet in the present State of Things necessary. It related to appoint-  
 ing Commissioners for trying those, who had been corrupted by *Jugurtha's* Money, and  
 who had, during their Male-administrations in *Africa*, enriched themselves by unlaw-  
 ful Means. These were almost all Senators, or of the first of the Nobility, and were  
 very odious to the People, because they had formerly been most zealous in procuring the  
 Destruction of the two *Gracchi*. But the greatest Villain among them, *Scaurus*, the  
*Prince of the Senate*, was artful enough to get himself nominated at the Head of the  
 Commission. Such Weight and Authority has the very appearance of Virtue with the  
 generality of Mankind! And then the Dissembler seemed to be mightily changed. He,  
 who was the most scandalous Extortioner in *Rome*, was very severe in his Judgments on  
 others, who were less Criminal than himself. During the two Years which he sat at  
 the Head of the Commission, he condemned to Banishment several <sup>22</sup> *Consular* Men,  
 and even one <sup>23</sup> *Pontifex*; a Thing never heard of before. He successively proscribed  
*Lucius Calpurnius Bestia* with whom he had himself been Accomplice, and *Spurius*  
*Postumius Albinus*; and *Lucius* <sup>25</sup> *Opimius* fell a sacrifice to his Severity, and the Fury  
 of the *Tribes*. The Hatred the People bore him was very violent; and this old *Consul*,  
 this Persecutor of the *Gracchi*, went and died of Want at <sup>25</sup> *Dyrrachium*. So that this  
 Law of *Manilius* raised great Disturbances in the Republick. Nevertheless, the Author of it  
 might make this his Plea with the People, for continuing him another Year in the *Tribu-*  
*nate*. And *Annius* likewise requested the same thing. But their Attempts ended only in  
 postponing the Election of the great Magistrates; which the *Centuries* after some time  
 made in the *Campus Martius*, and proclaimed Q. <sup>25</sup> *Cæcilius Metellus*, and M. *Junius*  
*Silanus*, *Consuls*.

§. XVII. There was one War impending, and another actually begun, to employ the two  
*Consuls*; and it fell to the Lot of *Silanus*, to lead a *Consular* Army into *Gallia Narbonensis*.  
 There was not yet any Disturbance in this Province which had been lately conquered;  
 the eastern *Gauls* bore the *Roman* Yoke for the present, pretty peaceably. But the Re-

<sup>22</sup> To the three *Consular* Men, who were con-  
 demned, for promoting the Designs of *Jugurtha* against  
 the Interests of the Republick, *Cicero* adds *Caius Por-*  
*cius Cato*, the Grandson of *Cato the Censor* by his Fa-  
 ther *Marcus*, and of *Paulus Æmilius* by his Mother  
*Æmilia*, the Daughter of *The Second Africanus*. *Caius*  
 had been *Consul* in the Year 639; and we have obser-  
 ved above, p. 190, after *Cicero* and *Velleius Paterculus*,  
 That at his Return from *Macedon*, he had been banish-  
 ed to *Tarragona* in *Spain*, for embezzeling the publick  
 Money. But nevertheless *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, seems  
 to contradict himself. He says expressly, That *Caius*  
*Cato*, was brought before the Court of the Commissio-  
 ners appointed to enquire after *Jugurtha's* Partizans,  
 by *Manilius*, the *Tribune of the People*. Either there-  
 fore *Cato* must have been then at *Rome*, and conse-  
 quently must have been recalled from his Banishment,  
 or else, there must have been the Space of three Years,  
 between his first Condemnation, and his Departure for  
*Tarragona*.

<sup>23</sup> This *Pontifex* was *Caius Sulpicius Galba*; who,  
 according to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, was the second  
 Son of the famous Orator *Servius*, and Son-in-Law to  
*Publius Crassus Mucianus*, who understood the Law,  
 as well as the Art of Speaking. When he was accused of  
 favouring *Jugurtha*, he made a Speech in his Defence,  
 which was afterwards made the Model for the young  
*Romans* to learn Eloquence by, and the Children were  
 made to learn it by Heart.

<sup>25</sup> *Cicero*, in his Orations, for *Sextius*, against *Piso*,  
 and for *Plancus*, never mentions the Banishment of  
*Lucius Opimius*, but with Indignation. He laments  
 the Fate of this great Man, and inveighs against the In-  
 justice of his Judges. To the Shame of the *Romans*,  
 says he, the Man who had just saved his Country from  
 the Fury of the *Gracchi*, could not find an hospitable  
 Reception there. *Rome* proclaims the Importance of

his Services, by the famous Monument erected to his  
 Honour in the *Forum Romanum*, and yet forces  
 him to seek a Retreat, and a Sepulchre in a foreign  
 Land.

<sup>25</sup> *Dyrrachium* stands on the Coasts of the *Adria-*  
*tick* Sea, and borders upon *New Epirus*, or *Albania*.  
 It is now called *Durazzo*. See Vol. 3. p. 21. Note 44.

<sup>26</sup> *Quintus Cæcilius Numidicus* was the Son of  
*Lucius Metellus Calvus*, who was *Consul* in the Year  
 611; and consequently, was Brother to the *Pontifex*  
*Maximus Lucius Metellus*, surnamed *Dalmaticus*. *Pa-*  
*dianus* also gives the latter the Surname of *Calvus*.  
 Hence the Mistake of some Writers, who have con-  
 founded the Father with the Son. As for *Metellus*,  
 the present *Consul*, *Velleius Paterculus* ranks him among  
 the greatest Orators in *Rome*. In his Youth he went  
 to *Athens*, and was the Disciple of *Carneades*; and un-  
 der this great Master, studied Eloquence and Philoso-  
 phy. When he returned to *Rome*, he contracted a  
 strict Friendship with the famous *Crassus*. His intre-  
 pidity and greatness of Mind were observed in a Speech  
 he made against *Caius Manilius*, on account of some  
 Reflections which this *Tribune of the People* had cast  
 upon him, in an Assembly of the People. We have  
 only a Fragment of it remaining, which *Aulus Gellius*  
 has preserved. *Romans*, said he, *Manilius* thinks to  
 do himself great Honour, by declaring himself my E-  
 nemy; and perhaps he expects that I should make a  
 long Apology. But what occasion have I to defend  
 my self against a Man, who can do me little Service  
 as a Friend, and whose Anger as an Enemy, I despise.  
 Such sort of People don't deserve to have any thing  
 said of them, either good, or bad. The best way is to  
 leave them in oblivion. It is doing them too much  
 Honour, to condescend even to mention their  
 Names.

publick



publick was under some Apprehensions from the *Cimbri*, *Teutones*, and *Tigurini*. These Year of  
People had united, and after having long rambled about the *Alpes*, had crossed the *Py-* ROME  
*renees*; and seemed determined, after they had pillaged *Spain*, first to fall on *Gallia* DCXLIV.  
*Narbonensis*, and then on the *Whole Roman Province*, in order to enter *Italy* that Way. Q. CÆCILI-  
This made it necessary to drive these numberless Vagabonds and Robbers, whose Fury US METEL-  
had already been too much felt by the Republick, from the Frontiers; and therefore Si- LUS, & M.  
lanus was sent to prevent their Insults, fortify that Part of *Gaul* which was subject to the JUNIUS SILA-  
*Romans*, and place his Army as a Barrier against their Passage. And then, what *Rome* Florus L. c. 3.  
had feared came very suddenly upon her. These *Cimbri* came down from the *Pyrenees*, Eutrop.  
and over-run *Gallia Narbonensis* like a Torrent. The *Consul*, not alarmed at their Num- Oros.  
bers, came to meet the Barbarians; and posted himself at some distance from their Camp.  
Upon this, the *Cimbri* took the first step towards a kind of Negotiation, but it was ra-  
ther a Declaration of War. Their Chief sent Deputies to the *Consul*, with Orders to talk  
very loftily to him, and terrify him with Threatenings. *War*, said they, *must be the*  
*Consequence, if you will not allot us a Territory in Italy, in case we shall not think fit*  
*to put an end to our long Labours, and many IncurSIONS, by settling here.* But these were  
Insults which the *Romans* were not used to bear from their Enemies; neither was it in the  
*Consul's* Power to assign them Lands in *Italy*. All the Country on this side the *Po* was  
inhabited by *Gauls*; and the Lands in the eastern Parts of *Italy* were scarce sufficient to  
satisfy the Avarice of the *Citizens* of *Rome*. He therefore as haughtily rejected the Pro-  
posal, and immediately had recourse to Arms. But the Battle he fought turned so much  
to the disadvantage of the *Romans*, that they were<sup>27</sup> routed at the first Onset; and in  
Consequence of this, all *Gallia Narbonensis* was at once exposed to the Plunder of these  
Barbarians. *Rome* only continued Mistress of those Cities, which the *Cimbri* could not  
take for want of being used to carry on Sieges. Nevertheless they did not yet drop their  
Design of settling in *Italy*. The *Rhone* and the *Alpes* were now Barriers to them.

§. XVIII. As for *Metellus*, it was his Lot to make War in *Numidia*; and his Ex-  
pedition was more successful than that of his Colleague. *Jugurtha* was alarmed at the  
News of his coming; notwithstanding that he had gained a considerable Advantage over  
the *Roman Army*, since his Return. The Brother of *Spurius Postumius Albinus*, who  
was left to command the *Consul's* Troops in quality of *Pro-Consul*, no sooner saw him-  
self at the Head of 40000 Men, but his martial Ardour got the better of him, and he  
resolved to take Advantage of the Absence of the *Consul*, to gain himself Riches, or Glory.  
Tho' the *Romans* were in Winter-Quarters, and the Month of *January* was a very im-  
proper Time for a military Expedition, he assembled his Troops, marched into the  
Field, through dirty Roads, and in a rainy Season, and brought them before<sup>28</sup> *Suthul*, a  
strong Hold in *Numidia*, where *Jugurtha* was said to have deposited his Treasures.  
This City stood on an Eminence, and could not easily have been taken in any Season;  
and in Winter, the Marshes about it made it almost inaccessible. But nevertheless,  
the Covetousness of the *Pro-Prætor* led him to besiege it. He built Machines, and  
made several Assaults; but with all his Efforts could gain nothing there, except the  
Shame of an ill-timed and ill-conducted Enterprize. Besides, this plainly shewed *Ju-*  
*gurtha*, that the temporary General was no great Master of the Art of War; and he  
concluded, it would not be difficult to draw him into a Snare, and fight him with Ad-  
vantage. To this end, he drew near *Suthul*, and pretended to be terrified at the Sight of  
the *Roman Army*. After many Supplications to the General, which he knew could not  
be heard; he retired from Post to Post, through difficult Roads; and the *Roman Army*  
marching directly after him, pursued him to the inmost Parts of *Numidia*. And when  
*Jugurtha* had got him into the Heart of his Dominions, he then returned to his usual  
Artifices. He did not indeed offer the *Pro-Prætor* Money. He held him in so great  
Contempt, that he did not think it worth his while. But he applied himself to the Of-  
ficers and Soldiers of his Army; and bought off not only a *Cohort* of *Thracians*, and ano-  
ther of *Ligurians*, but many of the *Legionaries* themselves. They were not more deaf  
to the Offers of *Jugurtha*, than the greatest Magistrates of *Rome* had been; and in

<sup>27</sup> The Authorities of *Florus*, *Paulus Orosius*, and *Livy*, *Epit.* L. 68, concerning the ill Success of the Battle fought with the *Cimbri*, ought to be preferred to that of *Eutropius*. This Abridger, in the end of his fourth Book, takes it for granted, That *Junius*

*Silanus* had entirely defeated these Barbarians in *Nar-bonne Gaul*.

<sup>28</sup> We have no exact Account of the Situation of *Suthul*, a City of *Numidia*.



Year of short, a considerable Part of the *Roman* Army basely agreed to sacrifice the Love of their *ROME* Country to their private Interest.

DCXLIV.

Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & M.  
JUNIUS SILA-  
NUS, Consuls.

*Jugurtha's* Camp was not far from that of the *Romans*, and both hourly expected to come to a Battle. But the King of *Numidia* had no Design to run that Hazard. He thought an attack on the *Pro-Prætor's* Trenches by Night, would better favour the Treachery of the *Roman* Soldiers whom he had gained; and he ordered his *Numidians* to advance at the Time when sleep is generally soundest. The latter mounted the Rampart with inconceivable Swiftneſs; and ſpread Confuſion and Terror in the beſieged Camp upon the firſt Alarm. The Soldiers roſe in diſorder, and endeavoured to repair to their Colours in the dark; and the General himſelf was in doubt whether he ſhould flee, or keep his Ground. He thought the Danger equal either way; and what deter- mined him to leave his Poſt, was the Deſertion of his *Thracians* and *Ligurians*. He was informed that one *Cohort* of the former, and two of the latter were gone over to the Enemy: And this was not the worſt of his Miſfortunes. The chief Officer of the third *Legion* had, according to his Plot with *Jugurtha*, opened to him two Gates of the *Roman* Camp, and ſupported the *Numidian* Army as they entered it. Every *Roman* they found was killed; but the Slaughter was not ſo great, as might have been expected. As the Night favoured the taking of the Camp, ſo it likewiſe facilitated the Retreat of the vanquiſhed; and the latter retiring through the two other Gates of the Camp, and taking different Roads, gained an Eminence, and poſted themſelves there. And when it was Day, the *Pro-Prætor* found ſcarce any of his Men wanting, except the Traitors who had ſold themſelves to the Enemy; but the greateſt Part of them had thrown away their Arms, that they might be the lighter for flight.

Salluſt. Bell.  
*Jugurth.*

As ſoon as *Jugurtha* had given his Soldiers Time to plunder the Enemy's Camp, he immediately ſurrounded the Hill on which the *Romans* were poſted; and then *Aulus Poſtumiſ* diſcovered as much Timorouſneſs in treating, as he had ſhewn ill Conduct in Command. After the Enemy had inveſted him, he was continually ſending one ſhame- ful Deputation after another, and in one, demanding Quarter only, in another, offer- ing a laſting Peace, which he would undertake to get ratified by the Senate. But the proud Conqueror was not to be moved either by his Offers or Intreaties. He answered, That he would promiſe Quarter, on no Conditions, but thoſe of firſt concluding a ſolid Peace, and then of all the *Romans* paſſing under the Yoke. This was an inſupportable Diſgrace, and any other General would probably have choſen rather to have forced his way through the Enemy, than to have ſubmitted to it. But the cowardly *Pro-Prætor*, tho' he had *Legionaries* enough armed, and they had Courage enough to have made their Paſſage good through *African* Troops, was ſtruck with dread, and conſulted only his Fears. He, without much deliberation, conſented to this Peace; and himſelf and his whole Army ſubmitted to march between two infamous Poſts, amidſt the Taunts and Shouts of the *Numidian* Soldiers. After this, the *Roman* Troops, when thus diſgraced under a ſcan- dalous Commander, diſbanded themſelves, and returned as they could, into the *Afri- can Province*; that is, into the ancient Dominions of *Carthage*, which were now poſ- ſeſſed by the *Romans*. There they lived without Order, or Diſcipline; and by their Li- centiouſneſs, made themſelves ſome amends for the Shame they had undergone.

§. XIX. At *Rome*, the News of the Diſgrace which the Republick had ſuffered in *Numidia*, was received with great Indignation; and by none with more Concern than by *Poſtumiſ*, the Conſul. He had preſided at the Election for the Year enſuing in the *Field of Mars*; but nevertheleſs had about two Months of his Year ſtill left; and he en- deavoured to make the beſt uſe of this Interval. In the firſt place, he got the Peace his Brother had made with *Jugurtha* diſannulled both by Senate and People; then ordered Recruits to ſupply the Place of the dead and Deſerters of the Army in *Africa*; and as ſoon as his Preparations were made, embarked for his Province, reſolving if poſſible, to repair the Injuries which his Brother had done the Republick. But the *Tribunes* not thinking it proper that he ſhould carry any new Troops into *Africa*, reſerved the Levies for *Metellus*, who was to ſucceed him; and this putting it out of his Power to undertake any thing, he was forced to wait for the arrival of *Metellus*, in inaction. After that, he returned to *Rome*, with his infamous Brother; who was ſoon after condemned to Banishment by *Scaurus*; who convicted him of having been corrupted by *Jugurtha's* Money.



And now, the *Romans* placed all their Hopes of Success in *Numidia* on *Metellus* Year of alone. This great Man was so far from being carried away with the popular Faction, *ROME* that he had never declared for the Commons against the Senate. But nevertheless he had *DCXLIV.* kept Measures with the People; and had, by an uniform and moderate Conduct, acquired the good Will of the Nobility, without incurring their Hatred. So that all Difficulties vanished before him. His Reputation for Probity, which had ever been unspotted, gained him the Esteem of all. The Confidence was general, that it would not be in *Jugurtha's* Power to corrupt him with his Offers. Besides, he had given Proof, of an uncommon Valour and Prudence in the Command of Armies; so that all Things seemed to promise Success to his Enterprize. The *Romans* decreed him the Recruits he desired; refused him nothing he thought necessary for the Support of his Troops; and even disannulled some Laws which had reduced the Pay of the *Legionaries*. The *Allies* furnished their Contingents with great readiness; and the Kings, who were well affected to the Republick, sent considerable Reinforcements to the Army in *Africa*. And indeed, the present Point in hand was, to wipe out one of the most shameful Reproaches that had ever been cast on the *Roman* Name, since the Affair of *The Caudian Forks*.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, & M. JUNIUS SILANUS, Consuls.  
Sallust. Bell. Jugurth.

As for *Metellus* himself, one of his chief Concerns was, to choose such Subalterns for his Army, as were well qualified to support him, and whose Skill in the Art of War had already been proved. Among others, he found the famous *Marius* quite idle in *Rome*. Ever since he had successfully made War in *Spain* during his *Prætorship*, he had languished away his Time in inactivity. He had neither Birth, nor Fortune, nor Eloquence, sufficient to raise him to the first Dignities: So that tho' his Ambition led him to aspire after them, he could not attain them otherwise than by Arms: And he therefore joyfully accepted the Offer *Metellus* made him, of being one of his Lieutenant Generals. His view was, to raise himself at the Expence of his General; but the *Consul* did not then know what a Rival he was going to raise up against himself. Tho' his greedy desire of Glory, and extravagant Vanity, and restless Attempts to rise, afterwards made him insupportable to *Metellus*; He took great Care at first to conceal his Faults from him. Inasmuch that the *Consul* found no Reason to repent of the Preference given him, till after he had suffered him to gain too great an ascendant. And what Artifices *Marius* then made use of to discredit his General, and what severe Mortifications *Metellus* then met with, from him whose Gratitude<sup>29</sup> if nothing else, ought to have obliged him to confine his Zeal to the common Good, will appear in the Sequel. The *Consul* likewise chose himself another Lieutenant General, *Publius Rupilius*; who always behaved himself like a Man of Honour, and lived in a good Correspondence with him. And after all, thus much, at least, may be said of both; That neither of them could be moved by *Jugurtha's* Offers.

Plut. in Mario.

§. XX. When all Things were ready, the *Consul* set out without delay; landed in *Africa*, and received from *Postumius* his Predecessor, an Army which lived dispersed about the Province in the utmost Disorder, and were more intent upon Rapine, than Discipline. He therefore began with reforming his Troops, as *Scipio* had done, before he would lead them to the Enemy; and performed this difficult Work with great Success. He even excelled *The Second Africanus* in the manner in which he conducted it; for he proceeded not only by authoritative and severe Methods, but gained his Point over his *Legions*, by blending Humanity with Rigour.

His first Order was, That no more Bread should be sold in the Camp, but every Soldier learn to knead and bake his own. Then he banished all Meats but plain boiled, and roast; would suffer no private *Legionary*, to have any Servant, or Horse, or Waggon, to carry his Provisions or Arms; and in short, brought his Troops to exact Discipline, not so much by Chastisement, as Vigilance. He was watchful of the least defect in point of Duty, found Pretences for often changing his Camp, and would never suffer his Men to continue long in one Place. When he removed to a new Post, he chose to do it by the longest and most difficult Roads; and often found out plausible Pretences, for enjoining them laborious Marches. In short, he forced the *Legionaries*, tho' *Roman Citizens*, to carry their Arms, and Utensils, and the Corn that was distributed among them monthly, on their own Shoulders; and by Degrees, brought the weakest to be ashamed

<sup>29</sup> *Marius* carried his Ingratitude so far, says *Plutarch*, in his Life of this General, that he often boasted, That he was not so much indebted to *Metellus*, as

to Fortune, who had led him into *Africa*, as to a great Stage, where he should in the end be suffered to display all his military Virtues.



Year of ROME DCXLIV. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, & M. JUNIUS SILANUS, Consuls.

of their Weakness, and the strongest to glory in their Strength. He would not exempt from Labour his own Son, whom he had brought to make his first Campaign with him; instead of taking him into his own Tent, and excusing him from Fatigue, he made him serve in his *Legion* as a private Soldier, and loaded him with all the usual Burdens. By this means he put an end to all Murmurs; since no Man could take it ill, that he was not treated with more Respect than the *Consul's* own Son: and he still persisted in not meeting the Enemy, till he found that Discipline was perfectly re-established in his Army. He knew with what Impatience the People of *Rome* waited for the News of a Victory, which might wipe off the Disgrace brought on the Republick by *Aulus Postumius*. But nevertheless, he chose rather to be thought dilatory, than to hazard a Battle with undisciplined Troops. In a Word, he spent the whole Summer in this useful inactivity; and would not suffer his Army to engage, till he had first taught them how to conquer.

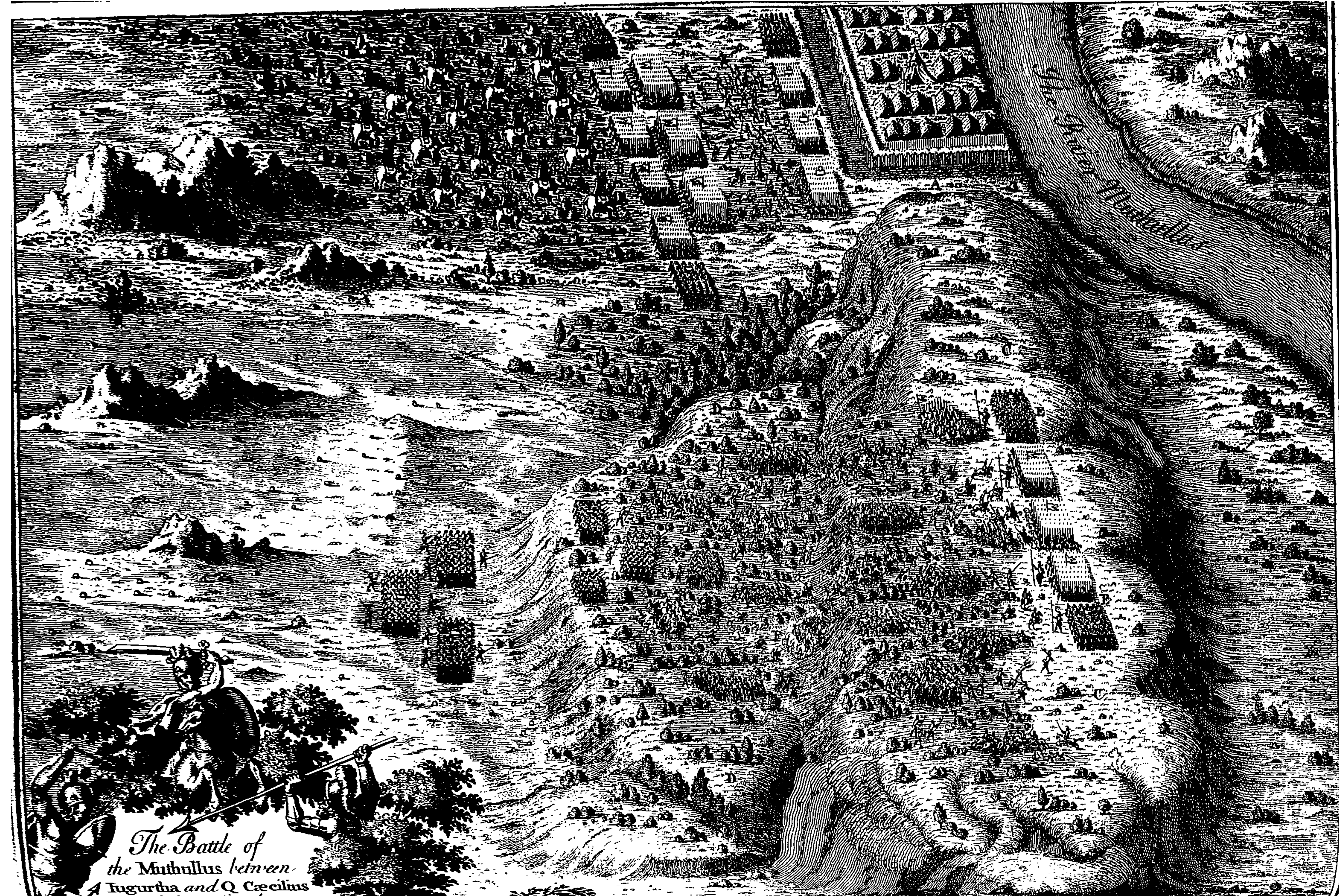
§. XXI. By this Conduct he made *Jugurtha* tremble in his own Kingdom. The *Roman* Generals hitherto sent against him, had either been covetous, or rash. But *Metellus* was neither so wicked and avaritious as *Bestia*, nor so inconsiderate and imprudent as *Postumius*. So that the *Numidian* King could not now depend, either on his Money, or his Stratagems; and he therefore had Thoughts of honestly delivering himself up to the Mercy of the new General, and making a sincere *Dedition*, both of his Person and Dominions. With this View, he sent an Embassy to the *Consul*, with all possible Marks of Submission; and all he asked, was barely Quarter for himself and his Children. But what Reason could *Metellus* have to depend on the Protestations of a *Numidian*? Tho' he should be supposed to act with Sincerity in such a Crisis; yet who could warrant that the Levity natural to his Countrymen would not lead him to fly off again? A known Cheat is not to be believed, even when he speaks Truth.

*Metellus* therefore always suspected *Jugurtha* of double Dealing; opposed Artifice with Artifice; and thereby fought him with his own Weapons. He took every one of the *Numidian* Ambassadors aside, and obtained a separate Promise from each, That he would deliver up the Usurper to him, alive, or dead. But the Project was disconcerted, through the Circumspection and Suspicions of the King; and therefore the *Consul* now resolved to attack him with open Force. The *Roman* Army entered *Numidia*; and soon promised fair, for recovering the Time they had lost. For whether by *Jugurtha's* Orders, or from an Affection in the Natives for the *Roman* Government, all the Cities and Towns towards which they came, sent to meet them, and offer them Provisions and Refreshments. Nevertheless, the *Roman* General was not imposed on by these fine Appearances. He kept constantly upon his Guard against a Surprise, and advanced with great Caution. His Troops always marched in order of Battle, and he sent out his Scouts to a great distance, to discover the Enemy. *Metellus* himself led on the advanced Guard, at the Head of the Archers, Slingers, and light-armed Troops. *Marius*, the Corruption of whose Heart was not yet discovered, commanded the Cavalry of the *Legions* in the Rear, and covered the Foot in the Center, who were under the Command of *Rutilius*. And in the Wings, were placed the auxiliary Squadrons, mixed with some light-armed Infantry, to support the Infantry of the *Legions* in Flank.

The *Roman* General thought this Circumspection necessary. He resolved to run no Hazard against an Enemy, who was acquainted with the Country, and who might only pretend to desire a Peace, in order to take all Opportunities of falling on the *Romans* with Advantage; and in this fine Order, the *Consular* Army appeared before *Vacca*, a trading City, full of *Italian* Merchants. *Metellus* thought it conveniently situated for a Magazine of Provisions; which might from thence be conveyed to him, wherever he should encamp; and he sounded the Inhabitants, to discover whether *Jugurtha* had ordered them to stand a Siege, and whether his pretended *Dedition* was sincere. Upon this summons, the *Vaccæans* received a *Roman* Garrison; and the *Consul* was well pleased to have a resource for the Subsistence of his Troops, whether the *Numidian* prepared for War, or desired Peace. And indeed, he was from this Time wholly bent on deceiving *Metellus*. Tho' he sent repeated Embassies with many Intreaties, and renewed his former Promises; his Heart was now changed, and his former Apprehensions abated.

§. XXII. In the mean time, the *Consul* still kept advancing, in the same order, towards the Heart of *Numidia*; and his great Progress and continual Precautions, made the *Numidian*, at last, throw off the Mask. A foreign Army was now almost got into the





*The Battle of  
the Muthullus between  
Jugurtha and Q. Cæcilius*



the center of his Dominions, and the Surrender of *Vacca* secured it against Want. He therefore resolved to act with open Force against a General, whom he could neither over-reach, nor corrupt.

In that Part of *Numidia*, which had fallen to *Adherbal's* Lot, there was a River whose Course runs from South to North, called <sup>30</sup> *Muthullus*. About 20000 Paces from the River there stood a Mountain, which was directly in the *Consul's* Road; so that his Army must necessarily cross it, in order to come into the dry and uncultivated Plain, which reached to the River's side. About half way down this Mountain, there was an Hill which led to the Plain, and the top of which was of a considerable length and breadth, and covered with wild Olives and Myrtles, and such other Shrubs, as grow without Cultivation in sandy Soils. There *Jugurtha*, after he had got together all the Troops he could, lay in ambush for the *Romans*, waiting to engage them, as they should come down from the Mountain. *Bomilcar*, with the Elephants and Part of the Infantry, was posted on that declivity of the Hill which was nearest to the River; and *Jugurtha*, with his Squadrons drawn up in close Order, and some choice Battalions, placed himself on the top of it. There, before the *Consul* appeared, the King exhorted his Troops to preserve the Reputation they had gained by the Defeat of a *Roman* Army. He told them, That they were now to defend their Wives, and their Children, and all that they had, from the Violences of the *Romans*; That tho' the Enemy's Army was led by another Commander, they were the same cowardly Men which had passed under the Yoke; That the Day was come, which must either confirm to them all their former Victories, or be the Prelude to the greatest Evils; and in short, That they must either conquer, or be Slaves.

But scarce had he concluded, ere *Metellus* reached the top of the Mountain; and thought he saw Men and Horses hid among the Bushes, which were not thick enough to cover them. And being fully satisfied, as he drew nearer, that the Enemy was in Ambush there, he halted; and changed both the Rout and Disposition of his Army. In the first place, he ordered *Rutilius* to advance, make the best of his Way down to the Plain from the top of the Mountain, without crossing the Hill, and go and pitch a Camp on the Banks of the River. This was a wise Precaution, because if his Army had been forced to have encamped in that dry Plain, it must have perished with Thirst, in this burning Climate, and in the hottest Season of the Year. And he altered the Disposition of his Troops in their March, after this manner. Being resolved to leave the Hill to his Right, he made his right Wing three times as strong as usual, because it would be most exposed to the Enemy. In the Center he placed his Infantry with some *Manipuli* of his light-armed Troops intermixed; and ordered his Cavalry to cover his Army in the Flanks. In this fine Order he marched down the steepest Part of the Hill, and advanced slowly towards the Plain. *Marius* commanded in the Center, and himself in the right Wing, which must naturally be the first attacked. The Enemy durst not attack him in his descent; but as soon as the advanced-guards of the Body which he commanded were got below the top of the Hill, *Jugurtha* began to move. After he had ordered 2000 Men to take Possession of the top of the Mountain which the *Romans* had quitted, lest they should retreat to it after the Battle; he sounded the Charge and began the Attack.

The *Numidians* came pouring down from the top of the Hill, and taking the Rear-guard of the *Romans* in the Flank, put them into some Disorder. The bravest of them faced about; but they fought up-hill, were wounded by Darts thrown from some distance, and could not bring the Enemy to stand to a close Engagement. *Jugurtha* had ordered his Horse to fly singly, every Man as widely as he could, whenever a Body of the Enemy began to pursue them. But these Fugitives went and joined other Companies, and with them fell on the *Romans*, in different Quarters. If the Hill lay more convenient for their Retreat than the Plain, their Horses mounted it with surprizing swiftness. If they were pursued by the *Roman* Cavalry, they entered the Coppices, where no Horse but their own could pass. In short, never was a more extraordinary Battle fought. No Corps kept to its Colours, but all fought in little Parties. It was a kind of Fray, wherein every one attacked others or defended himself, as he found occasion, without any Rule or Order. For this Reason, the Day was far advanced, before it could be known which side had the Advantage. Both sides were equally faint, and

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Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & M.  
JUNIUS SILA-  
NUS, Consuls.  
Sallust. in Bell.  
Jugurth.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

30 The Ancients have not told us any thing of the Rise and Course of the *Muthullus*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXLIV.  
Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, & M.  
JUNIUS SILA-  
NUS, Consuls.  
Sallust. de Bell.  
Jugurth.

exhausted with Heat and Fatigue. Nevertheless, *Metellus* was indefatigable. He drew together his disunited Troops, and pressed his weary *Legionaries* to hold out against the *Numidian* Foot with Resolution. He encouraged them not to suffer a flying Enemy to overcome them; and observed to them, That if they gave way, there was no Camp or Fortification to which they could retreat that Night.

At the same time, *Jugurtha*, on the other hand, performed all the Offices of a great Commander. He encouraged his Troops, led them on to the Charge, attacked the most fatigued *Cohorts* with Fury, and with his Darts repulsed those who appeared most active in the Battle. Never did two Generals discover more equal Valour, or more Activity and Perseverance, than in this Battle of the *Muthullus*. The King of *Numidia* had all the Advantage of the Ground. But the *Consul* had better Troops, which he had disciplined himself. The former invented a new Way of fighting, suitable to the Instability of his People. The latter, tho' surprized by an Ambush, took his Measures wisely, and sustained the unforeseen Attacks of the Enemy with Vigour. In short, the *Numidian* lost the Day, only by the Inconstancy of his Soldiers; and the *Roman* could not have gained it, but through the indefatigable Bravery of his *Legions*. In order to procure themselves a safe Retreat in the Night, they resolved to drive the *Numidians* from the Hill, on which they had posted themselves. This was a very difficult undertaking for harassed Troops, towards the close of a very fatiguing Day; but nevertheless, they climbed up the Hill, on the first Orders, and there formed themselves, in order to fight the Enemy on even Ground. And this Step decided the Contest, and compleated the Victory which had been so long disputed. The *Numidians* were not used to close Engagements, and they left the Field of Battle, and dispersed. So that the *Consul*, being now Master of the Mountain, the Hill, and the Plain, had nothing more to do, but to conduct his Troops to the new Camp, which *Rutilius* had Orders to pitch, on the Banks of the *Muthullus*.

Nothing had given the *Roman* General more Uneasiness during the Battle, than his Concern about the Execution of the Orders he had given *Rutilius*. There were two Things that might very probably obstruct it. In the first place, the Zeal of the Lieutenant General himself; who might naturally enough leave off working on the Camp, and hasten to the Relief of the *Consul*, when he saw him attacked on the Mountain; and in the next place, *Bomilcar*, who continued in the Plain with a Part of the *Numidian* Foot, and their Elephants, might attack the Workmen, and prevent their finishing the Trenches. And the latter was no vain Apprehension. As soon as *Bomilcar* knew that a Detachment of the *Consular* Troops was at work, in encamping on the Banks of the River, he moved that way, drew out his Battalions in a long Line, to prevent *Rutilius*'s Return to the Mountain, and in this Order, marched a great Pace towards the Place where the *Romans* were busy in throwing up their Fortifications. The Pioneers saw a cloud of Dust arise, but thought it only the driving of the Sand by the Wind. There were some Coppices between them and the Enemy, which hindered them from seeing *Bomilcar*'s Horses and Elephants. But when they found the Dust advance towards them, and saw it resembled that which is raised by the March of an Army; *Rutilius* immediately put an end to the Work, ordered his Men to Arms, and drew them up before his Entrenchment. As soon as he had done this the Enemy appeared, and the Battle began. The *Numidians* were repulsed in the first Onset, and then waited for the coming up of their Elephants to renew the Attack. But these having taken their Rout through the Coppices, were so surrounded there with Boughs and Bushes, that they could not disentangle themselves; and upon the failure of these Succours, the Courage of the *Numidians* sunk. They all left their Arms on the Field of Battle, and fled for Refuge to the Hill from which *Metellus* had driven the others; and then the Rout was compleat in two different Places, so that the *Consul* gained two Victories in one Day. Four of *Bomilcar*'s Elephants were taken, and the rest, to the Number of Forty, were killed in the Wood.

§. XXIII. And now, the Camp was finished. But *Metellus* still delayed to lead his victorious Troops over the Plain, towards the River; tho' the Night was advanced, and he had no less than 20000 Paces to it. The most impatient therefore marched before, and the Joy of their Success enabled them the better to go through with this Fatigue. They continued their March all Night, and made the Valleys ring with their Shouts. *Rutilius*, who knew not the Cause of it, thought them a Party of the *Numidian* Army escaped from the Rout; and marched in the Dark to meet them, and cut them in pieces. But



But he had the Caution to send out Scouts before him, to know who they were. With- Year of  
out this, it would have been a fatal meeting to the *Romans* on both Sides. As soon as *ROME*  
they knew one another, their Fears were at an End, and their Acclamations doubled. DCXLIV.  
Each Party entertained the other, as they marched, with the Feats done in the Battle, Q. CÆCILI-  
and at the Camp; the most Cowardly were the most earnest in boasting of their Ex- US METEL-  
ploits; and at length the *Consul* himself arrived. He was the last that kept the Field of LUS, & M.  
Battle; and when thus crowned it with Glory, he staid four Days in the Camp of the JUNIUS SI-  
*Mutullus*, there took care to have his Wounded dressed, and distributed the usual Re- LANUS, Con-  
wards of Valour. fuls.

However, these less important Concerns did not prevent his sending to reconnoitre the Enemy. And he received Information, That the *Numidian* was retired to a desert Place, cover'd with Forests, and interspersed with Rocks; and That being deserted by his Army, he was there gathering together from all Parts some Peasants and Shepherds to form a new one. Desertion was no Crime among the *Numidians*. After the first De- feat, they were at liberty to leave their General with Impunity. So that only the King's Horse-Guards stuck by him inviolably, to death.

Nevertheless, his Success in one Battle, was not a sufficient inducement to the *Consul* to fight a second. In a Country so far distant from *Rome*, every little dimi- nution of his Men was of great Consequence to him. Whereas *Jugurtha* could easily re- pair his Losses, in a Country which submitted to his Authority. And therefore the *Ro- man* General now changed his Method. He sent out Parties into the most plentiful Countries, plundered the open Cities, destroyed the Towns and Castles, sacked all Places where he came, and laid the Country waste with Fire and Sword. Upon this, the Natives came in Crowds to surrender themselves up to him, furnished him with Provi- sions, and received *Roman* Garrisons without Opposition. And these Hostilities ruined *Jugurtha's* Affairs more than the Loss of Battles would have done. It was his Interest to have made a Diversion, by carrying the War into the *African Province*. Whereas this Me- thod obliged him to follow *Metellus*, to defend his own Country; which he did with the Address and Ability of a great General. He generally hid the main Body of his Army in several different Valleys; and at the Head of a Squadron of light Horse, fell on the *Ro- mans*, who were dispersed about the Fields in order to lay them waste. He appeared in different Parts with incredible Expedition, cut all the *Romans* he met with in pieces, and then retired to inaccessible Places. But still his Dominions were plundered, and his People began to be tired with the Government of an Usurper, who was so little able to protect them.

Such was the Situation of Affairs in *Numidia* when the News came to *Rome*, of the Victory gained by *Metellus*, near the *Mutullus*. And as this was the grand Object on which the *Romans* were most intent, it made them almost forget what they had suffered from the *Cimbri*, in *Gallia Narbonensis*. Neither were they much affected, either with the Exploits of the *Pro-Prætor*, Q. 3<sup>d</sup> *Servilius Cæpio*, who had just driven the Rob- bers out of *Lusitania*; or with the Victory just gained by the *Pro-Consul* *Minucius*, over *Entrop.*  
the *Thracians*, and *Scordisci*; tho' almost all the Horse of these latter Barbarians had *Sextus.*  
been drowned, in passing over the Ice of the *Hebrus*. They were liberal of their Ap- *Julius Rufus.*  
plauses only to *Metellus*, whom they compared with a *Bestia*, and a *Postumius*; and his *Florus, B. 3.*  
Probity, Disinterestedness, Valour, and Wisdom, were in the Mouth of every *Roman.* *c. 4.*  
The Temples were opened, and *Supplications* made in them, by way of Thanksgiving *Sallust. de Bell.*  
to the Gods, for the Success with which they had blessed his Arms. *Jugurth.*

The Report of this general Approbation, made him act with the greater Caution. The more Glory he had acquired, the more he was afraid of losing it; and he had Reason to be under some Apprehensions, as from the Cunning of *Jugurtha*, so likewise from the Jealousy of *Marius*. This Lieutenant-General was now become a pri- vate Enemy, whose secret Practices began to alarm him; tho' we shall for the present postpone the Relation of them, till they become more notorious.

In the mean time, *Rome* would have enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity, if *Scaurus* had not raised some Disturbances there. Being both *Prince of the Senate*, and *Censor*, and crowned with more Honours than he had deserved, he refused to lay down the *Censor- ship* at a Time when the Laws required it. Whenever one of the *Censors* died in his *Plut. in Quæst.*  
*Rom.*  
*Author. de Vir.*  
*Illustr.*

31 *Valerius Maximus* tells us, B. 6, That *Quintus Servilius Cæpio* was honoured with a *Triumph*, at his Return from *Spain*.



Office, the other was obliged to abdicate. And therefore as *Marcus* <sup>32</sup> *Livius Drusus*, the *Censor*, had just lost his Life, any other but *Scaurus*, would have renounced the Office upon his Death. But he insisted on continuing in it, and pleaded the Services he had done the Publick, during his Administration. And indeed, he had repaired *The* <sup>33</sup> *Æmilian Way*, and built the Bridge <sup>34</sup> *Milvius*. But did this raise him above the Law? A *Tribune of the People*, who was zealous for old Customs thought otherwise; threatened to send him to Prison if he did not desist; and upon these Threatenings he laid down.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXLV.  
SERV. SUL-  
PICIUS GAL-  
BA, & M. AU-  
RELIUS  
SCAURUS,  
Consuls.  
Fast. Capit.

§. XXIV. After this, *Rome* chose *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, and one <sup>35</sup> *Q. Hortensius*, for the new *Consuls*; tho' the latter never entered on the Office to which he was elected. Whether Death surprized him; or he was condemned by the People for Bribery, all Things being then venal at *Rome*; or he was content with the Honour of the Nomina-  
tion only, and would not bear the Burden of the Office; cannot well be known. For nothing is more uncertain than the Interpretation of the initial Letters under the *Capito-  
line Marbles*, which are put to signify the Cause, which prevented his enjoying the Office which had been conferred upon him. But this is sure, That another *Consul* was chosen in his Room, which was one *Scaurus*, of a different Family from that *Æmilius Scaurus* who had been forced to abdicate the *Censorship*, and whose Name was *M. Aurelius Scaurus*. At the same Election, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* was continued General of the *Roman Army* in *Numidia*, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. So that the new *Consuls* could draw Lots only for *Italy*, and *Gallia Narbonensis*; the former of which fell to *Sulpicius Galba*, and the latter to *Aurelius Scaurus*, who went thither to make War with the *Cimbri*, and did so with Success. But we must return to *Jugurtha*.

The more Glory *Metellus* had gained by his Exploits, the more Reason had he to be afraid of losing it, by taking any false Steps. *Marius*, whose Jealousy was raised by the Applauses *Rome* had given his General, narrowly watched him, and took all Opportunities to defame him. They both had now the same Point in view; and pursued it with the Animosity of Rivals. *Metellus* aimed at getting himself continued in the Command of the Troops in *Numidia*, till such Time as he should entirely defeat *Jugurtha*, which was a Distinction but rarely granted to Commanders of the highest Merit. Generally speaking, few had of late continued longer than two Years at the Head of an Army. *Marius* was impatiently desirous of getting the *Consulship*, that he might himself put an End to the *Numidian War*, and obtain a *Triumph* at *Rome* after his Conquest: And his Pretensions were not without some Foundation. If you except those

<sup>33</sup> It is conjectured, That this *Marcus Drusus* was the same Person whom we have before, p. 197, seen honoured with the glorious Title of *Protector of the Senate*; and the same that triumphed over the *Scordisci*.

<sup>34</sup> *The Æmilian Way* here spoken of, was above 130000 Geometrical Paces long, and reached from the City of *Pisa* in *Tuscany* near the Springs of the *Arno*, to *Derthona* in *Liguria*. It crossed the Territories of *Luna*, and *Savona*, on the Coast of *The Sea of Genoa*. After this, it made an Elbow, and came and ended in North *Liguria*. In order to make this great Road passable, *Æmilius Scaurus*, according to *Strabo*, drained the Marshes which were made by the Inundations of the neighbouring Rivers; and confined the Rivers to their Beds, by Dykes raised by skilful Workmen, according to his Directions. It was in this Canton, that *Hannibal* and his Army suffered so much, as we have observed Vol. 3. The Author we have last quoted says, That *Scaurus* took the Precaution to dig a deep Ditch, from *Parma* to *Plaisance*; and the Waters of the *Trebia* and other neighbouring Rivulets, which had long overflowed the Fields, was henceforward conveyed into this Canal, in such Plenty, that it was able to carry a Boat.

But we must not confound *The Æmilian Way* which was made by *Æmilius Scaurus*, with another *Æmilian Way* which the *Consul*, *Æmilius Lepidus*, had made in the Year 566, and reached from *Rimini* to *Boulogne*, where it joined *The Flaminian Way*. From thence, it ran on, according to *Strabo*, a great deal beyond *Plai-*

*sance*, and entered far into *Liguria*. He expressly says, That one of the Branches of this great Road, after it had crossed a great many Cities and Towns, ended at the City of *Aquileia*, at a little distance from the *Alpe*. But it is difficult to reconcile this ancient Geographer with *Livy*. The latter makes the second *Æmilian Way* to reach no farther than between *Plaisance* and *Rimini*. To which we may add, That what *Strabo* says of the Road made by *Æmilius Scaurus* along the Coasts of the *Ligurian Sea*, agrees as well with another Way which *Cicero* calls *Via Aurelia*, in his twelfth *Philippick*, and the making of which *Sigonius* ascribes, without any Proof, to *Aurelius Cotta*, who was *Censor* in the Year 512. The Truth is, That *Bergier*, and the Maps, mention no other *Æmilian Way*, but that which took its Name from *Æmilius Lepidus*, and which joined to the *Flaminian Way*. They, upon *Cicero's* Testimony, confounded the other *Æmilian Way*, with the *Flaminian*.

<sup>34</sup> The Bridge *Milvius*, which the modern *Italians* call *Ponte-Mole*, is still standing, a Mile from *Rome*, without the Walls; it having been first repaired by *Augustus*, and afterwards by Pope *Nicholas V.* It leads directly to the *Flaminian Way*.

<sup>35</sup> This *Servius Sulpicius Galba* was the Son of the famous Orator *Servius Sulpicius Galba*, who was *Consul* in the Year 609.

<sup>36</sup> *Quintus Hortensius* was the Father of the famous *Hortensius*, who was *Cicero's* Rival for Eloquence.



Virtues and Dispositions of Mind and Heart, which form the Character of an honest Man, *Marius* had been endowed by Nature with all the Talents of a great Commander. He was justly to be ranked among the Greatest, for an heroic Valour, a great Love of Discipline, a strange but happy Ascendant over the Soldiers to keep them to their Duty, a Temperance carried to the severest Abstinence, great Intrepidity in sudden Dangers, great Coolness and Presence of Mind in Battle, a prodigious Skill in forming Troops either for marching or fighting, and a most happy readiness at Expedients after ill Success. And the more worthy the Lieutenant General was of the Command, the greater were the *Pro-Consul's* Apprehensions of being supplanted by him, at the end of his Year; and the greater his Care not to give any Advantage to his malicious Rival, by ill-Conduct.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXLV.  
SERV. SULPICIUS GALBA,  
& M. AURELIUS SCAURUS, Consuls.

The *Roman Army* having suffered a little by the sudden Irruptions of *Jugurtha*, the *Pro-Consul* would no longer permit them to 'spread themselves in the Fields, in Platoons. The Convoys were all for the future escorted by strong Guards; and wherever the Cavalry went to forrage, the whole Body went together. The *Romans* no longer ruined the Country by pillaging only, but by burning whole Towns and Farms. During these military Expeditions, *Metellus* and *Marius* were posted in two different Camps, at such a distance, as enabled them to command a great extent of Ground, but at the same time near enough to bring Succours to each other, on the first Signal. And by this new Way of making War, they tired out the *Numidian King*. He at last left his Fastnesses, and appeared in the Plains, tho' with the Hazard of being forced to give Battle. He had had Time enough to teach his new Army a little Discipline; and with it he followed the *Romans* at a distance to their several Camps, and keeping always on the Hills, was very intent both on surprizing the Enemy, and avoiding them. He burnt up the Forrage, and poisoned the Waters, in all Places where the *Legions* were to pass; was every Moment harrassing, sometimes *Metellus*, sometimes *Marius*, in their march; and as soon as he had given either of them a vigorous Onset in the Rear, he immediately regained the Mountains. So that nothing could be more troublesome, than to have a General continually attacking them, who was at the same time resolved never to run the Hazard of a Battle. *Jugurtha* was indeed one of the greatest Generals of his Age, and next to *Marius*, the most able Warriour that *Scipio* had formed.

§. XXV. However, *Metellus*, since he could not draw him to a Battle, was resolved to force him to it. The *Consul* determined to besiege <sup>37</sup> *Zama*, afterwards the Capital of *Juba's* Kingdom, and at present subject to the *Numidian*, and he marched his Troops thither. But notwithstanding all his Caution to keep his Design secret, the King was informed of it by some *Roman* Deserters; and upon this Intelligence, immediately hastened thither, came before the *Pro-Consul*, put a Garrison of Deserters on whom he could depend, into the Place, and promised the Inhabitants that he would himself immediately come to their Relief. After this, upon Advice that the *Pro-Consul* had detached *Marius* for Provisions to *Sicca*, the City which had first surrendered to the *Romans* after the Battle of the *Muthullus*, *Jugurtha* immediately flew thither. He was very desirous of entering the Lists for the first Time, with the Lieutenant General who had formerly been his Friend, and his Fellow-Disciple under *Scipio*, before *Numantia*; and advanced by great Marches towards <sup>38</sup> *Sicca*. The *Roman* was just marching out with his Convoy, when he arrived; and after he had given the *Sicæans* notice to fall on the Rear of the *Roman* Detachment, *Jugurtha* at the same Time attacked it in Front. But *Marius* made the King sensible of what he was able to do, when he commanded in chief. He repulsed the *Numidians*, and struck such Terror into the Inhabitants of *Sicca*, that notwithstanding their natural Levity, they durst not change Sides: And from that

<sup>37</sup> See Vol. 4, where we have mentioned two Cities of *Zama*, one five Days Journey from *Carthage* in *Africa Propria*; and the other in *Numidia*, near the Banks of the *Rubricat*. *Ptolomy* reckons this last City to have been eight Degrees, that is 160 great Leagues, [from *Old Carthage*; which make at least fifteen Days Journey.

<sup>38</sup> *Sicca* was an inland City of *Numidia*, at a little distance from the River *Tusca*, and three Days Journey from *Carthage*. *Ptolomy* and *Antoninus* give it the Surname of *Veneræ*, which it took from a famous Temple which the Inhabitants had dedicated to *Venus*. *Va-*

*lerius Maximus* tells us, L. 2. c. 6, That poor Girls who had no Money, used to prostitute themselves for Hire in this Temple, to every one that came, and thereby raised themselves a Fortune to marry themselves. *Selden*, in his Book *De Diis Syriis*, and *Gerard Vossius*, L. 2. Of Idolatry, trace the Terms *Sicca Veneræ* in the *Affyrian* Words, *Succoth*, or *Succoth-Benoth*, that is, *The Habitation*, or *The Sanctuary of Venus*. They found their Conjecture on the Affinity between the *Affyrian* Language and the *Phœnician*, which was spoken in part of *Africa*. There are no Footsteps left of this City.



Year of Time the *Numidian* learnt to dread the Conqueror, who was one Day to compleat his *ROME* Ruin.

DCXLV.

SERV. SULPICIUS GALBA, & M. AURELIUS SCAURUS, Consuls.

As soon as the Provisions were arrived before *Zama*, *Metellus* invested it. It was a Place of no great Strength, but well provided with Arms and Ammunition, and as the Garrison consisted of Deserters, it was thought invincible; not so much on account of their true Valour, as their Fear of falling into the Hands of the *Romans*. Nevertheless, the *Pro-Consul* made his Approaches with great Shouts as usual; the *Legions* played their Rams, and advanced with their Scaling-Ladders; and showers of Stones and Darts were thrown by the Slingers; and the *Ballistæ*. The besieged, on the other hand repulsed the Aggressors, and threw such showers of Stones, and Darts, and burning Firebrands from their Walls, that the most distant *Manipuli* were wounded, and the most cowardly suffered as much as the most brave. During the Heat of the Battle, *Jugurtha* appeared on a sudden, and besieged the *Roman* Camp, which was almost totally deserted. The Guard had marched out of it to see the Attacks made on the City; and when they would have returned, *Jugurtha*, who was already Master of one of the Gates, repulsed them. Then, some of the few Soldiers that were left to guard the Tents, ran to their Arms, others took to flight; and a small Body of 40 Men only, posted themselves on an Eminence within the Camp, and defended it with a Valour more than human. Tho' surrounded by their Enemies, they bravely returned them the Darts which had been thrown at them, and returned none without doing execution.

*Metellus*, who was wholly intent on the Attack, as soon as informed by those who fled from his Camp, that *Jugurtha* had forced his Way into it, instantly detached *Marius* with all his Cavalry, to drive out the Enemy. The *Pro-Consul* intreated him, with Tears in his Eyes, not to leave the *Numidian* room to boast, that he had gained more by his Surprise, than they by their Attack on *Zama*; and *Marius* had regard to his own Glory. He flew with Joy to a second Engagement with the *Numidian* King; and he made him sensible, that it was not for his Interest to stand a Battle, even behind Ramparts. He was forced to sacrifice some of his Soldiers to his escape, and then flee out of one of the Gates and hide himself in his Rocks. Whilst on the other hand, *Metellus*, after a vain Attempt upon the Town, retired to pass the Night in his Camp.

The next Day, after he had posted his Cavalry with some *Manipuli* on the Road *Jugurtha* had taken the Day before, and ordered the *Tribunes* whom he left there with a Detachment of Infantry, not to stir from the Gates of the Camp; the *Pro-Consul* led on his *Legions* to a second Attack. But scarce were he and *Marius* got to the Walls, when *Jugurtha* appeared again near the *Roman* Camp, as if he had started out of the Earth. There he fought what might properly enough be called, an Engagement of Horse; but by interspersing some light Infantry among his Squadrons, he made it a new kind of Battle. The *Romans* were surprized at this unusual way of Fighting, and soon put into Disorder. Tho' in many Places Horse engaged with Horse, yet in the intervals, there were Cavalry against Infantry, each fighting their own Way: And the *Numidian* Squadrons when thus intermixed with Foot, could not retire, and return again to the Charge, as usual, but kept continually advancing forwards, and gaining Ground. In short, they would have had all the Advantages of the Battle, if the *Roman Tribunes* had not brought up their *Manipuli* to the Relief of their disordered Cavalry.

Whilst the King was thus engaged in the Plain, *Metellus* made a general Assault upon the City: And never was a warmer Battle fought, between Besiegers and Besieged. The latter continued it without interruption; till their Attention became engaged with the Sight they saw from the tops of their Ramparts. But when they discovered the Motions of the *Roman* Cavalry against that of *Jugurtha*, they hesitated; and you might have read in their Eyes and Faces, the Successes and Disadvantages of the two Parties. *Marius* therefore, in order to take Advantage of this Circumstance, restrained, for some Minutes, the Ardour of the Troops he commanded, thereby to make the besieged still less active; and when he thought them most intent on the Battle in the Plain, immediately applied his Ladders, and his *Romans* mounted the Walls with incredible Activity. But when they were got to the top of them, the Garrison sacrificed their Curiosity to their Defence, threw down the Ladders, tumbled the *Romans* from the top to the bottom, and most of them were killed by the Fall. This was all the Success of an Enterprize, which the Valour of the *Numidians* rendered abortive. Night came on, and the *Pro-Consul* returned to his Camp; and as the Season was far advanced, and the Garrison made a resolute Defence, the *Romans* raised the Siege. After *Metellus* had left



Garrisons in the Cities which he had conquered in the Country, he returned to *The* Year of  
*African Province*, and there put his Troops into winter Quarters. *ROME*

§. XXVI. But the *Consul* did not there idly waste away his Leisure in Indolence. As *DCXLV.*  
he depended on obtaining at *Rome* the Continuance of his Command, till all *Numidia* *SERV. SULPI-*  
should be reduced; he employed himself in Preparations for the next Campaign. He *CIUS GALBA,*  
thought *Bomilcar* one of those Men whose Fidelity is not proof against Temptation. *& M. AURE-*  
*LIUS SCAU-*  
*RUS, Consuls.*  
*Tho'* much attached to *Jugurtha*, he was a *Numidian*, and consequently inconstant,  
and capable of Treachery. Besides, as he was already convicted of having assassinated  
Prince *Maffiea*, he could not possibly escape the Vengeance of the *Romans*, in case they  
should get the better, but by some important Piece of Service. The *Pro-Consul* there-  
fore, in private Conversation with him, promised him Impunity, and assured him of  
the Protection of the Republick, in case he would either dispatch *Jugurtha*, or deliver  
him up alive into his Hands: And Interest and Fear had their effect on the Heart of  
*Bomilcar*. He did not indeed make use of Poison or the Sword to destroy his King;  
he had already imbrued his Hands too much in the Blood of his Masters: But, he  
treacherously persuaded *Jugurtha*, That it was absolutely necessary for him, to surren-  
der himself up to the *Romans*, without reserve. *Your Dominions*, said he, *are become a*  
*Prey to Foreigners. Tho' you are so great a General, none of your Battles have turned to*  
*our Advantage. The Numidians are quite discouraged with this long War. Your Arti-*  
*fices are exhausted; and Rome has now found Generals and Officers which are not to be*  
*moved by your Bounties. Prevent therefore the fatal Designs, which your own Subjects*  
*themselves may have on your Life, or Liberty. Have recourse to the Roman Clemency,*  
*and depend on the Sincerity of their Offers. Metellus has even more Honour than Bra-*  
*very.*

This Discourse had its Effect on *Jugurtha*; and he immediately dispatched an Em-  
bassy to the *Pro-Consul*, with Assurances, that he would entirely comply with the first  
Proposal of the Republick. Upon this, *Metellus* assembled, from all the Places where  
his Army quartered, all those of his Officers and *Legionaries* who were of *Senatorial*  
Families; and with them and others whom he esteemed as Men of Prudence, he held  
a great Council of War. In this Council it was agreed, That the King of *Numidia*  
should, by way of Preliminary, send the *Romans* 200000 pound Weight of Silver, with  
all his Elephants, and a certain Number of Arms and Horses; and should deliver up to  
them all the *Roman* Deserters who had gone over to the Enemy. And accordingly, all  
those Deserters who could not flee for Refuge to King *Bocchus* in *Mauritania*, were  
brought to the *Roman* General; and were all, to the Number of about 3000, most  
*Thracians* or *Ligures* by Birth, very severely punished. The greatest Part had their  
Hands cut off; others were set in the Ground up to their Waists, and shot to Death by  
the *Roman* Archers; and the rest were burnt alive.

*Oros. B. 5.*  
*c. 3.*

Thus *Jugurtha* stripped himself of his Money, his Elephants, his Horses, and his  
Deserters, in whom consisted all the Strength of his Army; and nothing remained but  
to surrender up himself. Accordingly, the *Pro-Consul* had already sent for him to <sup>39</sup>  
*Tifidium* or *Thyodrum*, there to receive his last Orders: And then, he started at this  
last Step. The Remembrance of his enormous Crimes stung him with fresh Re-  
morse; and he dreaded the severe Punishments which his Imagination represented to him  
in a very strong Light, as his just Deserts. This made him sensible, that it was better  
to perish at the Head of an Army, than to fall at once from Empire to S'avery; and he  
cried out, *A Scepter is not so heavy as Chains. To Arms! to Arms! Let us renew the*  
*War!* And from this Time his Inconstancy was fixed. He never after shewed the least  
Inclination to Peace.

*Sallust. de*  
*Bello Jugurth.*

§. XXVII. He was now wholly intent on raising a new Army; and in *Numidia*, it  
was as easy to raise fresh Troops, as it was difficult to keep them long in the Service.  
The King likewise took all other proper Steps to strengthen and increase his Party; by  
soliciting the Cities which had surrendered to the *Romans*; by fortifying the Places  
which continued faithful to him; by providing great Quantities of Arms and Provisions;  
and by drawing off many of their Allies from the Enemy.

*Vacca* was an important Post, of which *Metellus* had taken Possession, in the begin-  
ning of the War; and *Jugurtha* made such strong Application to the Magistrates by his  
Emissaries, that he brought them over to his Interest. The *Vaccæi* had received a Ro-

<sup>39</sup> We know nothing more of *Tifidium*, than that it was a City of *Numidia*.



Year of *man* Garrison with a Governour named *Titus Turpilius*<sup>40</sup> *Silanus*; and they now entered into a Plot to massacre them. For this Purpose, the Traitors pitched on a Festival, when there were to be great Rejoycings all over the City, and invited the *Romans* to a great Entertainment. The latter, having no Suspensions, came without Arms; and when they had eaten and drunk plentifully, the Populace cut them in pieces. Such as got into the Streets were killed with Stones from the tops of the Houses; and *Turpilius* was the only Man who escaped the Fury of the Multitude. He was a Citizen of *Collatia*, a Man of known Equity and Moderation, and also an intimate Friend of *Metellus*; and they gave him his Life.

S. RV. SULPICIUS GALBA, & M. AURELIUS SCAURUS, Consuls.

Plot in *Mario*.  
Sallust. de Bell.  
*Jugurth.*

Sall. de Bell.  
Plot. in *Mario*.

This Revolution in *Vacca*, gave the *Pro-Consul* great Uneasiness; and after some hours Retirement and Reflection, he resolv'd to march thither in Person, and instantly avenge the Blood of his *Romans*. To this end, he ordered the *Legion* which was in Quarters near him to Arms; and joined with them a great Body of those *Numidian* who had submitted to his Authority. These made the advanced Guard; and the *Legion* followed with extreme Diligence. The Hope of Plunder animated the former in their March, and the Desire of Revenge the latter. The *Vaccæi* had shut their Gates for fear of a Surprise; but when they saw from their Ramparts a Body of *Numidian* Cavalry advancing towards their City without committing any Devastations, they immediately concluded that *Jugurtha* must be at the Head of them. Upon this Presumption, they marched out to meet them; and their Mistake proved fatal to them. The Cavalry of the advanced Guard immediately fell on the Multitude that came out of the City; the *Legionary* Infantry having Time to come up, seized the Gates and Towers of *Vacca*; and it was immediately sacked, and given up to be plundered. Thus *Metellus* recovered Possession of this Key of *Numidia*, after the *Vaccæi* had had but two Days, to enjoy the Pleasure of having recovered their Liberty. And then, he was obliged, by the Clamours of his Army, and contrary to his own Inclinations, to prosecute his Friend *Turpilius*. *Marius* was his most inveterate Enemy; and as he was one of his Judges in the Council of War, he greatly exaggerated the Reasons offered for suspecting the Governour of *Vacca* of having sold his Garrison to the Magistrates. He much insisted on the Distinction shewn him, in having his Life only spared; and at last, got him convicted of neglect of Duty in his Government. In short, the severe *Marius* succeeded; and *Turpilius* was first beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. If he had been a *Roman Citizen*, he could only have been banished, according to the *Porcian Law*. Soon after, his Innocence clearly appeared; and the other Judges of the Court-Martial made their Apologies to the *Pro-Consul* for that Judgment. But *Marius* triumphed at it; and boasted, that he had forced *Metellus* to condemn his Friend, for which Vengeance would soon overtake him.

§. XXVIII. And indeed, his own personal Disputes with *Metellus* broke out in a scandalous manner about this Time. He had long harboured a secret Animosity against him in his own Breast; and when News was brought to the Army, that the Senate were inclined to continue *Metellus* there, till the *Jugurthan* War was ended, it broke out. *Marius* could no longer conceal his violent Desire of being chosen *Consul* at the next Election, and consequently taking the Place of his General; and his Ambition was therefore the more blameable, because he could not gratify it, without trampling his Benefactor under his Feet, and making use of many base Artifices to supplant him.

Sall. de Bell.  
*Jugurth.*

<sup>40</sup> *Titus Turpilius*, according to *Plutarch*, had the Inspection of the Workmen employed in building Machines of War, and other manual Labours in the Army of *Metellus*.

<sup>41</sup> See Vol. I. p. . Note . concerning the Situation of *Collatia*, an ancient City of *Latium*, or *Sabinia*; for the Geographers are not agreed in this Particular.



that with half his Troops, he would have made himself Master of *Jugurtha* and his Dominions, before this Time.

These seditious Discourses the ambitious *Marius* spread among the common Soldiers; and, according to the Custom of Men of a mean Birth, made himself very familiar with them, and gave them freer access to him than the *Consul* did. He would often relax Discipline a little, to favour them; and at length, made use of them as his Instruments to pave the Way for his getting the *Consulate*. He was continually advising them to write to their Families at *Rome*, and inform them, That *Metellus* was a weak General, and That no Man could reduce *Jugurtha* but *Marius*. These Letters were communicated from House to House, and prejudiced the People against *Metellus*, at the same time that they raised the Reputation of his Lieutenant General. Whilst *Marius* did not overlook even the *Roman* Merchants at *Utica*, who were very numerous, and whose Suffrages he openly solicited.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXLV.

SERV. SULPICIUS GALEA,  
& M. AURELIUS SCAURUS, Consuls.

But the most successful Advocate he found in *Africa*, was a *Numidian* Prince, who followed the Standards and Fortune of the *Romans*. This was <sup>42</sup> *Gauda*, whom we have already mentioned, the Son of *Manastabal*, and the Brother of *Jugurtha*, but of a different Mother. The Understanding of this Prince had been weakened by Sickness; and the *Pro-Consul* had not treated him with that Honour and Respect, which he expected. *Gauda* had desired two Marks of Distinction, first, That in the publick Assemblies, his Seat should be placed in the first Rank, at the General's Right-hand; and 2dly, That a Troop of *Roman* Horse should be assigned him for his Guard: And *Metellus* had refused him both. The first, Because that was a Mark of Distinction, which the *Romans* shewed only to those whom they acknowledged to be Kings; and the second, because he thought it an Affront to the *Roman* Knights, to make them *Numidian* Guards. *Marius* therefore applied himself to the young Prince, in the heat of his Resentment; and found no difficulty in turning so weak a Mind to his own Purposes. He exaggerated to him, the Indignity of *Metellus's* not distinguishing the Son of a King, and the Grandson of *Massinissa*, from the Crowd in a Camp; and endeavoured to exasperate him against the proud *Pro-Consul*, whom he represented as delighting to see the Sons of Kings groveling at his Feet. He likewise assured him, That if he was General, he would treat him with all the Respect due to his Character, would immediately rid him of *Jugurtha*, and place him on the Throne of his Ancestors, as the next Heir to the Crown. By these Discourses *Marius* easily attached *Gauda* to him; and the *Numidian* wrote to the Republick in Terms of great Bitterness against the *Pro-Consul*, and as greatly to the Advantage of his Lieutenant General. And it may be doubted, whether these Sollicitations did not do *Marius* more Service, than his own Presence at *Rome*. But the crafty Politician would not trust to them alone. He knew how well disposed the *Roman* People were, to revive two Laws, which the Ambition of the Great had of late made of no use. The first was, That one of the Consuls should be a Patrician, and the other a Plebeian; whereas the Nobility had of late constantly chosen two Patricians, and left the Plebeians only the inferior Offices: And the other was, That whenever a Patrician should be guilty of Male-Administration in his Office, a Plebeian should be chosen in his room. He hoped that if he went to *Rome* himself, his Revival of these Laws, together with the Reproaches he had cast on *Metellus*, and his own personal Sollicitations, would make the Way easy for his Promotion; and upon these Presumptions, he publicly desired leave of the *Pro-Consul* to return to make his Interest.

Sallust. de Bell. Jugurth.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Plut. in Mario.

Sallust.

§. XXIX. *Metellus*, tho' a very honest Man, had a Fault not uncommon among those, whose Birth and Station have raised them above the Level of Mankind. He was proud, and contemptuous in his Carriage, especially to *Marius*, whom he looked on as a Soldier of Fortune; and when the latter first mentioned his Design of offering himself as a Candidate for the *Consulate*, the former, with the Air and Freedom of a Friend, said, Think no more of it, *Marius*. Don't throw away your Labour in such chimerical Projects. It is not every brave Man that can obtain the Consulship. The Candidates for it, must have Birth to qualify, as well as Merit to recommend, them. To this insulting Freedom, *Marius* only answered, That the Business was in such Forwardness, that he would run the hazard of a Voyage for it; and then *Metellus* replied, Be not so much in haste to receive the Mortification of a Denial; but give the Affection of the *Romans* time to ripen. It

<sup>42</sup> We have above observed, That *Gauda* had been declared, by his Uncle's Will, lawful Successor to the Crown of *Numidia*, in case *Hiempsal*, *Adherbal*, and *Jugurtha*, should die without Issue.



Year of *will be soon enough for you to stand for the Consulate, when this Son of mine shall be old*  
 R O M E *enough to stand with you.* Young Metellus was then scarce twenty Years of Age, where-  
 DCXLV. *as it was necessary a Man should be at least forty, before he could be Consul: And in*  
 SERV. SULPI- *short, the Pro-Consul told his Lieutenant General in terms, that he would not let him go,*  
 CIUS GALBA, *as long as he should have any occasion for his Service, in a Country, where the War was*  
 & M. AURE- *going to be renewed.*  
 LIUS SCAU-  
 RUS, Consul.

At the same time, Metellus, being ardently desirous of finishing the Numidian Affair, before his two Years expired; as the most effectual way of recovering his Reputation, which Marius had blemished, made fresh Applications to Bomilcar to perform his Promise of delivering up Jugurtha to him, dead or alive. But Bomilcar had been suspected by his King, ever since he had advised him, to deliver up himself, his Children, and his Dominions, to the Mercy of the Romans; and this made it necessary for him to make use of other Instruments, to draw Jugurtha into a second Snare.

Bomilcar therefore cast his Eyes on Nabdalsa, a great Numidian Lord; and communicated to him his Design, of sacrificing the King to the Welfare of his Country. He was one of the most considerable Officers in the Numidian Army; and one of the greatest Favourites the King had. When Jugurtha had been obliged to be absent from his Troops, he had often left him Commander in chief; and he now commanded a separate Body of Troops which were in Winter-Quarters, not far from those of the Roman Army. Bomilcar represented to him, That it was not worth their while to lose their Estates and Liberty for an Usurper; and Nabdalsa who was rich and powerful in his own Country, made no difficulty of entering into a Plot, which would secure his great Estate, and his own Life, and those of his Children. He promised to assist in surprizing Jugurtha, and carrying him to the Pro-Consul; and they fixed the Time for the Execution of the Design. The Ambuscade was prepared on the Day, and Bomilcar came to the Place, appointed; and if Nabdalsa had performed his Part, an end had been put at once to the Numidian War, and the Pro-Consul would have returned to Rome, with great Glory, and with Jugurtha in Chains. But the Irresolution and Remorse of Nabdalsa rendered the Design abortive.

Bomilcar, therefore, was very uneasy and impatient at the Delays and Irresolution of one, whom he thought a Man of his Word; and for fear he should enter into other Measures, wrote him this Letter. *How can you be so slothful as to retard the Deliverance of your Country, by your Delays? Have you forgot your Oaths? Or, have you thrown off all fear of the Vengeance of the Gods? If nothing else, surely if you consider the Misfortunes that will inevitably fall on your self and all Numidia, it must make you tremble. Besides, Jugurtha, at all Adventures, must be near his End. He must perish, either by our Hands, or by those of the Romans. Is it not then our wisest way to make a Merit of saving the People of Numidia, by securing the Favour of the powerful Republick?*

This Letter was delivered safe into Nabdalsa's Hands, who received it laying on a Couch, where he was refreshing himself after a violent Exercise: and when he had read it, he laid it on his Pillow. After some little Reflection, Sleep overtook him; and whilst he was sleeping, his Secretary came into the Room, and finding a Letter open read it, in order to answer it. But he was shocked at the Discovery of a Plot; and before his Master awoke, he set out for Jugurtha's Court, to acquaint the King with it. After a short sleep Nabdalsa was surprized at the Theft; and found, upon enquiry, that his Secretary only had been in his Room, and as soon as he came out of it had disappeared. Messengers were sent in pursuit of him; but he had got the start, and the Letter was already in the King's Hands. Nevertheless, as Nabdalsa had never before been guilty of any open Act of Sedition, he did not despair of being able to justify himself: And he went to Court, and informed the King, that he was ready to have discovered Bomilcar, if his treacherous Servant had not prevented him. The King, for fear of raising a Sedition, appeared to be satisfied with this Excuse; but he condemned Bomilcar, and most of his Accomplices, to die.

§. XXX. The Loss of Bomilcar frustrated the Hopes of Metellus; and there was now no probability that he should be able to surprize Jugurtha. The King was grown more suspicious, and consequently more upon his Guard, than ever; and prepared for War. The Pro-Consul therefore resolved to take the Field: and beginning to be tired with Marius's Importunities for leave to be gone and his continual Murmurs; and believing that a Malecontent General-Officer would prove more dangerous than useful to him, he consented. But he took care not to do this, till twelve Days before the Comitia for electing the new Consuls.



Ambition gave *Marius* Wings. He came to *Utica* in two Days and a Night, Year of after he left the Camp; embarked immediately; and in six Days from his first ROME setting out, reached *Rome*. There he made the best use of the little Time he had left DCXLV. to canvass. He found the *Citizens* pre-disposed to serve him, by the Letters he had got written from *Africa* in his own Favour, and in derogation of *Metellus*; and omitted nothing to confirm by his own Mouth, the Relations which he had sent from abroad. He calumniated the *Pro-Consul*, accused him of Timorousness, and assured the People, that with an Army equal to that of *Metellus*, he would in a few Months, either entirely reduce *Jugurtha* by Force, or at least compel him voluntarily to submit. The *Tribunes of the People* joined the ambitious *Plebeian*; and nothing was heard in the *Comitium*, but the Praises of *Marius*, and Invectives against *Metellus*. The People were so displeased with the Nobility in general, that they were wholly bent on promoting none but *New Men* to the *Consulate*; and all the Mob of *Rome* crowded about *Marius's* House, and the Tradesmen left their Shops and Work to attend him. In short, he was nominated for one of the new *Consuls*; and *L. Cassius* <sup>44</sup> *Longinus* was chosen with him. But still, this was only half the Work which had brought him to *Rome*. His next business was, to get himself nominated to succeed *Metellus*, which indeed he conducted in a very Masterly manner; and whilst he is thus employed, we must return a little to the domestick Affairs of *Rome*.

SERV. SULPICIUS GALBA, & M. AURELIUS SCAURUS, Consuls. Plutarch. Sallust. Cic. de Offic. L. 3.

That *Q. Fabius*, who had merited the Name of <sup>45</sup> *Allobrogicus*, by his Victory over the *Allobroges*, was now *Censor*, with *Caius Licinius* surnamed *Geta*; and the Senate had given them a Commission, which generally belonged to the *Ædiles*, to distribute and sell the Water of the Aqueducts, to the Housekeepers. *Fabius* likewise erected a triumphal Arch in *The Sacred* <sup>46</sup> *Way*, during his *Censorship*, and gave it his own Name; most probably in Memory of his own *Triumph*, since he placed his Statue in it. In the List of Senators which the *Censors* settled, they continued *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* at the Head of it, notwithstanding his Iniquities; and they closed their Office with a *Census*, and a *Lustrum*, which was reckoned to be the 63d. As to the Prodigies with which some Authors fill this Year, we shall omit them; and shall only observe further concerning it, That if it may be called fortunate, on account of the Success of *Metellus* in *Africa*, it may as well deserve a contrary Appellation, from the Defeat of *Aurelius*, whom the *Cimbri* had overcome in *Gallia Narbonensis*. At the same time that Heaven was pleased to exalt *Rome* in the South, it humbled her in the West.

Front de Aqueduct.

Pædianus in Verrin. 2.

Fast. Capit.

§. XXXI. At length, the new *Consuls* entered upon their Office; and then it appeared with what Artifice *Marius* had procured *Numidia* for his Province. He seemed to have had nothing in view, but the ill-natured Pleasure of supplanting his Benefactor. It was usual for the Senate to settle the Provinces between the two Collegues; and the *Conscript Fathers* had already by Decree appointed *Metellus* to be *Pro-Consul* in *Numidia* for the third Year. But *Marius* despising the Decree of the Senate, applied to the People by their *Tribune Manilius Mancinus*; and at his Request, they determined by a plurality of Suffrages, that *Marius* alone should continue the War with *Jugurtha*. This was indeed a notorious Act of Injustice; but *Rome* was not now so much governed by Principles of Equity and Honour, as by Factions and Intrigues. The new *Consul Cassius Longinus* then, could have no other Province but *Gallia Narbonensis*; in which he might have shone to great advantage, if he had been at all successful in Battle. A Commission to subdue the *Cimbri*, to deliver *Transalpine Gaul* from its Fears, and to drive off an Army of Vagabonds from the Frontiers of *Italy*, afforded Matter enough to have immortalized a General, whose Courage had been tempered by Prudence. But *Cassius*, who

Year of ROME DCXLVI.

C. MARIUS, & L. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Consuls.

44 We think the *Consul Lucius Cassius* was Nephew to the famous *Cassius*, who had made himself formidable by the Severity of his Decrees.

45 It is certain, from the Authority of the Ancients, That *Quintus Fabius* surnamed *Allobrogicus*, and *Caius Licinius Geta*, were promoted to the *Censorship*. And it were to be wished, that the same Writers had precisely told us the Year of their Election. But we are left to supply their Silence with Conjectures; and we place their *Censorship* in the Year 645. *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* had abdicated the last Year, after the Death of his Collegue *Marcus Livius Drusus*. They must therefore have been succeeded by two others, and these we have made to be *Fabius* and *Licinius*.

This is the only Time the *Fasti Consulares* leave us to put them both in their Office together.

46 *The Sacred Way*, began at the Quarter of the *Carinæ*, and led to the *Capitol*. It was so called, according to *Varro* and *Festus*, either because *Romulus* King of the *Romans*, and *Tatius* the King of the *Sabines*, there ratified upon the Altars the Treaty of Union between the two Nations; or because the Priests went this Way to the Place appointed for the Sacrificing a white Sheep to *Jupiter*, on *The first of the Ides* of every Month; or lastly, because the *Augurs* went this Way, when they walked in form, to the Place appointed for observing the *Auspices*.



Year of did not want Valour, was rather rash than circumspect, and he fell into an Ambuscade  
ROME and there perished.

DCXLVI.

C. MARIUS,  
& L. CASSI-  
US LONGI-  
NUS, Consuls.

As soon as he had accepted of his Commission, he passed the *Alpes*, and in the east-  
ern Parts of *Gaul* took Possession of the Army, which *Aurelius* had left much discour-  
aged after its Defeat. His first Attempt was in favour of the *Allobroges*, who began to  
be infested with a swarm of new Robbers, from the *Helvetic* Countries. These were  
originally <sup>47</sup> *Tigurini*, and the Love of Plunder had induced them to join the *Cimbri*, in  
order to increase their Army in *Narbonne-Gaul*. *Cassius* therefore passed the *Rhone*, and  
hastened to meet them. His Design was to divert this new Inundation, which was  
going to overflow the *Roman Provinces* on this side the *Alpes*; and the Scheme was not  
a bad one, if it had been happily put in Execution. His two Lieutenant Generals were  
*L. Calpurnius Piso*, a Man of Resolution, Prudence, and Courage, who had been *Con-*  
*sul* a few Years before; and one *C. Popillius*, an Officer of no Valour, and very little  
Merit of any other kind.

Tacit. Lib. de  
Germanorum  
Moribus.

The *Roman Legions* came up with the *Tigurini*, in the Country of the *Allobroges*,  
and disputed their Passage. The Enemy retired gradually, and insensibly led on the  
*Romans* to the Sea-side, where they had prepared an Ambush for them. *Cassius*  
rashly fell into it; and *Piso* endeavouring to rescue the *Pro-Consul*, perished with  
him in the Fray. Then the *Roman Army*, being deprived of its General, and of the  
only Person in whom they could confide after him, was left wholly to the Conduct of  
the cowardly *Popillius*; and his Heart and Head both failed him at once. He thought  
the Danger great, and upon the Clamours of his *Legionaries*, offered to capitulate, on  
the most shameful Terms. To save his own Life, and those of his Soldiers, he surren-  
dered up half his Baggage, and gave Hostages to the Barbarians; and in a Word, under-  
went the Shame of *passing under the Yoke*, with all his Troops. A strange fainthearted-  
ness, very unworthy of the Constancy of *Romans*! And *Rome* resolved to punish it with  
great Severity.

C. Caesar. L.  
1. de Bello  
Gallico.

As soon as *Popillius* returned thither, where his Name was become odious, he was  
accused before the People. *Caius Caelius Calvus*, the *Tribune* who accused him, was his  
personal Enemy; and his Hatred led him to take one very uncommon Step in order to his  
Trial, which was to extend the *Cassian Law*. By this Law it had been enacted, That  
the People should vote by *Tablets* in all criminal Cases, except such as related to the  
State. In these latter, they were still confined to vote *viva voce*; and this Method of pro-  
ceeding was much more favourable to the accused than the other. For in this Way, no  
*Citizen* could conceal his Vote, and the Fear of being thought too severe, hindered many  
Voters from carrying Things to great Extremities. *Caelius* therefore being resolved to de-  
stroy *Popillius*, first took care that the <sup>48</sup> *Cassian Law* should be extended, and the Peo-  
ple allowed to vote by *Tablets* in State-Crimes likewise. This sufficiently shewed *Pe-*  
*pillius*, that the *Tribune* was bent on ruining him, by a Decree of the People; and he  
therefore did Justice on himself, and to save his Honour, went into a voluntary Banish-  
ment. But the *Tribune* ever after very severely repented of having extended the Use of  
*Tablets* to Capital Cases, and Trials of high Crimes and Misdemeanors. Their being in-  
troduced at all in voting, was a great Wound to the Republick; and the Liberty now  
given by the *Cælian* <sup>49</sup> *Law*, of voting that way in State-Crimes, introduced, and in a  
manner authorized, many notorious Acts of Injustice.

Rhet. ad He-  
ren. L. 1.  
Orat. L. 5.

Cic. L. 3. de  
Legib.

## §. XXXII.

<sup>47</sup> The Country of the *Tigurini*, which the An-  
cients call *Pagus Tigurinus*, formerly contained, the  
Cantons of *Zurich*, *Schaffhausen*, *Appenzel*, *Rhental*,  
&c.

<sup>48</sup> We have observed above, p. 60, what *Cicero's*  
Opinion was of the Invention of Ballotting. He  
thought that the Laws which settled it, had produced  
many Disorders in the Republick; and says, in the  
Person of his Brother *Quintus*, one of the Speakers  
in his *Third Book of Laws*, c. 16. Edit. *Verburg*,  
*Our Grandfather, a Man of uncommon Merit, op-*  
*posed Gratidius, when he, our Great Uncle by the Mo-*  
*ther's side, contended for abolishing the Custom of Vo-*  
*ting viva voce, and endeavoured to introduce the new*  
*Law concerning Ballotting, in this Municipium.*

*Gratidius raised those Confusions in this little Town,*  
*which his Son Marius afterwards raised in a much lar-*  
*ger Province. The Consul Marcus Scaurus, when*  
*informed of the Disputes that divided the Arpinates,*  
*expressed great Esteem for our Grandfather. Would*  
*to the Gods, cried he, a Man of your Fortitude and*  
*Virtue had been settled with us in the Great Republick,*  
*instead of confining your self to the little Common-*  
*wealth in your own Country! Add to this, that*  
*The Cælian Law is represented by the Tablet, or*  
*Ticket, on the Face of the Medal No. 9, Plate 4,*  
*Page 60, on which Ticket are the two initial Letters*  
*L. D. Which signify, LIBERO, DAMNO; that is, I*  
*acquit, I condemn.*

<sup>49</sup> The *Cælian* Family carried up their Origin to  
ore



§. XXXII. And now, it is said, that *Æmilius Scaurus*, *The Prince of the Senate*, who, under the appearance of great Modesty, was very greedy of publick Honours, and yet more industrious to enrich himself by private Artifices, had Interest enough to procure a second Promotion to the *Consulate*, which *Cassius* had lost in *Gaul*, with his Life. It is said, That he got himself nominated in his Room, and supplied his Place to the End of the Year. He is likewise said to have had one *P. 50 Rutilius*, a Man very ambitious of the *Consulship* for his Competitor; and to have got the better of him by a piece of Chicanery. He accused *Rutilius* <sup>51</sup> of Bribery, in canvassing for the *Consulship*; and in Proof of it produced a Note under his Hand, whereby the accuser pretended, that he had promised a *Citizen* Money for his Vote. The Note contained only these four Letters, *A. F. P. R*; which *Scaurus* interpreted to signify *Actum fide P. Rutilii*, that is, *Rutilius solemnly promises to perform the Obligation*. The accused, on the other hand, defended himself as well as he could, and pleaded that the Note was prior to his appearing for the *Consulate*: And *C. Cannius*, a *Roman Knight*, who was present at the Trial, archly gave a very different Interpretation to the four Letters. He said they stood for *Æmilius fecit, plectitur Rutilius*; that is, *Æmilius made the Note, and Rutilius will be punished for it*. This was both accusing *Scaurus* of Forgery in producing a Note of his own making against his Competitor, and shewing the Folly of laying stress on the Interpretation of initial Letters, which are capable of many Senses. Ne-

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXLVI.  
C. MARIUS,  
& L. CASSIUS  
LONGINUS,  
Consuls.  
Cic. in Brute.

one *Cælius Vibenna*, who came from *Hetruria* to *Rome*, with a Company of *Hetrurians*, in the Reign of *Romulus*. He settled upon a neighbouring Hill, which he obtained of the Founder of his new City, for himself and his Colony: And from that Time it was called Mount *Cælius*. The *Caldus's*, *Rufus's*, and *Sabinus's*, were three different Branches of this Family. Nevertheless *Cicero*, *Lib. De Petitione Consulatus*, speaks of *Cælius Caldus*, who was *Consul* in the Year 660, as a new Man. But by that he only means, that his Ancestors had lived in Obscurity, without being concerned in the Offices of the Republick. It was probably from the same Family, that *Lucius Cælius Antipater* descended, who wrote the History of the Wars of *Hannibal* with the *Romans*, and dedicated it to *Ælius Stilo*, *Varro's* Master. He was Cotemporary with the *Gracchi*, as we may infer from a Passage in *Val. Maximus*, *L. 1, c. 7*. *Cicero* says, in his *Brutus*, That this Writer had the Honour to have the Orator *Lucius Crassus*, for his Disciple; and in his 2d Book *De Oratore*, after he has given *Cælius* the Preference to the Annalists, he gives this Account of him. *Cælius Antipater*, who was an intimate Friend of *Crassus*, and valuable for his Probity, was the first Man that rose above the common Historians, and wrote in a loftier manner. Nevertheless, we don't find in his Writings, either any Variety of Figures, or Correctness of Expression, or Sweetness and Evenness of Style. And in his first Book *Of Laws*, he says, That the pompous Elocution of this Historian, did not correct the Roughness and Unpoliteness which appear in his Writings. And lastly, he gives him but a very moderate Share of Learning, and does not think he was to be ranked among the famous Orators of his Time. Nevertheless, his History was thought the least defective of all the *Latin* Histories that had appeared at *Rome*. *Cicero* thought it worth his while to abridge it for his own use; as he had done that of *Polybius* in *Greek*, and the *Annals of Fabius*. But it may be observed, to the Honour of *Greece*, that, even in *Cicero's* Time, it produced better Historians than *Italy*. *Atticus* is forced to confess as much, when he speaks of this, in the First Book of *Larus*, as a Motive to induce the *Roman* Orator to write an History. We want a good one, says he to *Cicero*, and you only can supply this Want. The *Clodius's*, the *Asellio's*, and our latest Authors, who have endeavoured to imitate the Simplicity of the Ancients, have only increased the Number of our languid Writers: You allow, that the Historical manner, requires most of any, the Hand of an Orator. Pom-

ponius ranks *Cælius* the Historian among the *Civilians*.

50 It appears by several Passages in *Cicero's* Works, that *Publius Rutilius Rufus* had been Competitor with *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus* for the *Consulate*, and that the latter succeeded by a majority of Votes. But we can't say, that this Contest was carried on in the Year 638, which was the Time when his Rival was first promoted. There was but six Years difference, between the Year 638, and 632, which was the first *Quæstorship* of *Publius Rutilius*. Whereas the *Annal Laws* required that there should be at least twelve Years space between the *Quæstorship* and the *Consulate*, as we have observed in several Parts of this History; and it is not probable, that a Man of *Rutilius's* Character, should appear for the first Dignity in the Republick before he was of a competent Age. This impatient Thirst after Honours, does not suit the Character which the Historians have given us of this great Man. He is said to have united all the Virtues of the first *Romans* in himself. His Innocence, and Regularity of Life, his Disinterestedness, Modesty, Probity, and his Zeal for maintaining the Laws and Customs, convinced all the People in *Rome*, that he was a perfect Pattern of a good Citizen. This does not shew him to have been an ambitious Man, who was too precipitate in standing for the first Dignities, in contempt of the ancient Usages, which would not suffer him to appear. We must therefore, in order to make *Rutilius* a Competitor with *Æmilius Scaurus*, necessarily say, That this latter stood for the *Consulate* a second Time, in the Year 646. There was then a Vacancy by the Death of *Lucius Cassius Longinus*, and *Rutilius* had now attained to the Age prescribed by the Laws. We cannot find any other Year which will agree to both. All the others are full, and leave no Vacancy for the second *Consulship* of *Æmilius*. Besides, if it was true, That *Rutilius* had been refused, in the Year 638, we must suppose that he continued in obscurity ten Years, since he was not elected *Consul* till the Year 648. But it is difficult to conceive, that a Man, who was so much respected by the Citizens for his extraordinary Qualities, should be so long forgotten.

51 The *Rutilian* Family was divided into two Branches, one *Patrician* the other *Plebeian*; and these two Branches produced several others, as the *Crassus's*, the *Calsus's*, the *Rufus's*, the *Censorinus's*, and the *Lupus's*. Their Memory has been preserved by the ancient *Roman* Historians, and the Medals.

vertheless,



Year of vertheless, the false Wisdom of *Scaurus* prevailed. *Rutilius* was for the present refused, and *Scaurus* promoted. But we shall soon see the former brought again upon the Stage, and with Success.

C. MARIUS,  
& M. ÆMI-  
LIUS SCAU-  
RUS, Consuls.  
App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.

At the same time, a *Tribune of the People* named *Spurius*<sup>52</sup> *Thorius Balbus*, made an Innovation, tho' well intended, which did not prove to be of any Service to the publick Treasury. We have before observed, that by the fatal Law, which *Sempronius Gracchus* had got passed in his *Tribuneship*, and which caused his Ruin, it was enacted, That the Lands which the rich enjoyed, contrary to the old Laws, should be divided among the poor *Citizens*. This Law had caused many Troubles; and the Design of *Thorius* was to have put an end to those Disputes which the Distribution of the Lands occasioned. But the Method he took, to pacify both the Possessors and the Claimants, was insufficient for that Purpose. He got it enacted by the *Comitia*, That the rich should for the future, continue to hold the Lands they were possessed of without a just Title, upon paying certain Rents for them to the Use of the Publick; and That the *Quæstors* should distribute these Rents to the poorest *Citizens*. But the defect of this Scheme was; That it neither restored to the rich the whole of their old Revenues, nor gave the necessitous Populace, whom *Sempronius Gracchus* intended to relieve, any Lands for their own Property. But to return to *Marius*.

Cic. de Orat.  
L. 2. § Brut.

Sallust. de Bell.  
Jugurth.  
Plut. in Mario.

§. XXXIII. The Care of civil Affairs, and particularly his being obliged to preside in the *Comitia* for the Election of the new *Consul Scaurus*, kept him longer at *Rome* than he desired. His Heart was wholly set on the *Numidian* Affair. It was a double Joy to him, to think of marching against *Jugurtha*, and of displacing *Metellus*; and he longed to be in his Province. His Pride broke out in an uncommon manner, upon the People's adjudging him the Province of *Africa*, which the Senate had given to *Metellus*; and he declared, That he had already gained a Conquest before he had faced an Enemy. He gloried in this, as a happy Prefage of the Success of his Campaign; and said, it was Matter of greater Glory and Triumph to him, to have humbled the *Conscript Fathers*, than it would be to subdue *Numidia*, and lead *Jugurtha* in Chains. And his Conduct was suitable to these Declarations. Wherever he met any *Patricians* he insulted them. All his Speeches in Publick were grossly stuffed with his own Praises, and with bitter Invectives against the Senate. Tho' he was nothing less than an Orator, yet every thing was well taken from a Man who was become the Idol of the People; and this encouraged him to demand with Insolence a greater Number of Troops than had usually been allowed the *Consuls*. Besides the Recruits he required for his *Legions*, he sent, of his own Authority, to demand Auxiliaries of the Nations and Kings, who were in Friendship with the Republick. And in the Choice he made of his Soldiers at *Rome*,

<sup>52</sup> We know nothing more of the *Thorii*, than that they were of *Plebeian* Extraction. From this Family probably descended one *Lucius Thorius Balbus*, whose Character *Cicero* has given us in his second Book *De Finibus*. He was, says he, an artfully voluptuous Man; he knew how to heighten his Pleasures by the refined Arts of Sensuality, without carrying them to excess. He made it his whole study to find out what would be most grateful to his nice Taste, and spared no Cost to obtain it. In his pursuit of Pleasure, he did not so much follow the *Epicurean* Philosophy, as his own Temper and Inclination. Nature pointed out to him a Method of indulging himself in Sensuality, agreeably to his Disposition. His first Concern was to preserve Life; and he accounted none to be true Pleasures, but such as were not prejudicial to his Health. The only Advantage he proposed by his bodily Exercises, was the Appetite they gave him, to relish with the more Pleasure, those exquisite and tender Meats which he ordered to be brought to his Table. He understood Wines well, chose only the most excellent for his own Use, and never drank them till they had been perfumed with Roses. But nevertheless, he had command enough of himself, to deny himself sensual Pleasures, when Duty and Honour called him to the Defence of his Country. He was intrepid at the sight of Danger, distinguished

\* See Plate 4.  
No. 10. Page  
60.

himself by his Valour, and had the Honour to die fighting for his Republick. The Ancients have conveyed down to us a Medal\*, which bears, on the reverse, the Name of *Lucius Thorius*, and the Figure of a capering Bull; alluding perhaps to the Name of *Thorius*. For, *Varro* observes, That the ancient *Romans* took some of their Names from Animals; as the *Porcius's*, the *Caprius's*, the *Ovilius's*, the *Equitius's*, &c. But it is more probable, that the Bull on the Medal is designed as a proper Symbol of another Law, which *Cicero* ascribes to *Spurius Thorius*. He says, *De Orat. L. 2*, That the *Tribune* by this second Law, had set a Fine on all that suffered their Cattle to do any damage; and he tells us a Jest of one *Appius Claudius* upon one *Lucilius*, who was accused of breaking the *Thorian Law*, by suffering his Cattle to feed in the Meadows that belonged to the Republick. It is a mistake, said *Appius*; these are not *Lucilius's* Cattle: I think they belong to no body; for they feed wherever they please. The Head of this Medal, is a Queen *Juno*, whom the People of *Lanuvium* worshipped in a particular manner, under the Title of *Sospita*, as we have observed, Vol. 3. *Lucius Thorius* intended to point out the Place of his Birth, by this Symbolical Figure. *Cicero* says, he came originally from that City.

there



there was something still more absolute. He forced all who were famed for Valour in all Parts of *Italy*, to come to *Rome*, whether they would or no; and compelled them to take the military Oaths. Tho' they had already served the Republick all the Years required of them, he would not allow that to be an Excuse.

These were notorious Acts of Violence; but the Senate durst not oppose the Tyranny of a Man, whom Fortune so highly favoured. Besides, *The Conscrip't Fathers* might, in pure Malice to him, acquiesce in the Levies he was raising in *Rome*; in expectation that the Vexations and Hardships which he made the People suffer thereby, might alienate from him the Affections of the Populace, who adored him. But it appeared, that when once the Multitude have suffered themselves to be captivated, they cannot feel the Weight, even of their own Chains. The Severities of *Marius* were taken in good part; and the People were so very zealous to follow him into *Africa*, that it looked like Enchantment: Whilst he seemed to be afraid of having any Soldiers in his Troops, who were of better Condition than himself. He scarce enrolled any, but Men of the lowest *Classes*, whose Names only were mentioned in the *Census* of the People, and whose Poverty exempted them from the Service. These he preferred to any others; and the Nobility put this Construction upon it, That his Reason for choosing the Mob only, was because Men of better Families had refused to serve under him. But *Marius* took no notice of their Reflections. He steadily prosecuted his Point in view; and that he might make his Levies according to his own Mind, he assembled the People in the *Comitium*, and addressed himself to them in this manner.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXLVI.  
C. MARIUS,  
& M. ÆMI-  
LIUS SCAU-  
RUS, Consuls.  
*Plut. in Mario.*  
*Sallust.*

*It is not usual for your Consuls to keep up the same Reputation for Virtue after their Election, which they had acquired, in order to pave the way for it. When they are once arrived at the top of their Ambition, Idleness usually succeeds Labour, and from having been active and bold, they become effeminate. But I, Romans, regulate my Conduct by very different Maxims. I did not seek the Consulate as an honourable Ease from Business. I consider it as the beginning of a more laborious Course, than that which I have been forced to run through, in order to obtain it. The Weight of the Burden you have laid upon me is already very great. The being forced to oblige those Citizens to take Arms, whom I love and would willingly treat with Respect; the raising the necessary Sums for carrying on an important War, and yet sparing as much as possible the publick Revenues; and the providing for the Wants of a great Army, in a distant Country; these Difficulties are only the preludes to those Fatigues and Dangers which threaten me in Africa. Indeed I should not be so much distressed with this Burden, if my Preparations at Rome were not opposed by jealous Men. I am set up as a Mark for the Nobility, who watch all my Steps, and put ill Constructions on my most innocent Actions. And I have nothing to support me but the Protection of an equitable People, the Remembrance of my past Services, and the Hopes Rome has founded upon me for the future. It is very true; I am not one of those Generals who carry nothing with them to the Command of Armies, but the Prejudice of their Birth and the Exploits of their Ancestors. Such Men, being without Abilities or Experience, are directed in the Conduct of their Expeditions by the Counsels of a Plebeian Subaltern; and contribute nothing but their Names, towards the most glorious Victories. I know some, who did not begin to study the Art of War, in the Greek Books, till the Republick had intrusted them with her Troops, and the Care of her Glory. Whereas it is not by reading, but by Experience, that I have learned to encamp, range the Manipuli, give Battle; and to invest, besiege, and assault Towns. But the Nobility who are brought up in Ease and Pleasure, despise your Plebeians, who have nothing but their Valour and Experience to recommend them. They will prefer a Postumius Albinus, or Calpurnius Bestia, purely on account of their Names, to New Men, whose personal Merit alone has raised them to the highest Posts in the Army. As if the first of their own Ancestors, from whom they derive so much Honour, had not themselves been Soldiers of Fortune. Military Virtue has ever been the Way to Nobility. It comes indeed later into my Family, but perhaps in order to continue the longer in it. I therefore shall not pretend to boast of the great Names of my Forefathers, I will leave that to the haughty Patricians. Let them dishonour themselves as much as they please, by reviving the Memory of the Heroes of their Families whom they so little imitate; and enjoy those Pleasures, with which their Riches supply them. I received nothing from my Parents but a wise Education, and a love of Labour and Duty; and I leave to my Rivals a pompous shew of delusive Words, which they want to disguise their shameful Conduct. I know nothing of that Greek babbling, which they call Eloquence; but my Actions speak for me, and my Wounds are my best Rhetorick. I con-*



Year of  
ROME  
DCXLVI.  
C. MARIUS,  
& M. AEMILIUS  
SCAURUS, Consuls.

*jest I don't understand how to spread a Table elegantly, or entertain my Friends with the jests of a Buffoon, or do my self honour by the Art of a Cook. I don't value my self, either for Politeness of Behaviour, or Elegance of Dress. My Concern is about well dressed Horses, strong and well-managed Mules, shining Arms, and sharp Weapons. I leave the rest to those, who study more how to please, than how to conquer. But then let these effeminate Men, on the other hand, leave the Command of Troops to true Soldiers, who are un-ured to Fatigues, and able to bear all Seasons and all Climates. Numidia will never be reduced, but by Labour and Constancy. At first, the Avarice of your Generals prevented the Conquests of it. Then the Dilatoriness and Inaction of those who succeeded them retarded it. By the former, Discipline was enervated; by the latter, but imperfectly restored. Follow then with Zeal, brave Roman Youth, a Consul, who is ambitious of no other Superiority over you, than that of having a greater Share in the Danger! Victory and rich Spoils await you, on the Banks of the Ampsaga; and I would enlarge more fully upon them, if Words were either necessary to animate the brave, or sufficient to encourage the coward. In short, Marius compleated his Recruits, according to his own Wishes, and made all possible haste to embark them.*

*Salust Bell.  
Jugurth.*

§. XXXIV. In the mean time, *Metellus*, who was at the farther end of *Numidia*, was ignorant of what passed at *Rome*. He so much depended on being continued *Pro-Consul*, till *Jugurtha* should be entirely reduced, that he took the Field in the beginning of the Spring. His difficulty was to find the Enemy. The King of *Numidia* being abandoned by almost all the Lords of his Court, and his best Officers, was rambling cross Rocks and Forests. His Disquietudes and Suspicions had driven his most faithful Servants from him, and the greatest part of them were retired to *Bocchus* King of *Mauritania*. Nevertheless it was necessary for him to continue the War; tho' he had little dependance on new Favourites, and was suspicious of Friends whose Friendship he had never put to the Proof. Hence his Instability, and Irresolutions. The *Pro-Consul*, who was long seeking him, found him at last posted in Places which he thought inaccessible. The *Numidian*, to his great surprize, saw the *Legions* advance with Colours flying, in the sight of his Camp; and all he could do was to draw up his Troops in Battalia. It was usual for the *Numidians*, not to stand long before a *Roman* Army, in the open Field; and now, tho' *Jugurtha* kept his Ground for some time in the Center, his Troops at last dispersed themselves; and the greatest part escaped by flight. But some were made Prisoners, and a good Number of Standards taken. As for *Jugurtha* himself, some vast Deserts, the Roads of which he only was acquainted with, screened him from the pursuit of the *Romans*; and not being able to subsist there, he retired to his Fort of *Thala*.

This Place was, properly speaking, only a great Town; but rich, and well fortified. Here the King had deposited his Treasures, and Jewels; and this was the Place he had chosen for the Residence and Education of his Children. These were Motives sufficient to induce *Metellus* to undertake the Siege of it; tho' it was even more difficult to get to it, than to storm it. Between the *Roman* Army, and the River that watered the Place, there was a vast Desert, of about 50 Miles in extent, which was destitute of Water, and covered with a barren Sand. But the Impatience of *Metellus* to conquer *Thala*, and thereby finish the War, excited him to surmount these Difficulties. He ordered his Army to march thither, and took his Measures like a great General. In the first place, he ordered all the Mules in the Army instead of their usual Burdens, to be loaded, some with Corn for a ten Days march, and the rest with Skins and Barrels of Water. Then he obliged the Inhabitants in the Neighbourhood of his Camp, to attend his Army with Waggon's of Provisions, and appointed the Time and Place for the general Rendezvous. And though the *Pro-Consul* was scarce arrived there, with his Carriages with him, before there fell such Plenty of Rain, as made the Water he had provided, useless, and the Soldiers chose rather to make use of the Present Heaven made them; yet they could not but applaud the Foresight of their General. They commended the one, and made use of the other; and this Circumstance so much raised the Confidence of the *Romans*, that they no longer despaired of taking a Citadel, which they had before thought impregnable.

53 *Strabo*, *Florus*, *Salust*, and *Tacitus* mention the City of *Thala* in *Africa*; and *Ptolomy* speaks of a Mountain of this Name in *Inner Lybia*.



The Inhabitants of *Thala* were struck with Terror at the Approach of the *Roman Army*. They had thought their City inaccessible, cross a dry Desert. Whereas *Metellus* had found Means to surmount this Obstacle; and his *Legions* were already filing round the Place, in order to besiege it. And then, *Jugurtha*, fearing to be surrounded in a Citadel which tho' strong, was not impregnable, since the *Romans* had broke through the Barrier with which Nature had defended it, left the Town and Garrison to the Mercy of the *Pro-Consul*. He pretended to have Affairs to negotiate, and leaving the Fort before it was invested, rambled from Desert to Desert. His Distrusts followed him to all Places, and his Fear of being betrayed, kept him from fixing any where. Nevertheless, the Garrison appeared on the Ramparts after he was gone, and prepared to sustain the Attacks. It almost wholly consisted of Deserters from the *Roman Army*. On the other hand, *Metellus* formed his Contravallation, advanced his *Covered Galleries* to the Foot of the Wall, raised *Cavaliers* at proper distances, and erected wooden Towers upon them higher than the Walls. The Besiegers being numerous were sufficient for all these Works; and the Besieged made all the Resistance that could be expected from brave Men, driven to despair. But at length, when the *Ram* had made a large Breach in the *Courtine*, the Deserters, despairing of being able to save the Place, left the Breach undefended; and finding it impossible for them to avoid Destruction, they chose rather to perish by the Flames, than by the Swords of the *Romans*. In short, they made a Sally from the Town, carried all the valuable Things they could find to the King's Palace, then set it on fire, and burnt themselves with it. Thus these desperate Men saved the *Romans* the Trouble of executing them, by inflicting a more cruel Death on themselves, than they would have suffered by their Countrymen; and *Thala* was taken after a Siege of 40 Days.

Then the *Pro-Consul*, as soon as Master of it, was forced to send away a Detachment of his Troops, to prevent the Troubles that were ready to break out, at the other End of *Africa*. The Inhabitants of *Great Leptis*, a City which stood between the two *Syrtes*, had made an Alliance with *Rome*, which had been confirmed by the *Senate*; and had never yet cast any Blemish on their Fidelity, by any Insurrection. But now, an incendiary of the Country, named *Hamilcar*, was labouring under hand to draw over his Countrymen to *Jugurtha*, and likely to succeed. The Magistrates therefore discovered the Plot, and sent Messengers to *Metellus* to inform him of their Danger. Upon which the *Roman General*, immediately detached four *Ligurian Cohorts* from his Army, under the Command of *Caius Anicius*; and by that means preserved the Country between the two *Syrtes* in Tranquillity.

§. XXXV. As for the King of *Numidia*, he was ever irresolute, and ever upon the Wing. At length, he determined to go and treat in Person with a People, unknown to the *Romans*, and who had never yet heard of the *Roman Name*. These were the *Gætuli*, a barbarous Nation, who roved rather than dwelt, in the inner Part of *Africa*, at the bottom of *Lybia*, and led their Flocks from Pasture to Pasture, always living in Tents without any fixed Habitation: And *Jugurtha* found Means to induce them to follow his Standards. He assembled these scattered Shepherds together, and taught them to keep their Ranks and obey the Officers he set over them. From *Gætulia* the *Numidian King* proceeded to the Confines of *Mauritania*. *Bocchus* reigned there, over an *African People*, who were somewhat less barbarous, and better disciplined than the *Gætuli*, and was full of Resentments against the *Roman Republick*. He had, in the beginning of the *African War*, applied himself to the Generals *Rome* then sent into *Africa*, desiring her Friendship and Favour. But the covetous *Calpurnius* and *Beslia* had scornfully repulsed his Ambassadors, who came to them empty-handed: And this Affront had sunk deep into the Heart of the *Mauritanian*. Besides, *Bocchus* had married one of *Jugurtha's* Daughters. Indeed these Alliances among the *African Kings*, were of very little Weight. Those Princes kept so many Women in their Scraglio's, that it was not easy for one, to gain an ascendant over them: And the *Numidian* therefore depended

54 *Great Leptis*, was near the *Great Syrtis*; and there was another City of this Name, between *Thapsa* and *Adrumet*, to the West of the *Little Syrtis*. See Vol. 4.

55 The two *Syrtes* which were known by the Name of *The Sounds of Barbary*, lay between the Kingdoms of *Tunis* and *Barca*. See Vol. 4.

56 According to *Sallust*, the Inhabitants of *Great*

*Leptis* had surrendered to the Consul *Beslia*, and shaken off the *Numidian Yoke*.

57 *Gætulia* formerly reached from *The Desert of Lempta* to the Ocean. It had the two *Mauritania's* to the North; the *Garamantes*, to the East; *Negroeland*, to the South; and the *Atlantick Ocean* to the West. Some pretend, That old *Gætulia* contained the western Part of *Zara*, and *Biledulgerid*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCXLVI.  
C. MARIUS,  
& M. ÆMI-  
LIUS SCAU-  
RUS, Consuls.

more on his Bounties and Promises, than on the Mediation of his Daughter. He made liberal Presents to all the King of *Mauritania's* Friends; and by that Means, procured an Alliance Offensive and Defensive with him. The Motives he used, were in general the same that were urged by all other crowned Heads. He insisted on the Avarice and Ambition of the *Romans*; and particularly on the Scheme these Republicans had formed, for successively destroying all the Monarchies in the World.

At length *Bocchus* complied; and agreed with *Jugurtha*, to lead all the Forces in his Kingdom to *Cyrtba*, and join in the Siege of that Capital, of which the *Romans* had made themselves Masters. *Metellus* had sent thither all the Booty he had taken in *Numidia*, and made it a Magazine both of Arms, and Provisions, for his Army. So that to take it was in effect to drive the *Romans* out of *Numidia*. Besides, the crafty *Numidian* had this further Reason to engage *Bocchus* at first in some signal Attempt; that such a Blow would fix him to his Interest for the future. It was not without great Difficulty that he had brought him to a Determination in his Favour.

And now, *Metellus*, since the *Gatuli* and *Mauritanians* had joined the *Numidians*, began to alter his Conduct. He no longer offered to give Battle, or bid Defiance to the Enemy. On the contrary, he continued quiet in his Entrenchments, watched the Motions of the two Kings, and resolved to hazard nothing, for fear of losing all.

§. XXXVI. But while the Hero was enjoying a little Tranquillity in the Heart of *Numidia*, he received Advice, That the *Roman People* had, in spite of the Senate, appointed *Marius* to succeed him. He was thunderstruck at the News; and in his Surprise and Dejection could not help expressing his Astonishment, That a mean *Plebeian* should find more Credit and Favour, than himself, notwithstanding his Nobility and his Exploits. Nay, the *Pro-Consul*, tho' a great Man, was so much affected, that he could not keep up the Dignity of his Character on this Occasion. He wept for Rage. And indeed, what could be more mortifying, than to have a Conquest so far advanced, ravished out of his Hands, by one of the meanest of the People, who had been drawn out of Obscurity, by his Favours? Tho' after all, he was not so much grieved at the Glory he lost, as at the Advancement of *Marius*. He looked with Abhorrence on that perfidious Man, who could no otherwise supplant him, than by Calumnies. But whether this Abhorrence proceeded from a real Greatness of Mind, or from Jealousy, every one was at liberty to judge, as he thought proper.

However, this at least is certain, the Interest of his Country prevailed more with him than his private Resentment; and he took pains to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*. Tho' this would greatly facilitate the Reduction of *Numidia* for *Marius*; yet, as in great Minds, the publick Good ever prevails over personal, the *Pro-Consul* spent the few Days he had to stay in *Africa*, in Negotiations with the King of *Mauritania*. He privately represented to him by his Agents, That the King of *Numidia's* Crown tottered on his Head; and That it would be dangerous for him to attempt to support it, at his own peril: That it was easy to declare War, which the most imprudent might do as well as the most wise; but that the difficulty was, to end it honourably and without Loss: That if the *Roman Republick* was as powerful and as ambitious as was represented, it must be the safest way to keep Measures with her: and That consequently, it could answer no good Purpose to him, to declare himself her Enemy, especially since he could merit her Favour at so cheap a rate, as the giving up a Neighbour, who was already on the brink of Ruin.

*Bocchus* saw the Force of this Reasoning, and urged nothing in reply, but his Compassion for the unfortunate *Jugurtha*. A shameful Weakness in a Sovereign, who ought to be more concerned for the Welfare of his own People, than for the Misfortunes of others! All the Time *Metellus* tarried in *Numidia* was spent in these Negotiations, and they made the *Mauritanian* less pressing to give Battle; which was partly what the *Pro-Consul* had had in view.

§. XXXVII. At length Advice came, that *Marius* was landed at *Utica* with a more considerable Reinforcement both of *Romans* and Allies, than the Republick had ordered for him. *Aulus Manlius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, brought the News of his speedy Arrival; and then *Metellus* openly discovered his Resentment. He instantly left the Camp which he had pitched near *Cyrtba*, and returned for *Italy*. He was too proud, as is said, to vouchsafe to pay his Homage to the new General *Rome* had sent to succeed him; and therefore left Orders with *Publius Rutilius*, to deliver up the Command to *Marius*.



When he came to *Rome*, the Presence of this great Man, and the genuine Accounts he gave of his Conduct, soon effaced the ill Impressions which had been made, and the Calumnies which had been cast upon him. The People soon seemed to forget *Marius*, whom they had protected, and promoted to the Prejudice of *Metellus*; and made the latter some amends by their Acclamations, for the Injustice they had done him. He demanded a *Triumph*, in a Speech to the assembled Commons; and the little Remains we still have of that Speech, shew us both his easy Eloquence, and his Indignation against *Marius*. *Were the Reports*, Romans, said he, *that were made to you of my Conduct in Numidia, designed most to dishonour me, or You? The greater your Body is, the more unpardonable is the Crime, of endeavouring to impose on your Credulity. The greatest Man may be exposed to the Calumnies of an ambitious Competitor. There is nothing more common. But to sport with the Majesty of the Roman People, to dare to tell You barefaced Lies, and thereby to surprize You into a Resolution to tie up the Hands of a General who was ready to finish an important War; this was insulting his Governors, exposing them to Reproach, and involving them in the Shame of being deceived and misled. By taking such Measures to rob me of my Character, Marius has effectually cast a blemish upon Yours. But now, the Clouds are dispersed, and sufficient Justice will this Day be done to my injured Reputation. A whole Army are my Witnesses, That I have been victorious in pitched Battles, have taken Cities by Force which were deemed impregnable, have reduced almost all Numidia to your Obedience, and have forced Jugurtha to leave his Dominions, and retire to the furthest Part of Lybia, there to get the Assistance of some Barbarians. And the Complacency, which I now see in your Looks, convinces me that you are undeceived. If then, Marius has only an expiring Enemy to contend with, and all the Glory he can gain will be that of gleaning in the Field which I have reaped, what should hinder you from granting me a Triumph? The Senate have already declared me worthy of it by a Decree. Shall then the Malice of Marius influence you even at this distance? Shall he have Interest enough, in his Absence, to induce you to deny me this Honour, after he has robbed me of the Pro-Consulate in mine? I freely leave it to your Determination.*

Then the People, at last, did him Justice, and unanimously decreed him the Honour desired. They also, to make him some amends, for the Glory of which they had robbed him, gave him the glorious Title of *Numidicus*; tho' these Appellations taken from the Provinces, were very rarely granted to Conquerors, till those Provinces had been entirely reduced by them. But nevertheless, a *Tribune of the People* had the boldness to accuse him, tho' thus crowned with publick Honours, of having plundered the Province from which he came. He was brought before the Tribunal of the *Roman Knights*, the Judges in these civil Cases, and there produced his Books in his Defence; and then he reaped the Fruits of that Probity with which he had always acted. His Judges refused to examine his Accompts; and declared, That they thought the whole Course of his Life a stronger Proof of his Innocence, than the Wax on which he had set down his Disbursements and Receipts. A Justification, which he might well esteem a much more glorious *Triumph*, than that which the People had before decreed him!

§. XXXVIII. In the mean time, *Marius*, on the other hand, was preparing to keep up the Reputation his Predecessor had acquired. He put himself at the Head of the *Roman Army*; but did not think it advisable, to run the Hazard of a general Action immediately. Half his Troops were new Levies and Auxiliaries; and as they had yet had no Experience in the Art of War, he could not wholly rely either on their Skill or Constancy. He therefore led them into a fertile Plain, made them besiege Castles and weak Cities, suffered them to engage in small Actions, and distributed among them all the Spoils of the Cities they took and the Fields they ravaged. When they were convinced by Experience, that Soldiers could not so well secure their Lives by Flight, as by standing their Ground against the Enemy, he then thought them qualified for pitched Battles; and he led them before *Cirtba*, where he hoped to find the united Armies of *Bocchus* and *Jugurtha*. But the two Kings were decamped. They had resolved to separate, and post themselves in different Deserts, thereby to induce the *Consul* to divide his Army, and by dividing, to weaken it. The whole Aim of the two *African* Generals was to lay Ambuscades, in order to surprize the *Roman* Parties, and destroy their Army by piecemeal; and this made *Marius* the more cautious. He ran no Hazard; was very vigilant in watching the Motions of the Enemy; often engaged the *Gætuli* in their Incursions; attacked the *Numidians* in their Ambuscades; and in one Action, forced *Jugurtha* himself to throw down his Arms, that he might be the more ready for Flight.

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SCAURUS, Consuls.  
Aulus Gell. l.  
12. . 6

Val. Max. l.  
2. c. 18.  
Cic. Ep. 16.  
ad Attic. l. 1.

Sallust. de Bell.  
Jugurth.



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But after all, this slow Way of making War was not suitable to *Marius's* Taste. The Time of his *Consulate* was slipping away insensibly, in a kind of Inaction; and his Reputation suffered at *Rome* by these Delays. He therefore made it his Business to draw the two Kings into the open Field; and to that End, besieged several Cities at once, in the flat Country. By this Means, he took Garrisons at least, and ruined the *Numidian* Army by degrees. As for that of *Bocchus*, it continued quiet in his Camp. The King of *Mauritania* often represented to the *Consul*, by his Messengers, That when he joined *Jugurtha*, he had nothing in view but to gain the good Will of the Republick; and That she should never have any Reason to complain of his Hostilities. And whether or no, this was only a Snare to deceive the *Consul*, or he then had a real Design of betraying *Jugurtha*, and making a Merit of his Treachery; this at least is certain, that *Marius* pursued the War with Vigour against *Jugurtha*, but was not so active against the *Mauritanian*.

§. XXXIX. In this manner the *Roman* proceeded, without any considerable Exploit, till Autumn was at hand; and then his Troops began to think *Metellus* a much better General than his Successor. They remembered with Admiration, the taking of *Thala*, which was a Master-piece of Valour and Conduct, much superior to any thing which *Marius* had attempted: And it nearly concerned him, to efface the Glory of that *Metellus* whom he had decried. He therefore resolved on an Enterprize, which would be sufficient to raise his Reputation, and remove the Prejudices which began to prevail. *Capsa*<sup>58</sup> was a considerable City, which stood in the middle of the burning Sands of *Africa*, in a charming Situation, but in a terrible Neighbourhood. It was said to have been founded by that<sup>59</sup> *Hercules*, whom the Ancients called *The Lybian*, on an agreeable Hill, where there rose a plentiful Spring of fresh Water, which he inclosed within the

<sup>58</sup> *Strabo*, *Ptolomy*, *Victor of Utica*, *St. Cyprian*, and *St. Austin*, all speak of a City of *Capsa* in *Africa*, which stood in *The Byzacene Province*, 50 Miles from *The Little Syrtis*. The *Arabians* call it *Cassa*. It now belongs to the Kingdom of *Tunis*. If it be true, as *Strabo* relates, That it was entirely destroyed, when *Julius Cæsar* carried his victorious Arms into *Africa*; it is past doubt, that it was rebuilt, since it was in Being in the Time of *St. Austin*. But it is plain, that this is a different City from that *Capsa* which *Marius* reduced. Whatever some Moderns may say, who make both but one City, we adhere to the Opinion of *Bochart*. He observes, after *Sallust*, *Geog. Sac. c. 24*, That the *Capsa* here spoken of was subject to *Jugurtha*, and consequently must have belonged to *Numidia*; and the Description which *Sallust* and *Florus* give us of it, afford us a convincing Proof of this Opinion. *Capsa*, according to them, stood in a dry sandy Desert, and no River watered this uncultivated Country. And therefore, *Marius* took the Precaution to carry Water thither in Skins for the Besiegers. But this Situation cannot agree with *Capsa*, in the *Byzacene Province*. This City had the River of *Capsa* near it, from which it took its Name, as *Cellarius* observes, upon the Authority of the *Arabian* Geographers. This River falls into *The Gulph of Capes*.

<sup>59</sup> We will not say, with Mr. *Le Clerc*, in his *Bibliothèque Universelle*, That the Name of *Hercules* was originally derived from the Term *Harokel*, which formerly signified a *Merchant*, in the old *Phœnician* Language. He says, the famous *Traders* in *Phœnicia* were so called, who in their Voyages discovered new Countries, and took Care to settle Colonies in them. The Vanity of such Conjectures, as have nothing to support them but arbitrary and forced Etymologies, is very apparent; and this has no better Foundation. It is very difficult to find the Character of *Hercules*, as the Ancients describe him, in that of a Trader, whose Desire of Riches carries him into foreign Countries. There is a pretty deal of difference, between a Trader, and a formidable Warrior, clothed with a Lion's Skin, armed with a Club, employed in fighting Tyrants, and purging the Earth of Monsters; who mar-

ches wherever Glory calls him, and astonishes the World with the Prodiges wrought by his Strength and Valour. This is the Description fabulous History gives us of the *Alcides* of the *Greeks*, and the Men famous in their Generations, who followed his Way of Life. And therefore we shall persist in our Opinion mentioned Vol. 2. p. 2. Note 4. That the Name of *Hercules*, was a Title of Honour, common to the Heroes of all Nations. *Egypt*, *Lybia*, *Phœnicia*, *Crete*, and *The Indies*, boasted of their *Hercules's*, as well as the *Greeks*. *Diodorus of Sicily* reduces them to three. *Arnobius* and *Cicero* reckon up six. *Varro* makes those who were famous for their Exploits amount to forty four. The *Greek* History gives the Right of Seniority to the *Egyptian Hercules*, and ranks him among the twelve principal Gods, who formed the Monarchy of *Egypt*. He, if we believe some Writers of the first Ages, invented the *Phrygian* Letters. He subdued one Quarter of the World, according to *Diodorus of Sicily*, and ended his Conquests at the Straights of *Gibraltar*, where he erected the famous Columns, which were called from him, *Hercules's Pillars*. The *Egyptians* consecrated a Temple to him, which was an *Asylum* for Slaves. For this Reason, they who groaned under a rigorous Slavery invoked him as their tutelary God. *Solinus*, *Isidorus*, and *Sallust*, mention a *Lybian Hercules*; who, they say, was the Father of one *Sardus*, who at the Head of a numerous Colony, passed from *Lybia*, into the Island of *Sardinia*. The *Hercules* of *Tyre*, or, *The Phœnician Hercules*, was famous, says *Sanchoniathos*, for his heroic Acts; and the Nation erected Altars to his Honour, in gratitude for his beneficent Virtues. In the Time of *Solomon*, King *Hiram* had built Temples to him, according to *Menander of Ephesus*, who is quoted by *Josephus*. The *Tyrians* and *Carthaginians* who were originally *Phœnicians*, worshipped him in a particular manner. The Inhabitants of *Carthage* annually sent a Ship richly equipped with their Offerings to *Hercules* of *Tyre*, their *Metropolis*, according to *Jugur*. Some Authors have robbed the *Greek Hercules*, and the *Egyptian Hercules*, of part of their Conquests, and give the Glory of them to the *Phœnician Hercules*. They make the latter land in *Spain*, after he had settled Colonies



the City: And it was surrounded on all sides, by a vast Desert, which made it in a manner inaccessible, especially by great Armies. Nevertheless *Marius* resolved to lead his *Legions* thither, and made that *Metellus* whom he had so much despised, his Model; so that his first signal Attempt was only an Imitation. After his Predecessor's Example, he provided Corn and Water which he was in danger of wanting in a Desert, and Cattle for the Subsistence of his Troops during their March. At the same time, he concealed his Design with such Care, as not to communicate it even to *Manlius* his Lieutenant General. The better to disguise it, he sent *Manlius* with a Detachment to cover the City of <sup>60</sup> *Laris*, where he kept his military Chest; and the Lieutenant took it for granted, that the General was only going on some Incurfion, from which he would return to *Laris* in a few Days.

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In the mean time, *Marius* marched to the River <sup>61</sup> *Tana*, halted on the Banks of it, and ordered part of the Cattle to be killed, which had been brought thither by the auxiliary Horse. Then of the Ox-hides he made Skin-Vessels which he filled with Water, and as soon as the Mules were loaded with them, ordered them to enter the Desert under the same Guard as before. The *Legions* followed the Baggage and Provisions, but marched only by Night. The Rays of the Sun were so strongly reflected by the Sand, that the Heat would greatly have incommoded them by Day; and besides, the *Consul* desired to keep his March secret.

In this manner, (and with what Danger and Fatigue the Reader may judge) the *Romans* crossed that uncultivated Country, which was inhabited only by Serpents of an enormous Size, whom Heat and Hunger made very ravenous. The first Night's March was extremely laborious; and the next Day they refreshed themselves in Tents. At Sun-set they renewed their March; and after another Day's Rest, they came within two Miles of *Capſa*, long before Day-break. There they halted among some little Hills, which covered the City, and intercepted the sight of the *Legions*; and *Marius* ordered them to continue there in a profound Silence, as in an Ambush, till the Sun appeared.

Early in the Morning, the *Capſei*, who had no suspicion of an Enemy at their Gates, came out of the City as usual to disperse themselves in their Fields; and at that instant the *Consul* shewed himself before the Place. The *Roman* Cavalry surrounded those who were come out of the City, to cultivate their Lands; the light-armed Infantry made all haste to seize the Gates; and *Marius* followed slowly with the main Body of

Colonies in different Parts of *Africa*. *Bochart* carries up the Time of his Removal to *Jeshua's* Days; in proof of which, he quotes two Pillars, upon the Authority of *Procopius*, which continued in Being near *Tangier*, for many Ages.

The Inscription engraven on the Base of them in *Phœnician* Characters imported, That this ancient Monument was erected in this Place, by the *Canaanites*, who were forced to leave their Country by the Fury of JOSHUA THE ROBBER, THE SON OF NAVE. *Appian* thought that the Worship of the *Tyrian Hercules* was carried to *Cadiz*. *Philostratus*, on the contrary says, in his *Life of Apollonius*, That the Inhabitants of that City worshipped the *Egyptian Hercules*. *Diodorus of Sicily*, makes the *Cretan Hercules* to have been one of those *Idæi Dætyli*, otherwise called *Telchines*, whom the fabulous Traditions make to have been the first Black-smiths; and he supposes, that this *Hercules* was the Founder of the *Olympick Games*. The *Indians* also had their Hero, or *Hercules*, whom they worshipped under the Name of *Belus*, and the Figure of a Giant. The *Hercules* of the *Arabians* who inhabited the Coasts of the *Red Sea*, is not so much known as those of *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, and *Greece*. Nor shall we say any thing of the *Hercules* of *Gaul*, or him of *Germany*; we have made them the Subject of our Enquiry in another Place. But it ought to be observed, That the Poets, to give the greater Lustre to the *Hercules* of *Thebes*, so much boasted of among the *Greeks*, have ascribed to him only, all the Adventures of the different Heroes, whose Virtues have been celebrated in *Egypt*, *Phœnicia*, *The Indies*, and *Lybia*. They seem to have taken pleasure in filling his History with every thing

that was marvellous. Whereas in truth, these wonder-working Men, were either merely chimerical Heroes, or at least, owe great part of their Glory, to the pompous Fictions of their Poets. *Diagoras*, tho' a Pagan, was not drawn away with the popular Prejudices. He got the better of vulgar Errors, and did not think a Phantom of a God deserved to be worshipped by him. One single Passage, which the old *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, and *St. Jerom* have preserved, will shew us his Opinion of the *Grecian Hercules*. Coming one Day to a bad Inn, he could get nothing to eat but *Lentiles*, and had no Wood to boil them; but accidentally spying in the Corner of the House, an old Statue of *Hercules*, he seized the Idol, and in a sneer, prayed this tutelar God of the House, to help him in his Distress. Come, said he, and compleat your Glory. Add a thirteenth Labour, to the twelve which have immortalized your Name. I have *Lentiles* to boil, and without your Assistance, am like to lose my Dinner. This said, he broke the wooden Statue in pieces, and lighted a Fire with it. In which Action there was nothing blameable, but the irreligious Principles of which it favoured. We know this impious Philosopher openly professed Atheism. Those who would know more of the Pagan *Hercules's*, may have recourse to our former Volumes.

<sup>60</sup> *Laris* was formerly a City of *Numidia*, several Miles to the South of *Cirtha*. *Marmol* thinks it stood in the Place where *Migana* now stands.

<sup>61</sup> *Marius's* March as described by *Sallust*, leads us to judge, that the River *Tana* ran between the Cities of *Laris* and *Capſa*. But neither the Springs nor the Mouth of it are known.

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the Army, and drew out his *Manipuli* in fight of the Inhabitants. At this unexpected Sight, the unfortunate *Capsæi* offered to surrender at Discretion, only demanding their Lives, which they had a Right to demand, by the Laws of Arms. But *Marius* was naturally cruel; and he resolved to fill all *Numidia* with Terror. That he might not be obliged to leave a large Garrison at *Capsa*, to keep this inconstant People to their Duty; he plundered it, and gave all the Plunder to his Soldiers; dismantled it, and demolished the very Houses; and put all the *Citizens* who were able to bear Arms, to the Sword, and made all the rest Slaves. This Instance of a barbarous Severity, spread Terror far; and the Cities surrendered to the Conqueror, often without waiting for his Presence. Whilst the *Legionaries*, on the other hand, were so affected with this Success, that *Marius* became a greater Favourite with them than *Metellus* had been. They imputed it to the favour of Heaven; and credulously imagined, that their General's Foresight had been the Effect of the Inspiration of the Gods.

§. XL. And now, the *Consul*, who was equally revered by his Troops and dreaded by his Enemies, thought no Enterprize too great for him. He marched to the utmost Confines of *Numidia*, and to the Borders of *Bocchus's* Kingdom. The People wherever he came submitted to him, and the Cities of the Plain ran to meet their Chains. There was only one single Castle situated on the Summit of a Rock, and called *Mulucha*, (as well as the River <sup>62</sup> which separated *Numidia* from *Mauritania*) which refused to submit to the Conqueror. But it was perhaps the strongest Fortrefs then in the World. It was of no larger extent than the top of the Rock, which had been levelled, in order to build the Walls of the Stones which had been cut from it. The Rock it self was one entire Body of Flint, standing entirely by it self, and naturally so very smooth, that there was not the least Hold for the Hands, or Projection for the Feet to rest on, in order to ascend it. The only Way up to it, was what the Inhabitants had cut in the Rock; and was so narrow, that two Men could not without difficulty walk a-breast in it. Nevertheless, *Marius* undertook to reduce this steep Fort. In hopes of finding the Treasures which *Jugurtha* had brought thither, he, without hesitation, led his Troops to the Foot of the Rock, which was watered by the River that ran close to it. The Roman Army were surprized to see a Fortrefs, planted like a Bird's Nest, on the inaccessible Summit of a Rock, whose declivity would not admit of raising *Cavaliers*, or building wooden Towers. But the Astonishment of the Soldiers did not lead their General to despair. He made his Preparations, and resolved immediately to begin his Attacks on *Mulucha*.

Front. Strat.  
l. 3. c. 9.  
Sallust.

The Covered Galleries which the Romans generally used in Sieges, being too wide to pass in the single Way that led up to the Foot of the Walls and Towers, he made them narrower; and he ordered them to be pushed up that Way, by mere Strength of Arm. Then the Besieged threw such a quantity of burning Arrows from the tops of their Ramparts, and tumbled so many Stones down the Rock, that the Machines were burnt, and those who managed them grievously wounded. Nevertheless, the Attempt was often repeated, but still proved fruitless. Besides, the Castle was well stored with Ammunition and Provisions; the Season far advanced; and the first coming of the Colds would hinder the *Consul* from tarrying long enough at the Foot of the Rock, to reduce it by Famine. Yet still *Marius* persisted, waiting for the lucky Minute; and at length his Stars, or Chance, did more than all his Efforts, or any human Wisdom could have effected. A *Ligurian* Soldier accidentally went for Water to a Fountain which ran by the Foot of the Rock; and as he was filling his Pitcher, he saw some Snails creeping along the Rocks, and filling the Cracks of it which were moister on this side than any other. While he was there, the Attack was made on the hollow Way, on the opposite side to him and the Fountain; and this encouraged him to climb up after the Snails, which he found to increase the higher he came, till at last he got up to the top of the Rock. When he was come, contrary to his Expectation, to the Foot of the Wall, he found this part of it quite deserted by the Garrison, who were all gone to the side of the Part that was to be defended; and finding himself at Liberty to do as he pleased with

<sup>62</sup> The *Mulucha* of Sallust and Pliny, is the same Place, as the *Molachath* of Strabo, the *Chylemath* of Ptolomy, and the *Milycath* of Pomponius Mela. This River rises in the Mountains near the Country of the *Gætuli*, runs from South to North, and falls into the Mediterranean Sea. But we must take care not to

confound it with another River, which Ptolomy calls *Molachalt*. The latter is more to the West; and after it has run from South to North, to the most eastern Frontiers of *Mauritania Tingitana*, falls into the Sea near the Promontory of *Metagonium*, now called *Il Capo de Tres Forcas*.



ut opposition, his Curiosity led him to get up, even upon the Parapet of the Wall itself. An old Oak, whose Roots were shot into the Wall, served him for a Ladder, and by the help of its Branches which grew very high, he leaped upon the Ramparts. There he took a view of the Citadel at his Leisure, and examined it so well, as to carry in his Head a very exact Plan of it. When he had observed every thing he thought proper, he hung by the Branches of the Tree, and got down from the Rampart, slid down the Rock, and returned to the Camp. Afterwards, he did the same thing a second time; and then particularly examined, whether it were possible to introduce a Company of active and intrepid Men into the Place, that way.

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In the mean while, *Marius* grown more uneasy than ever, at the ill Success of his Attacks, and his Losses, almost despaired of forcing his Way up the Path; and was thinking to raise the Siege, and put an end to the Campaign. But the *Ligurian* Soldier was very seasonably introduced to him, related his Adventure, and represented, That on the side of the Fountain, the Rock might be mounted by a Body of chosen Men. The *Consul* immediately sent some experienced Officers to view the Place, and report their Sentiments of the Soldier's Story; and they differed in Opinion. They who had least Valour, piqued themselves upon being prudent; and declared the Thing impracticable. Whereas the more brave and enterprising, declared, That the Enterprize was not difficult; and That, at all Adventures the Loss could not be great: And their Opinion prevailed. The Author of this Discovery was put at the Head of four *Centuries*, who filed off round the Rock in the Night, and were ordered to lay down flat by the Fountain, and not make the Attempt till the Heat of the Attack on the side of the Path. With this chosen Company, *Marius* sent five or six Trumpets, nimble Fellows, who were to sound the Alarm, as soon as they got on the Rampart. All were provided with Hooks, Cramping-Irons, Nails, and Hammers; and all spent the rest of the Night by the Fountain. As soon as it was Day, the main Body of the Army made a more furious Attack than ordinary, on the Side of the Path; and all the *Numidian* Garrison ran to that side. The *Romans* in Ambush pulled off their Shoes, to make themselves lighter; and with the help of their Irons, climbed up all in a Line; so that the hindermost supported the foremost with their Shields; till at length, they came to the Foot of the Wall, and even upon the Rampart; and then the Trumpets and Horns sounded. The besieged concluded from this great Noise, that half the *Roman* Army had already entered the Fort; and they gave way, retreated, abandoned the Attack on the opposite Side, and as fast as they entered the City were cut in pieces by the four *Centuries*. The *Legionaries*, on the other hand, gained Ground, and being at length arrived at one of the Gates, broke it down, and put all, both Garrison and Inhabitants, to the Sword, without distinction. In short, they took the Place; seized the King's Treasure; and by this very unexpected piece of good Fortune, equalled the Glory of *Marius* to that of *Metellus*. Nor will he stop there; we shall soon see him rise to a Superiority in Reputation, to which no General of his Time could attain. It may be affirmed, That if his Probity and the Dispositions of his Heart had been as extraordinary as his military Virtues, he would have eclipsed, if not effaced, the Memory, even of the *Fabii* and the *Scipio's*.

§. XLI. All these Conquests had been made by the *Consul*, during the Absence of *L. Cornelius Sylla*, a *Patrician* by Birth, whom the People had chosen to be *Quæstor* in their Army in *Numidia*. *Marius* then despised *Sylla*, and had no Reason to imagine, that this new Officer would one Day become his Rival for Glory, and prove his most fatal Enemy. In their Birth, Education, and Manners, they were a perfect Contrast to each other. *Marius* who was meanly born, had raised himself from Obscurity by his Industry and Labour. *Sylla*, who was descended <sup>63</sup> from a House ennobled by *Consulates*, and

*Plut in Sylla*  
& in *Mario*  
*Sallust de Bell.*  
the *Jugurth*.

<sup>63</sup> *Plutarch* tells us, that *Lucius Cornelius Sylla* reckoned among his Ancestors, in a direct Line, *Publius Cornelius Rufinus*, who after he had been raised to the *Dictatorship*, and had been twice *Consul*, in the Years 463, and 476, was degraded from being a Senator, by the *Censors* *Quintus Æmilius Papus* and *Caius Fabricius*. The Crime laid to his Charge was his keeping in his House, contrary to Law, ten Pounds Weight of Silver in Plate for his Table. This Disgrace of *Rufinus* descended to his Posterity. They continued long in Obscurity, according to *Plutarch*; and were exclu-

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ded from Honours and publick Offices, to the sixth Generation. *Velleius Paterculus* also observes, That the Splendor of this Branch of the *Cornelii*, was long eclipsed. *Sylla* himself, in his youngest Days, felt the Inconveniencies of the Decay of his Family. His Education was suitable to the Meanness of his Fortune. When Master of himself, after the Death of his Parents, he was forced to live in a hired House, for which he gave a very low Price. And this Meanness gave occasion to the Reproach often thrown upon him, of having enriched himself by unlawful Means.

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the *Dictatorship*, had hitherto confined himself to a private Life, in a supine Negligence and utter Disregard of Grandeur. The former had laid the Foundation of his Rise, in laborious Services, and a painful and austere Life. The latter had wholly dedicated his best Years to Pleasure<sup>64</sup> and Debauchery. The one was wild and rough, and his whole Conduct favoured of the Rusticity of the Cottage in which he had been bred. The other, educated in a noble, tho' through the Negligence of his Ancestors not a rich, Family, had fallen in with the Customs of the young *Patricians* of his Time, and given himself up to Softness and Effeminacy. There was something inexpressibly uncouth and savage in the Air and Deportment of *Marius*. *Sylla*, who had a delicate Complexion, fine large blue Eyes, Hair of a most beautiful white, and the Mien and Stature of a God, inspired nothing but Tenderness and Love. The latter had polished<sup>65</sup> himself not only by his Conversation with the *Roman* Ladies and People in higher Life, but likewise by the Study of the *Greek* Authors. The former, without Learning or Eloquence, had a Genius only for Arms, but indeed a superior one. The Passions and Views of both were the same; though they shewed themselves differently, according to their different Characters. Ambition made *Marius* turbulent and audacious in the pursuit of Honours. He canvassed for them barefaced; and as it were ravished them from his Competitors, by Force and Violence. *Sylla*, who had no Thoughts of Grandeur, till late in Life; and did not enter into the pursuit of it, till he had been satiated with Pleasure; made his court only by Liberalities and Caresses. He chose to insinuate himself into the Hearts of the People by gentle and engaging Artifices, rather than to bully them into his Measures by Rage and Dread. It was by these soft and moderate Methods, that he obtained the *Quæstorship*, in the same Year that *Marius* was raised to the *Consulate*. The *Consul* therefore, who judged of others only by their Likeness to himself, was displeased with the *Quæstor* that was allotted him. He could not persuade himself, that a<sup>66</sup> Man of Pleasure could ever make a good Soldier, or a Body enervated by Vice bear the Fatigues of War. And therefore, instead of carrying *Sylla* with him, he left him behind in *Italy*, under pretence of raising a Reinforcement of auxiliary Cavalry, and bringing it with him into *Numidia*. The *Quæstor*, tho' not insensible of the Contempt shewn him, obeyed; and came not to the Army, till after the taking of *Mulluba*. But now, we shall soon see him discover his true Character. We shall see, that the Seeds of Heroism which Nature has sown in some Minds, tho' buried for some time in Sloth and Idleness, will yet shoot forth, and appear with the greatest Lustre. In short, to use the Words of one of the Ancients, *Sylla in his Youth, and Sylla in the Vigour of*

A Roman, who was remarkable for his Probity, cast this Reflection on him, soon after his Return from the War in *Africa*. *Sylla* was then elated with his Success, publicly boasted of his Virtues, and set up for a rich Man. Pardon me, said the virtuous Citizen, if I don't see those Virtues. You inherited nothing from your Ancestors, and yet possess great Riches. People don't pass so suddenly from a poor Condition to a very rich one, without transgressing the Rules of Justice and Honour. And when he had usurped the sovereign Power in *Rome*, he had the Mortification to hear the like Reproach from the Mouth of a *Freed-Man*, whom he had condemned to die, for having saved a *Roman* whom he had proscribed. The unfortunate Man, when he was ready to be thrown from *The Tarpeian Rock*, put *Sylla* in mind of the Time when they had lived together in the same House; and said, You hired the first Floor, for 3000 Sesterces; and I the second, for 2000. So that there was then only 1000 Sesterces difference between your Fortune and mine.

64 According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* spent the greatest Part of his Youth in Drunkenness, among *Farce-Players*, *Comedians*, and a sort of People who had no Shame. And in his highest Exaltation, he relaxed after the Fatigues of the Day in nocturnal Entertainments, to which he admitted none but Beggars and Buffoons, whose Business was to drink and divert him with very bad Jest. Nay, he even degraded himself, notwithstanding his Dignity and Age, so far as to play the Buffoon himself. He made no scruple of uttering the most filthy Things in these licentious Assemblies; and to the Disgrace of his Rank, he contended with his Guests

who could be most saucy and impudent, and boasted of exceeding them all, in this Contest. The scandalous Discourses they had in this debauched Company, passed for Wit; the Vapours of the Wine, which was drank without stint, heightened their Obscenities; and he that was most beastly in his Expressions, was thought to say the most good Things. Once, when he was engaged with this drunken Society, he forgot the Cares of Government; and nothing could draw him, for some time, from the base Pleasure he took, in Company so much beneath a Man of his Rank and Birth. But when he came to himself, he doubled his Application and Vigilance. He was then absolute Master, and appeared with all the Pomp of a Sovereign.

65 *Sylla*, according to *Plutarch*, had given Proofs of his Wit and Capacity, in some Memoirs which he wrote of his own Life; but Death prevented his putting the last Hand to them. He addressed this Work to *Lucullus*, desiring him to retouch it, that it might appear with Credit. *Suetonius*, in his Book *Of the famous Grammarians*, says, That *Cornelius Epicadus* had got these Memoirs, which the Author had left only as a sketch, and had reduced them to order, and completed them. This *Epicadus*, *Sylla's* *Freedman*, had the greatest share of his Confidence, and of that of his Son *Pinarius*.

66 *Sylla* carried his Debauchery so far, that he contracted a shameful Disease, which appeared by the red Pimples and White Tetter in his Face. Hence the severe Jest of the *Athenian*, who said, represent to your self a Wall powdered with Meal, and you will see the exact Picture of *Sylla*.



*his Age, seemed to be two different Men.* The beginning of his Life was spent in Luxury and Debauchery among Players and <sup>67</sup> Buffoons; but as soon as Age had ripened his Judgment, he became as much devoted to the pursuit of Honour, as he had been to that of Pleasure. And indeed, he successively carried both these Passions to Extremes.

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As soon as he had landed his Reinforcement at *Utica*, he hastened to the Roman Army, encamped in the furthest Part of *Numidia*; and found it victorious, and ready to go into Winter-Quarters, in the maritime Cities. This was the Consul's Scheme, that by means of the Sea, he might be the more easily furnished with Provisions for his Troops. And now, *Sylla* was sensible of the Injury that the Consul had done him, by having detained him in *Italy*. This Delay had robbed him of all the Opportunities he might have had of acquiring Glory, in a whole Campaign. But, the good Fortune which began from this Time constantly to attend him, soon furnished him with Incidents, which gave him room to display his Talents to advantage. And it must be allowed, that from henceforward he left no Opportunity unimproved by his own Conduct. Being invested with a military Employment in a Camp, he at once threw off the Man of Pleasure he had formerly been; and a Love of Idleness and Delicacy was succeeded by a Love of Labour and Fatigue. He was one of the readiest to undertake any painful or laborious Duty. He took the Spade, and dug, was upon Guard all Night, and was content with the common Food. He was so far from being shocked at the Rudeness of common Soldiers, that he condescended to intermix familiarly, and exchange Jest, with them. He retained nothing of his former Politeness, but great Circumspection, that not a Word should escape him, to the Disadvantage of the General, or Officers of the Army. He was always humane, always ready to oblige, and profusely liberal on all Occasions. In-  
somuch that if he had been as ready to satisfy his Creditors as he was to give away his Money, his Liberality could only have been blameable for its Excess. By these amiable Qualities, he soon gained the Affections of all Men; and *Marius* himself, whom he affected to imitate, in order to make his Court, took him into his Friendship. So that, all the *Quæstor* now wanted, was to give Proofs of his Valour; and tho' his Office was much the same as that of an *Intendant* in the French Armies, yet among the Romans it did not exempt him from partaking of the Dangers, and of the Command of Troops. In an Action, the *Quæstor* performed the Office of the first Lieutenant General of the Army, immediately under the chief Commander: And *Sylla* soon found Means, to recover the Time he had lost.

§. XLII. We have already observed, That before the taking of *Capsa*, *Bocchus* and *Jugurtha*, who had till that Time encamped together, had separated by mutual Consent; and That afterwards, the King of *Mauritania* had seemed less forward to support the *Numidian* against a Republick, which would swallow him up, as soon as he had destroyed *Jugurtha*. Hence the Delays and Unwillingness of *Bocchus*, to join his Troops to those of *Numidia*, a second time. *Jugurtha* pressed him not to defer coming to a general Battle with the Consul in his Retreat, but in vain. *Bocchus* still found some Pretence to excuse himself. As his last Effort therefore on the *Mauritanian* King, *Jugurtha* promised him the third Part of his Kingdom, if he would immediately come and encamp with him; and this great Promise overcame him. *Bocchus* left the Desert, where he had continued unactive, and marched to *Jugurtha* with his great Army. Then Preparations were immediately made for a Battle, the two Kings resolving to fall on the Romans in their March; and they chose the Time for Action very wisely. They did not begin it, till towards the close of the Day. If they should be routed, they, who were acquainted with the Country, could easily recover their Camp, even in the dark, by winding Roads; and if they should have the Advantage, they could as easily conti-

<sup>67</sup> According to *Plutarch*, an infamous Passion began the strict Friendship he had for *Metrobis* a young Comedian, who was scandalous for his Debauchery. Afterwards, Interest more than Love, knit the Friendship he entered into with a young Courtesan named *Nirgopolis*. This Woman complied with the Importunities of a Lover, who strived to please her, and whose graceful Person gave her a Liking to him, as soon as she saw him. The great Wealth she possessed, was the Fruit of her Debaucheries; and they

were the Bait that kept the young Roman constant to her, till her Death, when she left him sole Legatee. *Sylla* had likewise been amply supplied with Money for his Wants and Excesses out of his Mother-in-Law's Estate; and had, by his Diligence and Complaisance procured her Friendship. So that she left him a plentiful Estate when she died; and from that Time, he became weary of a private Life. The Riches he had got, roused his Ambition, and paved the Way for publick Honours.



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nue the Action, till the Night should be far advanced. They therefore marched up to the Roman Army when the Sun was declining, and surprized it.

The Romans were neither upon their Guard, nor armed for fighting, nor drawn up in Battalia. The *Mauritanian* and *Gætulian* Cavalry came up with the *Legionaries*, before they had laid down their Baggage and the Incumbrances they had about them; and attacked them with great Intrepidity. They fell on the *Roman Manipuli*, without any manner of Order; before the *Consul* had given any Command, or a Charge been sounded. Then the bravest of the Soldiers instantly put themselves into a Posture of Defence, sustained the first Effort of the Enemy, and covered those who were more slow in preparing for the Battle. Till at length, the *Roman* Cavalry arrived, and made a Stand against them; upon which, a tumultuary Battle, or rather a great Fray, ensued. None of the Soldiers repaired to their Colours. Horse and Foot were mixed together, and fought as they could, without any Rule or Order. The *Numidians* had the Advantage in point of Numbers, the *Romans* in point of Skill; and when the latter were suddenly surrounded by the Multitudes of the *Africans*, the *Legionaries*, as their only resource in such extreme Danger, drew themselves up into round Platoons, and faced every way. Neither were *Marius* and *Sylla* forgetful of their Duty in the Heat of the Action. The General, attended by his Guards, hastened to those Places where his Troops were most pressed; and tho' his Voice could not be heard for the Noise, he made them very sensible of his Presence, wherever he came. Here he repulsed a Party of the Enemy who were ready to break one of his *Manipuli*; there fell, like a Lion, on a Troop of the Barbarians, and routed them.

Such was the Success of the Battle, while it was light; and *Jugurtha* desired to continue it, a great while, in the dark. But *Marius*, being wholly intent on finding out a proper Place to secure his Troops, very fortunately perceived two Hills pretty near one another, where he might conveniently first rally, and then encamp them. He therefore seized the two Eminencies; fortified in all haste that which was least steep; guarded the other with slight Entrenchments; assembled his scattered Army as fast as possible; and then posted them on the Declivity of the two Hills and in the Valley between them. It happened likewise, that there was at the Foot of one of the Hills, a plentiful Spring of fresh Water, which was a great Refreshment to Troops fatigued with a long March and a hard Battle. *Sylla*, who was more concerned than any other, to efface the Prejudices entertained of his Effeminacy, undertook to guard the Fountain all Night, at the Head of the Cavalry; that is, he took upon himself the most dangerous Post, and the most fatiguing Office.

As soon as the *Legions* were drawn up in Battalia in this advantageous Place, the two Kings despaired of being able to attack them with Success, during the Night; but did not abandon the Enterprize. They reserved themselves for renewing the Action at break of Day, and surrounded the two Hills with the numberless Multitudes of their *Numidians*, *Gætuli*, and *Mauritanians*. They all looked on this Action as the beginning of a certain Victory which they should compleat at the rising of the Sun. *Jugurtha* depended on extinguishing the *Roman* Name in *Numidia*; *Bocchus* on driving away these dangerous Neighbours from his Dominions for ever: And the *African* Soldiers had divided among them in Imagination, the Spoils of the *Consular* Army which they surrounded. Hence the Feasting and Rejoycings which they made all Night. They lighted great Fires, danced round them, and made great Shouts.

In the mean time, the *Romans* saw all that passed, from the tops of their Hills. Guard was exactly kept in their Camp, and with so great silence, that the General would not suffer the Watches of the Night to be proclaimed by sound of Trumpet. *Marius* considered well the Danger that threatened him; and his greatest Hope was from the little Discipline the two Kings kept, both in the Action, and in the Night. In short, their People, being fatigued with Dancing and useless Howlings, were at last quite tired, and at break of Day fell asleep. And then the *Consul* seized the happy Minute. He drew his *Legions* out of his Camp, before Day-break, in order of Battle, and posted all the Trumpets in his Army in the first Line. Then he advanced in silence and good order towards the Enemy, and when he was within reach of them, the Trumpets sounded a Charge, and made so terrible a din, that it filled the sleepy Barbarians with Terror. The *Gætuli* especially, who were not used to be so awakened, were so affected, that they continued motionless, and without having the Courage to take up their Arms, thought of nothing but flight. So that the *Romans* made a most terrible Slaughter of them. These

*Africans*,



*Africans*, who were usually so swift, were now so retarded by their heaviness to sleep, that Death was inevitable; and it is said, that *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus* lost more Men, in this Surprize, than in any other Battle.

§. XLIII. The Victory which *Marius* gained; contrary to Custom, only made him the more cautious. He returned to the Road which led to the maritime Cities; and ever after, marched in order of Battle. In his Right, he posted all his Cavalry, under the Command of *Sylla*; In the Left, his Lieutenant General *Manlius*, with all the Slingers and Archers of the Army, and one *Ligurian Cohort*; in the Front and Rear, the light armed Troops, under the Command of their *Tribunes*; and in the Center, the *Legions*. But the *Consul* confined himself to no particular Post; he was always in motion. His chief Care was to send out the Deserters from the *Numidian* Army for Scouts, and to watch the Roads. Every Evening the *Roman* Army encamped; and that with as much Regularity, as if the Enemy had been in sight. The auxiliary Cavalry kept Guard all Night, without the Trenches; the *Legionaries* guarded the Gates of the Camp; and the auxiliary Foot kept Guard on the Ramparts. The General himself took the Rounds regularly; not so much for fear of any neglect of Duty, as to encourage the Troops by his Vigilance; and as he was generally esteemed by his Army, the Soldiers were very punctual in their Duty, more out of Affection than Constraint.

The Observance of this exact Order, filled them with Confidence. It was not at all probable, that the vanquished Kings should have the Boldness to appear again, and venture on a new Engagement. Nevertheless, after four Days march, when they were in the Neighbourhood of *Cyrtba*, some Scouts from the *African* Army came very near, to observe the Order and Appearance of the *Romans*. The *Consul* concluding that the Enemy was not far off, sent out some light Horse, different Ways, for Intelligence; and received repeated Accounts, that they were at hand. And then he found the Benefit of the Precautions which he had taken. He had no alteration to make in the Order in which he had disposed his Troops. They were already formed in a square Body, and supported each other in such a manner, that it was impossible to break them; which was what *Jugurtha* did not expect. As his Army was still numerous, notwithstanding his Losses, he had divided it into four Parts, in hopes, that one of them would attack the Enemy in the Rear. But the *Romans* faced every way, and waited for the Enemy, without stirring. The first Effort the *Africans* made was upon the *Roman* Cavalry, which *Sylla* commanded; this gave him an Opportunity, for the first time, to shew that he was brave, and understood Command. He closed his Squadrons, and brought them upon the *Mauritanians* with a rapidity that surprized them. The latter in vain threw their Darts on the *Roman* Infantry from a distance; they covered themselves with their Bucklers, and did not stir: And whoever drew too near to them was killed. During this Battle between the Cavalry, *Bocchus* came with many Battalions which his Son *Volux* had lately brought him, and attacked the *Romans* in the Rear; whilst *Jugurtha*, with his *Numidians*, attacked them in Front. But the *Roman* Army were prepared to receive them in one Place as well as the other. As for *Marius*, he was in the Center, and sent his Orders from thence to all Parts.

It must be owned, that *Jugurtha* did Wonders on the Side where he commanded. He vigorously broke into the first *Manipuli*, and had like to have routed them; but it was as much by the help of a Lye which he invented on the Spot, as by his Courage. He could speak *Latin*, which he had learned in his Youth at the Siege of *Numantia*; and he cried out aloud to the *Romans*, *Marius is dead. This Sword is stained with his Blood.* He had indeed just stabbed a private Soldier with it; and this Declaration, both surprized and discouraged those who heard it. Then the *Numidians* made an Onset with more Fury than ever; and the first Line of the *Romans* was ready to be routed, when *Sylla* came up at the Head of his Cavalry. He had already defeated the *African* Squadrons, which had first attacked him; and dispersed *Bocchus* and *Volux*, who had fallen on the Rear-guard; and now arrived very seasonably to revive the Courage of the *Romans*, and rob *Jugurtha* of a Victory, which he thought certain. He fell on the Enemy in Flank, both to the Right and Left, made a terrible Slaughter among them, forced them to retire, and the King who retired with them, narrowly escaped his Hands. *Marius* also came himself to the Relief of his first Line, which had begun to give way; and this compleated the Victory. It was past all doubt as soon the *Consul* appeared. *Sylla* had made the *African* Cavalry, *Bocchus's* Infantry, and *Jugurtha* himself,

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Year of himself, turn their Backs: And now, all the formidable Army of the Enemy fled in disorder over the Plain. The Romans had nothing more to do, but pursue the Fugitives; and when the Cavalry came up with them, the Sight was very shocking. The Ground was strewed with dead Men, Darts, Javelins, and Bucklers; the Blood ran in Streams, and you could tread on nothing but dead Bodies. In short, so few were left of this great Army of 90000 Men, that it was very probable, the War was ended. But to whom was Rome indebted for this prodigious Success? The General and the *Quæstor* shared the Glory of it between them. *Marius* had the Honour of having wisely conducted it; and *Sylla* that, of having executed it with Valour. In short, the Roman Army entered *Cyrtba*, where one Part of it continued under the Command of the *Consul*; and the other went into Winter-Quarters near *Utica*, under the Command of *Sylla*.

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§. XLIV. After the Labours of the Campaign, Negotiations and Conferences succeeded without intermission. *Bocchus* had long been inclined to Peace. It was purely the Sollicitations and Offers of *Jugurtha*, that had engaged him a second time in an unfortunate War, which had only exhausted him of his Men and Money: And the Loss of this last Battle brought him to Reason. He sent an Embassy to the *Consul*, desiring him to send him some Officers in whom he could confide, and to whom he might safely communicate his Thoughts, concerning some Designs he had in view. *Marius* accepted of the Proposal, and sent to him the *Quæstor* *Sylla*, and the Lieutenant General *Manlius*; two Illustrious Romans, whose Deputation did the greatest Honour to the King of *Mauritania*. *Manlius* was the elder, and had served longer than *Sylla*; but nevertheless he gave him the Honour of being the Speaker; *Sylla* having been endowed by Nature with the Art of Persuasion. They came together to the King's Camp; and in their first Audience, *Sylla* addressed himself to him in this manner. *You have great Reason to be very thankful to the Gods, for inspiring you with a Resolution to prefer Peace to War. If you had continued to join Interests with the most wicked of Men, it could not but have reflected the greatest Dishonour on your self. Jugurtha has drawn our Resentments and our Arms upon him, by the most enormous Crimes: And it has been Necessity only, that has obliged us, against our Inclinations, to extend our Hostilities to you. As it has been a Pleasure to us to punish his Iniquities; so we have been no less grieved at the Errors which seduced you. The Roman People had much rather have you for their Friend, than see you their Slave. If they dethrone Kings, it is with Reluctance; but they enter into Alliances with them, with pleasure. And the Advantages of your recovering their Friendship are very obvious. They are at too great a distance from you to be troublesome to you, and yet will always be near enough to assist you in Time of need. If you had from the beginning looked on us as your faithful Friends, you would have saved yourself many Troubles, and we should have had the Satisfaction of doing you much Service. But the Gods may perhaps have suffered you to fall into this Mistake, only to extricate you out of it, with the more Glory. Follow then the Dictates with which they inspire you, and consider how to testify your Regard for us, by some signal Act of Service. Be assured, that Rome knows how to Reward, even better than how to Conquer.*

*Sylla's* Aim in this Discourse, was not so much to draw off *Bocchus* from *Jugurtha*, as to incline him to betray the *Numidian* King, and deliver him up alive into the *Consul's* Hands. But whether *Bocchus* saw through the Artifice, is not certain. At least, his Answer was short, and full of Temper. *My Heart, said he, has borne no Part in the War I have made. I only defended my Frontiers against an Invasion which I had Reason to fear. I took some Steps in order to obtain your Friendship, and you refused it me. And now that the new Consul appears more favourable to my Desires than his Predecessors, I joyfully accept the Peace he offers me. Nothing remains to confirm me in my Resolutions, but his Leave for me to send to Rome, to desire an Alliance with the Roman Senate and People.*

At these Words, *Sylla* put on that gracious Air which was natural to him, and assured the King, on the Part of the *Consul*, that he was at full Liberty to send his Ambassadors to *Italy*. All this passed in a private Conference between the King and the two Roman Officers; but nevertheless, it soon took Air. *Jugurtha* had his Friends and Spies even in *Bocchus's* Council. These informed him of this new Correspondence between the King and the Romans, and *Jugurtha* endeavoured to prevent the Embassy. But notwithstanding all the Means that either the *Numidian* himself, or his Agents, could use to the contrary, the *Mauritanian* sent five of his most faithful Subjects to the *Consul* at *Cyrtba*.



*Cyrtba*; with Orders to go from thence to *Rome*, in case *Marius* should be of Opinion, that they might obtain a Peace, and the Friendship of the Republick.

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The five Ambassadors, all Men of great Resolution, well affected to their Master, and furnished with full Powers, soon began their Journey, and advanced towards the Place to which they were ordered. But by some unknown Accident, they fell in with a Party of *Gætuli*, who stripped them, and left them not the least Proof of their Embassy. When thus reduced to extream Want, they had nothing to do, but to throw themselves on the Honour of the *Romans*; and they went on to *Cyrtba*, where the Body of their Army was in Winter-Quarters. But they found not *Marius* in the Capital, tho' he had chosen it for his usual Place of Residence. He was gone with some auxiliary *Cohorts*, and a part of his Cavalry, into the middle of a Desert, to surprize a Castle, which was said to be full of *Roman* Deserters. And as this Expedition would take up much Time, the Ambassadors proceeded to *Utica*, where *Sylla* commanded the whole Army, in the interim, with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*. This Circumstance was much in their favour, and they willingly put themselves into the Hands of a Man, who was always affable, humane, and liberal.

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He received them in a much more distinguishing manner, than they could have expected; Did not treat them as inconstant and contemptible Enemies, whom he had room to look on as Impostors, and whose publick Character he was at liberty to disown; but paid them great Honours, and was very liberal to them, and that privately, and without Affectation. By this means, he cleared the *Romans*, from that Reproach of Avarice with which they were charged in *Africa*; and gained both their Affections, and their Confidence. They opened themselves to him without reserve; discovered the Riches and Strength of their Master; and shewed him of what Advantage it would be to the Republick, to enter into an Alliance with him. On the other hand, *Sylla* instructed the Ambassadors, what Means to use, first to ingratiate themselves with *Marius*, and afterwards to get their Proposals accepted at *Rome*. In all which, the *Quæstor's* sole Aim, was to induce the *Mauritanians* to sacrifice *Jugurtha*; whose last resource was in them.

At length *Marius* returned to *Cyrtba*, after he had failed of taking the Castle he went to surprize; and immediately ordered *Sylla* to bring the *Mauritanian* Ambassadors to him. He also assembled all the Officers and *Legionaries* of Senatorial Families, in his Army, to be present at their Audience; and among them were, the *Prætor* of the *African Province*, *Lucius Annius Bellienus*; and the second *Quæstor* *Cneius Octavius Rufus*, who was lately come from *Rome* with large Sums of Money, for the Payment of the Troops and other Expences of the War.

Before this noble Audience, the five Ambassadors declared their Orders, for desiring of *Marius* a Peace, and an Alliance with *Rome*; and for immediately embarking for *Rome*, there to get the Treaty ratified which the *Consul* should make with them: And their Request was unanimously complied with. But they found more difficulty in procuring the Suspension of Arms, which they demanded, till their Return from *Italy*. However, by the interposition of *Sylla*, the Assembly at last determined in their Favour, and came to the following Resolutions. That two of the five Ambassadors should be sent back to *Bocchus*, to carry him the News of the Truce, and to signify to him, that the *Consul* expected, he would immediately deliver up *Jugurtha* into his Hands; and That the other three should embark for *Rome*, with the *Quæstor* *Octavius*, and there negotiate their Reconciliation with the People and Senate.

§. XLV. When these Ambassadors arrived, they found in the *Consulship* *C. Atilius Serranus*, and *Q. Servilius Cæpio*; who had been in Possession of it, ever since the first of *January*. *Narbonne-Gaul*, where the *Cimbri* still continued to commit Ravages, had been allotted to *Cæpio*, and the Government of *Italy* to *Serranus*. The Senate, unwilling to recall the victorious *Marius* from *Africa*, where he had by his Prudence and Skill made so great a Progress in reducing *Numidia*, had continued him there in quality of *Pro-Consul*, and *Sylla*, in quality of *Pro-Quæstor*. In the mean time, *Bocchus* waited with impatience for the Return of his Ambassadors, because he was doubtful of their Success with the Senate. But when the *Conscrip't Fathers* had heard from them the Request of their Master, they, with the Loftiness which their Superiority and Success gave them, returned them this Answer. *The Senate and People of Rome are not easily to be reconciled to those who have dared to declare themselves against their Republick, without any Offence on her part. Nevertheless, the Repentance of Bocchus disarms us. Let him*

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SERRANUS,  
& Q. SERVI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

Sallust. Bell.  
Jugurth.

enjoy



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& Q. SERVI-  
LIUS CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

enjoy the Truce with which Marius has favoured him, and afterwards a Peace, which we now grant him. But as for an Alliance with Rome, it is incumbent upon him first to merit it, by some important Services. The Mauritians taking no offence at these last Words, thought themselves very happy to be no longer exposed to the Vengeance of the Romans, who pardoned what was past; and returned home well satisfied.

The King of Mauritania was wholly indebted to Sylla, for the Tranquillity he enjoyed. Whilst, on the other hand, Sylla had gained the Confidence and the Friendship of Bocchus, by his obliging Reception of the robbed Ambassadors, by the wise Instructions which he had given them, and by his kind Interposition with Marius and the Senate, in order to procure a Peace: And as soon as Bocchus had received certain Advice of his Reconciliation with Rome, he resolved to merit her Alliance. He was sensible, that Rome expected he should sacrifice Jugurtha; and knew at the same time, it would be no easy matter to surprize and deliver him up. With this View therefore, he desired Marius to send Sylla to him, to facilitate the Execution of his Designs in favour of the Romans: And Sylla was ready to run any Hazards, in order to negotiate an Affair which would put an end to the War, by the taking of Jugurtha.

The Numidian King, tho' so often beaten, tho' deserted by the best part of his Forces, and tho' in want of every thing, yet still supported himself by his Courage. He was retired to an inaccessible Solitude, there waited for some happy turn of Fortune, still depending on the Constancy of his Son-in-Law Bocchus. Even the News of the Treaty Mauritania had just concluded with Rome did not discourage him. He did not doubt, but he should be able, by well-conducted Negotiations, and by the Mediation of Bocchus, to get himself included in the Treaty; and save his Person, and at least a Part of his Dominions. As soon therefore as Advice was brought him into his Desert, that Sylla was coming into Mauritania to put the last Hand to the Peace; he immediately dispatched to Bocchus, an intelligent and faithful Agent, who was well qualified to maintain his Interests, in the Conferences between Sylla and the King of Mauritania. This Agent was a Numidian named Aspar, whose Prudence and Skill in Business Jugurtha had experienced; and he arriving at the Mauritanian Court before Sylla, insinuated himself so much into the King's Affections, that he had very like to have gained him over entirely to his Master's Interest. Nay, he would certainly have succeeded in plunging Mauritania again into the Dangers of a War, if there had not then been at the Court likewise, a Numidian Prince, named Dabar, who was of the Race of the ancient Numidian Kings. He was the Grandson of Massinissa, by a Concubine; and therefore had not shared the Throne with his Brothers. But he had the same inviolable Attachment to the Romans, which his Grandfather had retained to the Day of his Death; and by exerting all his Interest in her Favour, he kept Bocchus wavering between Rome and Jugurtha. It was indeed doing a great deal, to keep the Balance even, till the Roman Ambassador arrived.

Sylla was already upon the Road to Mauritania, with a pretty numerous Guard, of Cavalry and light-armed Infantry, together with some Archers, and Slingers, and a whole Cohort of Peligni; and every Evening, the little Army encamped as regularly, as if all the Legions had been in the Field. After five Days march, Sylla saw a Body of Africans advancing towards him, which proved to be Volux, a young Prince, the Son of Bocchus, with only 1000 Men. But these when dispersed abroad, deceived the Sight, and gave room for an Apprehension, that Jugurtha was coming in Person with all the Troops he had left. The Romans therefore instantly drew up in Battalia, and were under some Apprehensions, tho' not discouraged. They comforted themselves with this, that they had only a vanquished Enemy to contend with; and upon sending out Scouts to reconnoitre the Enemy, News was soon brought from Volux himself, That he came from his Father, to do honour to Sylla. This Discovery dispelled their Fears; the Pro-Questor received the King's Son with all the Politeness and Address that was natural to him; and they marched together to their first Encampment, without the least appearance of distrust. But after the Sun was down, and the little Army had pitched their Tents, Volux precipitately entered the Roman General's Pavilion, and told him, he was informed by his Couriers, That Jugurtha was near; and That his Troops, even now, were abundantly superior to theirs when joined together.

This gave the Roman just Grounds to suspect the Prince of a Treachery concerted with his Father; and the rash Advice the Mauritanian gave Sylla, increased the Suspicion. Let us flee, said he, and leave our Camp and Men to the Mercy of the Enemy. I can conduct you



you to a Place of Safety in the Dark. The brave *Pro-Quæstor* was shocked with this Freedom, and replied; *Shall I fear an Enemy which has been so often vanquished? Or shall I be Coward enough to leave my faithful Men, in the midst of Danger, without a Leader? I know the Valour of my Troops; and either they shall conquer with me, or I will perish with them.* Nevertheless, *Volux* so far prevailed on *Sylla*, as to induce him to decamp instantly, and by favour of the Night to continue his March in silence: And in order to deceive *Jugurtha*, and tempt him to attack the deserted Camp, the *Romans* left great Fires burning in it. But the *Numidian* pursued his Point. Being informed, probably by his Scouts; or by some other unknown Way, of what had happened, he continued his March, and posted himself in the Road through which the *Romans* were to pass, in order to intercept them. *Sylla* was utterly ignorant of his Design, and when the *Roman Detachment* had marched all Night, and were much harassed by Sun-rising, he encamped, in order to give them a little Rest. But they were scarce laid down, when some *Mauritanian Horse* brought Intelligence, That they had seen *Jugurtha's Army*, about two Miles from the Camp, and That they barred the Way. At this News, the *Roman Soldiers* were transported with Rage, and cried out, *We are betrayed; Volux has sold us to Jugurtha. Let us kill the Traytor!* Nay, *Sylla* himself was of the same Opinion; but he thought it necessary to dissemble. A General ought to conceal his Fear, and put on an Air of Security, in the most sudden Alarms: And he said to his *Manipuli*, *The King of Numidia is not a formidable Enemy: And he has had Time enough now to know you, and to be convinced by Experience, that you are not to be intimidated by Numbers. Besides, these unforeseen Accidents are the best Opportunities for Men to shew their Courage. The greater the Danger is, the more will true Valour exert it self.* By this appearance of Unconcern he inspired his Soldiers with Confidence; but at the same time took *Volux* aside, and addressed himself to him thus. *I call Jupiter, the Avenger of violated Hospitality, to witness, That I abhor the Treachery of which I think you guilty; and that I may not be as wicked as your self, I will do all I can for you, which is to save your Life. Be gone from the Camp this Moment; and go and augment the Army Jugurtha has brought against us.*

The young Prince appeared astonished at these Words, and replied; *Is it possible that you can suspect me of the most infamous Cowardice? Or ought I to be responsible for Jugurtha's Diligence in intercepting a March, which was as well known to him as to us? I am indeed of Opinion, that the Numidian is not so formidable an Enemy to us at present, as you imagine. His sole dependance now is upon the King my Father. Will he then be so mad, as to insult an Ambassador who is under the Conduct of the Son of the only Friend which he has in the World? If he stops the Way into Mauritania, he does it not as an Enemy, with a Design to destroy us; but in Policy, to make a Merit of giving Sylla a free Passage through the midst of his Troops. His sole Aim is to share with Bocchus the Happiness of the Peace, which you are going to ratify; and you will see him embrace with pleasure, the Opportunity that now offers, of making his Court to you. Let us two go together, without any Attendants, into the Enemy's Army; and you will see, that we shall pass through it, without any Danger.*

*Sylla* indeed thought this a dangerous Experiment, but Necessity forced him to run the Hazard of it. However, he took what Precautions he could, and insisted that the 1000 *Mauritanians* should continue in the *Roman Camp*, as Hostages for the Fidelity of the Prince their Leader. Then, accompanied only with the necessary Train of Domesticks, which attended him as Ambassador, he continued his March with *Volux*, and when he came to *Jugurtha's Army*, passed through it without opposition. The *Numidian King*, whether out of Respect for a Man of that Consequence which *Sylla* was, or in a Surprise at so unexpected an Event, suffered the Son of *Bocchus*, and the *Roman Ambassador*, to go on without any molestation. And as for the *Roman Detachment*, it in all probability returned safe to *Cyrtha*; and the *Mauritanian Horse*, to their own Country. The most surprizing part of all these Transactions, is the signal good Fortune of *Sylla*. He was famous for nothing more than that constant flow of Prosperity, from which he was ever after called *The fortunate Sylla*: Tho' it must be confessed, that he continually merited his Success more and more, by his great Courage.

§. XLVII. After they had thus happily escaped the Hands of *Jugurtha*, *Sylla* and *Volux* soon drew near to the Place, where the King of *Mauritania* resided. It may perhaps be doubted, whether *Bocchus* had not concerted the detaining the *Roman Ambassador*, with the King of *Numidia*, and his Agent *Aspar*; and it is certain, that there



Year of is no Treachery, of which those Kings of *Africa* were not capable. It may likewise  
 ROME be conjectured, that *Sylla's* Cautious, in keeping *Volux's* Guard, by way of Hostage,  
 DCXLVII. among his *Romans*, was what saved him from the Snare, that *Jugurtha* had laid for  
 C. ATILIUS him. But then it must likewise be allowed, on the other hand, That if the *Maurita-*  
 SERRANUS, nian had these pernicious Designs, he concealed them with great Art. As soon as he  
 & Q. SERVI- knew that *Sylla* drew near, he sent *Prince Dabar*, *Massinissa's* Grandson, to meet  
 LIUS CÆPIO, him; with Orders to tell him, That he would find every thing ready for receiving him  
 Consuls. in the most respectful manner, at the *Mauritanian* Court. *Bocchus*, said *Dabar* to the  
*Roman Ambassador*, is resolved to accept the Peace which *Rome* offers him, on her own  
 Terms. You have nothing to fear from the Negotiations of *Aspar*, or the Plots of *Jugur-*  
*tha*. The King of *Mauritania* keeps the *Numidian* Envoy with him, only in order to the  
 more effectual Determination of Affairs to the Advantage of *Rome*. Appoint your own  
 Time and Place for the Conference, and *Bocchus* and *Aspar* will meet you. And there is  
 no doubt, that *Dabar* himself was sincere, and thought the Offers real which were sent  
 by him. But *Bocchus* was still wavering; and it was a great Pleasure to him in this Un-  
 certainty, to have the two Ambassadors in his Hands, who were both Men of Conse-  
 quence in their Countries, and might be of great Service to him against the Enemy which  
 he should choose. His Inclinations were to favour *Jugurtha*; but his Fear of the *Ro-*  
*mans* ballanced them. He made it his Business to deceive both Ambassadors; but ap-  
 peared to have most Deference for *Sylla*. He promised the *Roman*, that his publick  
 Conferences with him and *Aspar* should be short; but with him alone, long and pri-  
 vate. After this, he ordered both Ambassadors to be brought to him; and then *Sylla*  
 delivered his Message with all the Pride of a *Roman*, in these Words; I only come to  
 know, whether you will have War or Peace. Take your Choice, and I am gone. This  
 stopped the Mouth of the *Numidian* Ambassador; and *Bocchus* only made this short Re-  
 ply. I am not yet determined. I will take ten Days to consider of it, and then declare my  
 Resolution.

In the mean time, *Sylla* was brought the next Night into the King's Apartment, with  
 whom *Dabar* only was present; and he being their only Witness and Interpreter, was  
 sworn to keep the Secret, and interpret faithfully, between both. And then *Bocchus* began  
 thus.

I could never have believed, that so great a King as my self, could have lain under Obli-  
 gations to any private Man. But I must confess, *Sylla*, that you have exceedingly obliged  
 me. Your repeated Services demand a grateful Return; and therefore an absolute Monarch,  
 with Pleasure acknowledges, that he is indebted to you, for the great Civilities shewn to his  
 Ambassadors, and for the Peace you have procured him with *Rome*. His Power is en-  
 tirely at your Service. Arms, Auxiliaries, Money, in short, whatever you desire, he is  
 ready to grant, from a Sense that he can never do enough for you. And for your Republick,  
 be assured, that I made War with her, entirely against my own Inclinations. I took up  
 Arms, only to defend my own Frontiers; and now that a Peace has secured them, I give  
 up *Jugurtha* to your Resentments. The River *Mullucha* shall be my Barrier; and I will  
 never pass it, to assist a Prince who has incurred your Displeasure. What more can you desire?

*Sylla*, on the other hand, gave the King the strongest Assurances of his personal Regards;  
 justified the Proceedings of *Rome* against *Jugurtha*; magnified the Favour shewn to the  
*Mauritanian* by the Peace; and then, with regard to the most material part of his Com-  
 mission, went on thus. The only Design of my Republick in putting an end to Hostilities,  
 was to draw you into an Alliance with her; which she has sufficiently shewn you, the most  
 powerful Kings cannot obtain, but by some important Services. Seize then the Opportu-  
 nity which Fortune offers you. Nothing can more effectually procure you the Friendship of  
 the *Romans*, than the Sacrifice of *Jugurtha*; and it is now in your Power to surprize  
 and deliver him up to us, with ease. Be not too fondly attached to an Usurper, and you will  
 establish your self on the Throne of your Ancestors for ever. Nor is this all. The best  
 Part of *Numidia* will be the Reward of the just Punishment to which you will have  
 brought a Villain, whose Hands are yet stained with the Blood of his Brothers. Assist then  
 in executing the Vengeance of the Gods, deliver up *Jugurtha* into my Hands before my  
 Departure, and depend on the perpetual Protection and Friendship of the *Romans*.

*Bocchus* pretended to be surprized, and astonished at the Proposal; and cried out,  
 What! betray a Father-in-Law, a neighbouring King, a Friend, and an Ally! What  
 would all *Africa* think of such a Proceeding! What just Cause would this give to my own  
 Subjects to rebel! Or what Authority could I expect to have over the *Numidians* you promise  
 me?



*me? They love Jugurtha, and hate the Romans? But nevertheless, Sylla, who could not but expect to meet with such Objections, found Means, by considering each singly, to remove them all; and at last, obtained an express Promise from Bocchus, that he would deliver up the King of Numidia. The rest of the Night was spent in finding out Expedients to ensnare him. But the only Particular in which they at present agreed, was, That the most likely Bait, to draw Jugurtha thither, was his Desire of being included in the Treaty of Peace with Rome. As his Losses had made him weary and sick of the War, the King and the Roman were both of Opinion, That the least Appearance of Hope of putting an end to it, would strike him, and he would come himself to make his Advantage of it. The rest they left to Accident; and the Ambassador retired well satisfied with his Negotiation.*

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§. XLVIII. The next Morning, Bocchus in order to put the concerted Design in execution, sent for Aspar, Jugurtha's faithful Agent, to an Audience; and with an unusual Air of Gaiety in his Looks, addressed himself to him thus. *We have at length brought Jugurtha's Affairs to take an happy turn. I am informed by Debar, that the Roman Ambassador seems inclined to admit the King your Master into the Treaty of Peace which I have obtained of Rome. Inform him therefore that the critical Time for making himself happy, is now come; and advise him to come hither without delay, and finish the Negotiation in Person.*

With this good News, Aspar immediately set out for Jugurtha's Camp; and it filled the Numidian both with Hope, and Distrust. He desired nothing more than a solid Peace, but was afraid of the Artifices of Marius: And when he had given Aspar full Instructions concerning his Pretensions, he sent him back without delay.

The Envoy was but eight Days absent from the Court of Bocchus; and, as soon as returned, he laid open his Master's Views and Intentions to the King of Mauritania in this manner. *Jugurtha is very desirous of putting an End to a troublesome War upon reasonable Terms; but how can he depend on the Peace proposed to him? He has already entered into two Treaties of Peace, one with the Consul Calpurnius Bestia, and the other with the Consul Postumius Albinus, and yet the Senate rejected both. Must he always treat with the Romans upon an Uncertainty, and run the Hazard of seeing what is concluded in Africa, disannulled at Rome? He sees but one thing that can secure to him the Peace which Marius's Ambassador is come to negotiate, and that is, the delivering the Roman into his Hands. Sylla is a Man of Consequence in his Republick; and if he be detained, this will be a powerful Motive to the Senate to confirm a Treaty, which they cannot break, but at the Expence of so illustrious a Patrician. She will very probably ratify our Agreements; rather than give up to the Mercy of his Enemies, a generous Citizen who will be kept in Captivity, only for having served his Country.*

The Mauritanian was immediately struck with the Proposal; and whether the Design really pleased him at first sight, or he only affected to come into it, in order the more effectually to deceive the King of Numidia, he promised to betray Sylla, and cause him to fall into the Hands of the Numidian Army. So that whatever his first Intentions were, he now brought himself into a strange Situation. On one Hand, he had promised the Roman to sacrifice Jugurtha; and on the other, had promised Jugurtha to deliver up the Roman: And in all probability, the Levity and Inconstancy natural to a Numidian, kept him yet in suspense, between Affection and Fear. His Heart was with Jugurtha; but when he came to reflect, his Interest inclined him to favour Sylla. However, during this Uncertainty, he drew the King of Numidia out of the Desert in which he had been posted; tho' he yet knew not himself, whether he should betray Jugurtha, or Sylla. As he had solemnly given his Word to both, the two Ambassadors equally expressed their Satisfaction; and Bocchus equally caressed both. There was no Distrust, or Jealousy between them; each depended on the Promises given him; and each looked on his Rival as ensnared and sacrificed by Bocchus. But this Uncertainty could not last long; he must soon unravel the Plot; since Jugurtha was making long marches towards him. The Night therefore before he was obliged to declare, Bocchus was observed to say little, retired in private, and sunk into deep Reflection. He sent for his Friends; discoursed with them about the Peace, without explaining to them the true Cause of his Anxiety; dismissed them; and fell again into his former Thoughtfulness and Perplexity. The few Officers that were left with him, observed him to walk very fast, with unusual Agitations of Body, and to change colour every Moment. After this dumb Scene, he sent for Sylla privately to his Apartment; and then came at last

Plut. in Syll.  
& Mario.  
Sall. Ist. Ibid.



Year of to a final Determination. He entered into Measures with *Rome* for drawing *Jugurtha* into her Snares, and from that Time consulted with none but him; and when all Things were settled, *Sylla* withdrew to his repose.

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As soon as this Resolution was taken, *Bocchus* ordered some Troops to march towards a very high Hill, which was appointed for the Place of the Conference, and which was easily seen at a great distance; with Orders to conceal themselves in the covered Places near it, and to invest the Hill, as soon as the King of *Numidia* came upon it. The next Day *Bocchus* received Advice, that *Jugurtha* was encamped within reach of the Court; and then himself and *Sylla* set out together, to meet *Jugurtha*; and, as was pretended, to do him Honour. After the first Civilities, the two Kings and the *Roman* Ambassador proceeded together towards the Hill; and *Jugurtha* doubted not, but the King his Son-in-Law was going to deliver into his Hands this illustrious *Roman*, as a Pledge of the Peace he was ready to conclude. So strongly was he persuaded of this, that tho' naturally very suspicious, he neither took his Army with him, nor any other Guard than some few Friends; whom he took, not for his Defence, but their Advice. As soon as he arrived at the top of the Hill, the *Mauritanians* came out of their Ambush, and even this Sight very little affected him; being still persuaded, That their only Business was with *Sylla*, and That he was sure of his Prey. Nor, in short, was he deceived to the last, till the Detachment fell on his Friends and beheaded them, and then surrounded and seized him. He scarce believed his own Eyes, till he was delivered alive into the *Roman* Ambassador's Hands; and then he was loaded with Chains, and conducted to *Marius*.

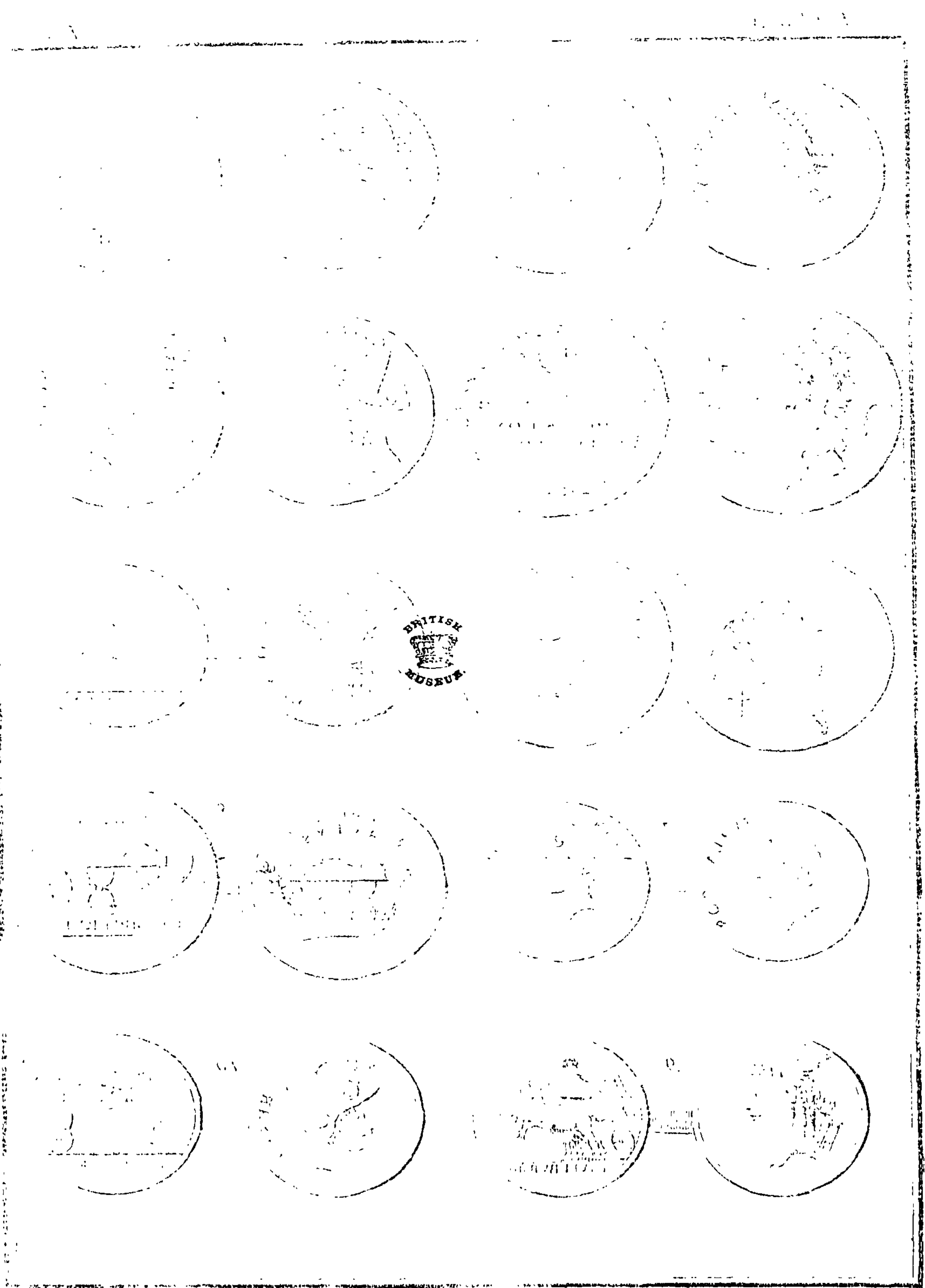
Thus was *Sylla* fortunate to a degree not to be paralleled, and his Embassy successful in every Particular. The Barbarian had long been in Suspence about detaining the *Roman* a Prisoner; and he very narrowly escaped changing Situations with the present unfortunate captive King. His Stars, if I may so speak, delivered him out of all Dangers, and blessed him with Success, beyond his Hopes. He had the Honour of finishing the War, in a manner without loss of Blood; which *Marius* had not been able to do by many Sieges, and many Victories. Tho' a *Pro-Quæstor* only, he gained as much Reputation, in this his first Campaign, as his General himself. At least, he was looked on at *Rome*, as the chief Conqueror of *Numidia*. Indeed, it seemed to be with Justice, that Heaven was pleased to give *Marius* the Mortification of seeing the Glory of the Campaign divided between a Subaltern and himself. He had supplanted his Predecessor *Metellus*, by secret Artifices, and publick Calumnies; and Providence now raised up one to avenge his Quarrel, who first in some measure eclipsed him, and afterwards became his Rival to the end of his Life. The famous Wars between *Marius* and *Sylla* took their rise, at this Time, from this small beginning; and as the Jealousy afterwards increased with Time, and was at last carried to the utmost Extremity, it did not end, but with the Destruction of the Republick.

When *Jugurtha* entered into *Cirta*, the Shouts of the *Roman* Army, and the Applauses they gave the *Pro-Quæstor* *Sylla*, are not easily to be described; and this raised the Envy of his General. Indeed, *Marius* had given him the Commission, whereby he had acquired so much Honour. It was under the Authority of the *Pro-Consul* that the King of *Numidia* had been put into his Hands. But it is no uncommon thing for Men to be jealous of the Prosperity of those, whom they themselves have promoted. It is not at all strange, to see a General envy his Subaltern the Honour of having gloriously executed a Design on which he himself had sent him. And *Marius* had not Magnanimity enough to raise him above these Weaknesses, which are rarely surmounted otherwise than by the Study of Virtue, or by imbibing early the sound Principles of a good Education. So that, the *Pro-Consul* openly discovered his Resentment, of the Praises which the Soldiers so liberally bestowed on the *Pro-Quæstor*. This was the first inward Wound he received from his new Rival in Glory; and what nourished the rising Passion, was the little Care *Sylla* took to humour the Weakness of his General, which now began to shew it self. He was so far from ascribing to *Marius* all the Honour of having taken *Jugurtha* his Prisoner, that he assumed it all to himself. He engraved the Story of the Transaction in *Mauritania* which had done him so much Honour, in a *Cornelian*, which he set in a Ring. It represented *Bocchus* delivering up *Jugurtha*

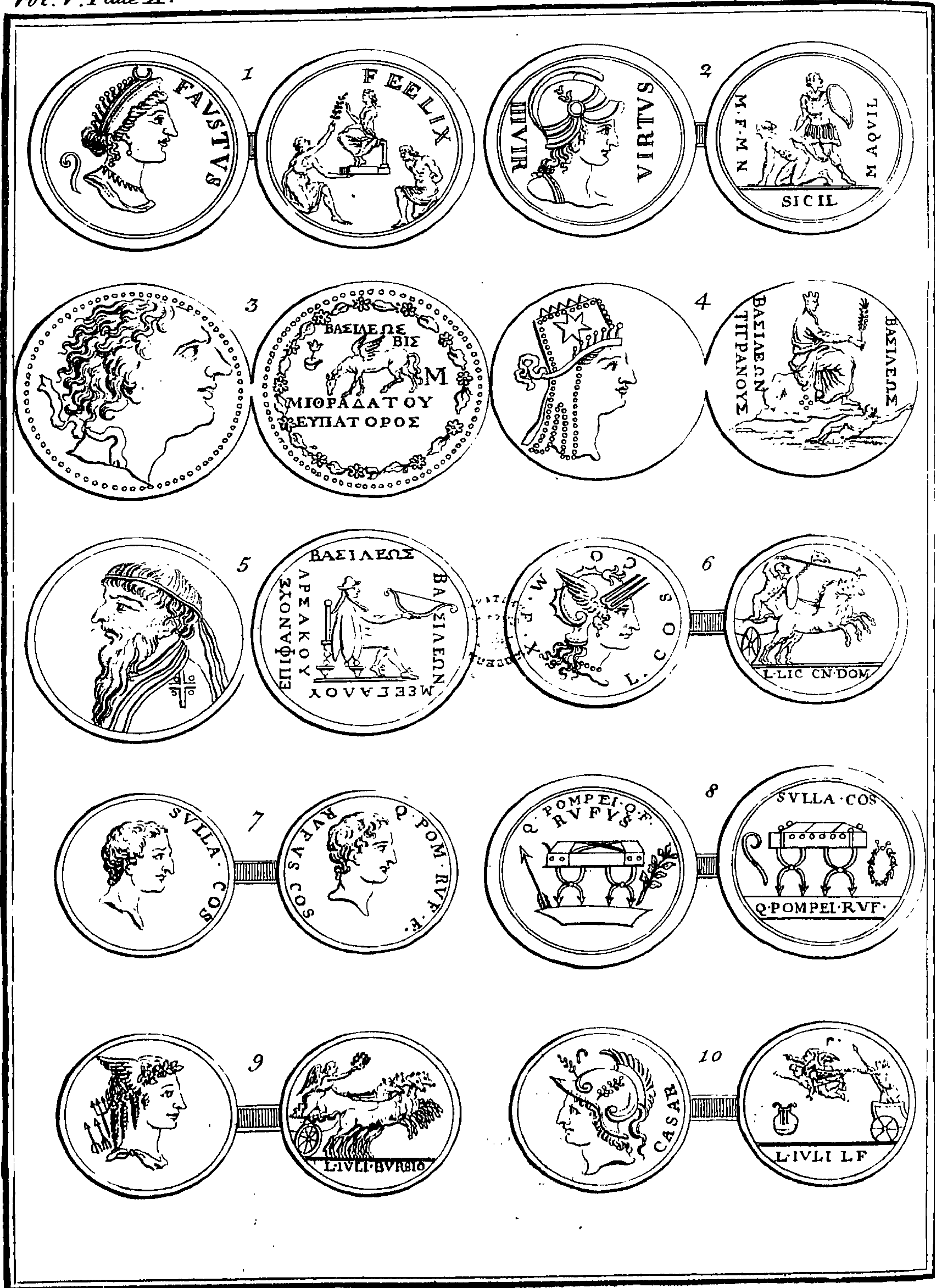
Plut. in *Sylla*  
& in *Mario*.  
Plin. l. 37.  
c. 1.

68 The Antiquaries have some of *Sylla's* Medals to this Day. That which we have here given, Plate 10, Numb. 1, has on one side, a God, whose Head is surmounted with a Crescent, the Symbol of the Night; and











*Jugurtha* into *Sylla's* Hands ; and from that time he never used any other Seal for his publick Acts, or private Letters, even after he had assumed an unlimited Power, and was declared perpetual *Dictator*. So fond was he to the last, of the Remembrance of the first considerable Advantage which he had ever gained, and which indeed had made his Fortune !

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and this seems to agree with *Plutarch's* account. He says, That *Sylla* saw in a Dream, a Goddess putting a Thunderbolt into his Hands ; after which he seemed to be immediately carried into the middle of the Enemy's Battalions, and there spread Slaughter and Death, wherever he came. On the Reverse, to the Left, stands *Jugurtha*, in the Posture of a Captive, with a Diadem on his Head, the Mark of Royalty ; to the Right, *Bocchus*, with a Royal Fillet likewise, and with one Knee on the Ground, paying Homage to *Sylla* who is seated on a Throne, in his *Toga* ; and the *Roman* receives a Laurel Branch from the King of *Mauritania*, in token of his being the Conqueror, and Peace-maker of *Africa*. The Head of the Medal bears the Name

of *FAUSTUS*, who was *Sylla's* Son. He probably ordered the Medal to be struck in honour to his Father. The *Augural* Staff confirms the Conjecture of *Dio*, who tells us, *B. 44*, That *Faustus* was an *Augur*. The Word *FÆLIX* is the Epithet *Sylla* chose before any other. It is well known he boasted of having *Fortune* in his pay ; and would have no other Title of Honour, but that of *Felix*, or the *Fortunate* ; as we are informed by *Pliny*, *Plutarch*, and *Appian*. The Word *FÆLIX* is written with two *ÆÆ's*, according to the Orthography of the Ancients, who used to double the Vowels in long Syllables. We find Proofs of this in the ancient Inscriptions.





## T H E

## Roman History.

## B O O K LIV.

Year of  
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DCXLVII.

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SERRANUS,  
& Q. SERVI-  
LIUS CÆPIO,  
Consuls.  
*Plut. in Syll.  
& Mario.*

§. I. **N**EVER was there more universal Joy in *Rome*, than at the Sight of the illustrious Prisoner whom *Marius* sent from *Africa*. The *Roman Army* had in effect gained a more important Conquest, in the Winter, by *Sylla's* Address, than *Marius* had been able to obtain, in his whole Campaign. By the taking of *Jugurtha*, the War in *Numidia* was at an end, and that great Kingdom entirely reduced: And the Enemies of the *Pro-Consul*, that is, the Senate and Nobility, triumphed more at it than the People. They boasted, That the Conquest of *Numidia* had been the Work of two *Patricians*; meaning, that *Metellus* had begun it by his Exploits, and *Sylla* completed it, by his Prudence. They would scarce allow *Marius* the least Share in this glorious Expedition. But the *Tribunes of the People* did Justice to the *Plebeian General*, whose Merit they highly extolled in their Speeches. They contended, and with Justice, That the reducing *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus* so very low, had been partly owing to the Arms of *Marius*. It was he, who had made the King of *Mauritania's* Affairs desperate, and thereby forced him to desire a Peace, and to purchase an Alliance with *Rome*, at the Price of betraying the King his Son-in-Law. It might indeed be affirmed, That if *Metellus* had been continued at the Head of the *Roman Army* in *Africa*, he would have finished the War with the same Success. But after all, this was uncertain; and the present Conclusion of it was in Justice to be ascribed to the Valour of him, who had been the Commander in chief. Upon these solid Principles, the *Roman Tribes* still kept up their former Esteem and Affection for *Marius*; the Commons received the captive *Jugurtha*, as from his Hands; and he was carefully kept in close Confinement, that he might adorn the *Triumph* of his Conqueror, when he should return from *Africa*.

*Jul. Obseq.  
Val. Max.  
l. 6  
Cic. in Brut.*

§. II. But *Rome* did not receive, with such Joy and Applause, the News of a Victory which had lately been gained in *Transalpine Gaul*, by the Consul Q. Servilius Cæpio. He had ingratiated himself with the Senate, before he set out for his Province, by having, through the Assistance of *Lucius Licinius Crassus*, one of the most famous Orators of his Time, got a Law of C. Gracchus, which was injurious to the Senators, amended. By this Law, the Cognizance of private Causes had been taken from the *Conscript Fathers*, and given only to the *Roman Knights*; and *Rome* being full of Complaints of the unjust Judgments of these new Judges, it was become necessary to remedy the Abuses of a Court, where Innocence was no Security against false Accusers. This Cæpio accomplished by a new Law, which restored the Senate a part of their ancient Right, and enacted, That these Judges should for the future, be half Senators and half Knights. And by this Act, Cæpio would have gained immortal Honour, if he had not

<sup>1</sup> *Quintus Servilius Cæpio* was the Son of him of the same Name, who was Consul, in the Year 613. *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, ranks him among the Orators, and great Commanders of his Age; and seems to acquit him of the Accusations which were afterwards brought against him, when he says, That Cæpio was more unfortunate than Faulty.

<sup>2</sup> *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, speaks with Admiration of the Speech *Lucius Crassus* made in defence of Cæpio's new Law. He says, That it was put in his Hands, when he was very young, and first gave him a Taste for true Eloquence. *Crassus* was 34 Years Old, when he spoke it.



stained it by such a Conduct in his Province, as made him justly suspected of Avarice and Rapine. When he arrived in *Narbonne Gaul*, he found the *Cimbri* still Masters of the flat Country, and waiting for an Opportunity to pass the *Alpes*, and settle themselves in *Italy*. These Barbarians had extended their Conquests in the southern Parts of *Gaul*, and had got Possession of *Toulouse*, the Capital of the *Teutofages*. They did not understand how to carry on Sieges; but gained this important City by Treachery. It was defended by a *Roman* Garrison; but the *Cimbri*, had struck up a Correspondence with the *Teutofages*, got them over to their Interest, and prevailed on them to destroy the *Roman* Soldiers. So that, when *Cæpio* appeared beyond the *Alpes*, the Enemy were already brought into *Toulouse* 3; and all the Country from *Narbonne* to the *Pyrenees* was subject to these Robbers. His first Business therefore was to drive the *Cimbri* from this fine Part of *Gaul*, and to retake *Toulouse* by the same Artifices, which the Barbarians had used, to get Possession of it. He entered into a Correspondence with the Burghers, and they restored the City to the *Romans*. And so far there was nothing blameable in the *Consul's* Conduct; but he soon made himself odious, by his Avarice and Sacrilege. He perfidiously plundered a City, which the Inhabitants themselves had just delivered into his Hands; and it is said, that never was a greater quantity of Wealth amassed together, than in the Temples there, and particularly in a famous one built in honour to 4 *Apollo*. But the traditionary Account given by the ancient Historians, of the manner of bringing thither this vast Plenty of Gold and Silver, which *Cæpio* stole from the Gods of the *Teutofages*, has more the Air of a Fable, than of a true Relation.

One of them tells us, That a Swarm of *Teutofages*, whose Capital *Toulouse* was, set out from the Banks of the *Garonne*, with some other Clans of *Gauls*, marched as far as 5 *Greece*, and there plundered the famous Temple of *Delphi*, under the Conduct of the second *Brennus*. And so far all Antiquity agrees with him. After this, says he, the *Teutofages* divided themselves, and one Part continued in the *Levant*, penetrated into the Heart of *Asia*, and there with some other *Gauls*, formed the Nation of the *Galatians*, or *Gallo-Greeks*. And this second Article we likewise readily come into, it appearing to us indisputable. But what our Author further adds, has not the least Air of Probability. According to him, the other Part of the *Teutofages* who had enriched themselves with the Booty found in the Temple of *Apollo*, returned to their own Country, repopled *Toulouse*, and there deposited the immense Treasures which they had got in *Greece*. A Plague suddenly followed, and punished these sacrilegious Prophaners. The Diviners were 6 consulted concerning it; and they answered, That it would continue on

3 *Toulouse* was a considerable City in *Cæpio's* Time. It was anciently called *Palladia*, either because *Pallas* was worshipped there in a particular manner, or because its Territory abounded with Olive-Trees, which were consecrated to that Goddess, or lastly, because there was in this City an Academy for polite Learning, which was under the Protection of *Minerva*, the tutelary Goddess of Arts and Sciences. The *Romans* erected there a Capital in honour to *Jupiter*, after the Model of that of *Rome*. Hence the Magistrates, who used to assemble in this Temple, to deliberate of Affairs which concerned the Nation, were called *Capitols*. In the most early Ages, *Toulouse* was the chief City of the *Volsce Teutofages*, who possessed Upper *Languedoc*, or the western Part of that Province; that is, all the Country which is now contained in the Dioceses of *Toulouse*, *Narbonne*, *Besiers*, *Carcaffone*, and *Aleth*.

4 The *Teutofages* had their *Apollo*, whom they worshipped under the Name of *Belenus*, according to *Ausonius*, and some ancient Inscriptions. In proof of which, we need only to mention the following one; APOLLINI BELENO C. AQUILEPENSIS FELIX. The *Gauls*, as well as the *Greeks* and *Romans* revered him as the Inventor and God of Physick: And *Tertullian* says, his Worship was carried into *Germany*. Nor was he unknown by that Name, even in *Italy*. *Herodian* and *Julius Capitolinus* say, that *Apollo* surnamed *Belenus*, was the tutelary God of *Aquileia*, a City of *Cisalpine Gaul*. But after all, it is not easy to prove

that the Gods of the *Gauls* were the same as those of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. *Lucian* implies as much, in his Dialogue of *JUPITER TRAGICUS*, when he represents *Mercury*, whose Business he makes it to be to assemble the Gods, as saying, That he could not discharge this Office in every Instance, Because he could not make himself understood by the Multitude of Celtic Gods, who spake a strange Language which he did not understand. Which *Lucian* would not have made him say, if he had thought that the *Gauls* had borrowed their Religion and their Gods from the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Nevertheless, it must be allowed, That the Superstitions of old *Rome* crept insensibly into *Gaul*, and were esteemed there. *Cæsar* says, That *Jupiter*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Mars*, *Minerva*, &c. were worshipped by the *Celtæ*, as well as the Gods of their own Country. Or rather, these People, without changing the Objects of their Worship, changed the Names of their Gods, to put them upon an Equality with the Gods of *Greece*. But if we consider the Rise and Principles of the Religion of the *Gauls*, it must be confessed, that it had nothing common with that of the *Romans*. At least this is *Strabo's* Opinion, B. 4

5. This Irruption of the *Gauls* into *Greece*, under *Brennus*, was in the Year of *Rome* 475, 278 Years before our Lord *Jesus Christ*, as we have already observed.

6 The *Augurs* and *Aruspices* were in great Veneration among the *Gauls*. *Strabo* and *Justin* observe, That

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXLVII.  
C. ATILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
& Q. SERVI-  
LIUS CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

Diod. Sic. apud  
Valef.

Polyb. Strab.  
Pausan.

Justin, L. 32.

c. 3.  
Polyb. Strab.  
Pausan.



Year of on the Banks of the *Garonne*, till the Spoils taken from the God who presided over Men's  
 ROMAN Lives and Health, were thrown into a neighbouring Lake. The Orders of the *Aruf-*  
 DCXLVII. pices were obeyed, and the Scourge was removed. Afterwards the People of *Toulouse*  
 C. ATILIUS fished up by degrees, and at different Times, some of the Ingots and Bars of Gold and  
 SERRANUS, Silver, to adorn their Temples with them, and especially that magnificent one which  
 & Q. SERVI- was dedicated to *Apollo*. But in this last Particular there is not the least Appearance  
 LIUS CÆPIO, of Truth. If it were allowed, that a handful of *Tectosages*, loaded with 110000  
 Consuls. Pound weight of Gold, and five Millions of Pounds weight of Silver, might possibly  
 have passed through so many Nations without being stripped of their Booty; yet who  
 can imagine, that they could have found such immense Sums as this Historian men-  
 tions, in the Temple of *Delphi*? It is well known, that the *Phocæans* had plun-  
 dered it, of all the Presents the superstitious People had brought thither, but a little  
 time before the *Gauls* came.

But whatever the Sum was which the *Romans* found at *Toulouse*, or from whence so-  
 ever it was brought thither, it is at least certain, that it was considerable. The an-  
 cient Writer who reduces it lowest, makes it amount to 100000 Pounds weight of

That they made it a Law, never to undertake any Thing  
 of Importance without first consulting the Entrails  
 of Victims, and the flight and singing of Birds. The  
*Gascens* in particular, according to *Lampridius* the  
 Historian, were most given to these Divinations.  
 They flattered themselves, that they could discover  
 future Events by these superstitious Practices.

7. The ancient *Gauls* consecrated Gold and Silver  
 to their Gods, from a Principle of Religion. They  
 used no Money in Commerce, but Copper and Brasses.  
 At least, *Athenæus* tells us, that the *Scordisci*, a Peo-  
 ple who came originally from *Transalpine Gaul*, had  
 religiously observed this Usage, in the Countries near  
 the Banks of the *Danube*, where they settled after the  
*Delphian Expedition*. Agreeably to this the *Tectosages*  
 used to throw their Gold and Silver into Lakes, where  
 they thought they would be effectually secured from  
 the Rapines of the covetous. They indeed deified  
 Rivers, Ponds, Marshes, and Fountains; or rather,  
 according to *Strabo* and *Ausonius*, the Priests of this  
 Nation thought every River and Lake a venerable  
 Temple, the Superintendence of which they ascribed  
 to some God. *Gregory of Tours* tells us, That at the  
 foot of a Mountain in *Gevaudan*, there was a great  
 Lake consecrated to the Moon, and therefore called  
*Helanus*; and That the People of the Country came  
 every Year to the Banks of it, and thought it a Mat-  
 ter of Merit, to throw Eatables, and other useful  
 Things, into it, as Cloaths, Linen and Woollen, Fleeces  
 of Wool, Cheeses, Bread, Wax, &c. every one ac-  
 cording to his Ability. This was an Offering, or  
 Tribute to the tutelary God of the Lake, and the  
 Evening ended with a Sacrifice of Animals.

Thus the *Germans*, a People who came originally  
 from *Gaul*, and were comprehended under the general  
 Name of *Celtæ*, had no other Temple for their God-  
 dess *Herta*, but a Lake surrounded with a sacred  
 Wood, where they placed the Idol which they wor-  
 shipped: As *Tacitus* observes in his Book *Of the*  
*Manners of the Germans*. And lastly, *Gregory of*  
*Tours* says of the first *French*, B. 2. That they  
 reckoned among their Gods, the Waters, Forests,  
 and several sorts of Animals, which they carved in  
 relieve.

From these Authorities some Moderns have con-  
 cluded, that the *Lake of Toulouse* was the Sanctuary  
 of the God *Belenus*, whom the *Tectosages* had en-  
 riched with their Presents. But *Possidonius*, whose  
 Account *Strabo* follows as most probable, expressly  
 distinguishes one from the other, when he says, that  
 the *Tolosatæ* had deposited their Treasures, partly in  
 the consecrated Lakes, and partly in the Temples of  
 their Gods. Add to this, that there are now no Foot-  
 steps remaining of the famous *Lake of Toulouse*. Most

conjecture, that it was dried up, either by the *Ro-*  
*mans*, or *Goths*, that settled in *Languedoc*.

8. This will no doubt be thought an immense  
 Quantity of Gold and Silver, if we value the Gold  
 at 500 *Livres* a Pound, and the Silver at 50, which  
 is the lowest Proportion we can rate them at now.  
 At this rate, the 110000 Pounds of Gold will come  
 to 55 Millions, and the six Millions of Pounds of Sil-  
 ver, to 250 Millions of *Livres*. *Strabo* reduces the  
 Treasure of *Toulouse* to 15000 *Talents*; which at the  
 rate of 1000 Crowns a *Talent*, make exactly 45  
 Millions.

9. See Vol. II. p. 120, Note 83, of the Enter-  
 prize of the *Phocæans* or *Phocæans* against the Tem-  
 ple of *Delphi*, and the date of it.

10. *Strabo* had made the same Reflexions, with  
 regard to the Gold of *Toulouse*. Besides, adds he, the  
*Gallic* Troops, commanded by *Brennus*, had been  
 cut to pieces, in the sight of *Delphi*. And they,  
 whom the Sword of the *Phocæans* spared, escaped  
 not the Vengeance of Heaven. The greatest Part  
 of them became Vagabonds and Fugitives, and made  
 a deplorable End. *Pausanias*, *Polybius*, and *Justin*,  
 represent both Gods and Men as combined together  
 to extirpate the miserable Remains of an Army of above  
 65000 Men. Being pursued without Intermision,  
 and become execrable in the Sight of the People of  
*Greece* and *Asia*, they were all, either massacred with-  
 out Mercy, or put to different Kinds of Death. So  
 that not one of them survived the Defeat to carry  
 the News to his Countrymen. Nevertheless, it must  
 be confessed, that *Justin* seems here to contradict  
 himself. He takes it for granted, B. 32, That several  
 of the *Gauls* returned into their own Country after  
 their rout, loaded with the richest Spoils of the East,  
 the Fruits of their Robbery and Sacrilege. But if so,  
 he should not have said, B. 24, That all *Brennus's* sol-  
 diers, not one excepted, perished in a miserable Manner  
 in the several Countries, in which they were dispersed.  
 Be that as it will, *Strabo* (as also *Possidonius*) thinks it  
 more probable, that the Treasures of the *Tectosages*  
 came from the Gold-Mines, with which the Country  
 of the *Tectosages* formerly abounded. According to  
 that ancient Geographer, the prodigious Quantity of  
 Gold which they took out of the Bowels of the Earth,  
 was divided among the Temples and Lakes which the  
 superstitious People had consecrated. When the *Ro-*  
*mans* were become Masters of the Country, they ac-  
 cording to the same Author, *Justin*, and *Aulus Gel-*  
*lius*, put these Marshes up to publick Sale; and the In-  
 gots of Gold, and vast Quantities of Silver, which  
 were found buried in the Waters, were an inex-  
 haustible Fund of Riches for the Conquerors.

Gold,



Gold, and 110000 Pounds weight of Silver. And why may it not be allowed possible, for the *Gauls* to have enriched *Apollo* with even these vast Sums from all their Provinces, if it be considered that this Temple was visited by all the West?

After the Reduction of this stately city, *Cæpio*, allured by so very plentiful an harvest, gave it up and the Temples of the Gods, to be plundered by the Soldiers. The General and his Troops enriched themselves by this Sacrilege; but the Republick received very little benefit from it. The small Share which the *Consul* set apart for the Publick Treasury, he sent away for *Marseilles* under a Guard of the same *Legionaries* who had been most concerned in the Plunder: And at the same time, he ordered others to lay in Ambush for them on the Road; and by a fresh Crime robbed the Robbers, and took the Booty to himself. In the mean time, the credulous People, ascribed what proceeded from the Covetousness of the General, to the Anger of the Gods; and from that time, it was commonly said of any Man who was reduced to extremum want, *That he had stolen some of the Gold of Toulouse*. This Proverb was used throughout all *Gaul*, and even in the Capitol of the World. And indeed, we shall, in due time, see *Cæpio* severely punished for his Avarice, Perfidiousness, and monstrous Cruelty. The only Thing he did for the Service of the Republick during his *Consulate*, was the taking of *Toulouse*. Nevertheless, as he had been more successful there than his Predecessors, he was continued in the Government of *Gallia Narbonensis* with the Title of *Pro-Consul*. All Things considered, few Years had been more fortunate to the Republick than the present. Besides the taking of *Jugurtha*, and the Reduction of *Toulouse*, two great Men were born in it, one at *Rome*, and the other in the Territory of *Arpinum*, who will hereafter furnish us with ample Matter for the Sequel of this History. The former was the great *Pompey*, the latter the famous *Cicero*.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXLVII.

C. ATILIUS  
SERRANUS,  
& Q. SERVI-  
US CÆPIO,  
Consuls.

Aul. Gell.

L. 15.

Cicer. in Bruto,  
& Epist.  
ad Attic.

Velleius, L. 2.

Plut. in Cicer.

Year of  
ROME  
DCXLVIII.

P. RUTILIUS  
RUFUS, CN.  
MALLIUS  
MAXIMUS,  
Consuls.

Cicer. Orat.  
pro Muræna,  
& pro Planco.

§. III. In the mean time, the *Consulate* was transferred to new Hands. The assembled *Tribes* unanimously conferred it on *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a noble Roman of known Abilities, and an unspotted Reputation; but there was more difficulty in the Choice of his Collegue. There were two Competitors, one *Q. Catulus*, who had always behaved himself like a prudent Man, and one *Cn. Mallius*, a Man of no Birth, or Understanding, or Ability for Business. Nevertheless the Majority of the Suffrages were for this contemptible Citizen, and he was proclaimed *Consul*. Nay, it likewise fell to his lot to carry on the War with the *Cimbri* in *Transalpine Gaul*, at the Head of a new Army; whilst his Collegue continued unactive in *Italy*. So imprudent was the Republick in her Choice of her Governours; and so odd the Decision of the Lots, in assigning them their Provinces. As for *Marius*, he continued *Pro-Consul* of *Numidia*, to determine the Fate of the Kingdom which he had just conquered. And notwith-

*Arpinum*, a City in the Territory of the *Vols*, are mentioned in his *History of the Roman Wars* *sci*, now *Terra di Lavoro*, is still called *Arpino*. See *with Spain*. Vol. 2. p. 298, Note 19.

*Publius Rutilius Rufus* was reckoned one of the famous Orators of his Age. His Orations were vehement, and favoured of the Austerity of *Stoicism*, which he professed. He wrote several, which were published after his Death, and deserved the Approbation of the Publick. And having learned the Roman Law, under *Marcius Manilius*, and *Publius Scævola*, two eminent Civilians, he published some excellent Treatises on that Subject. The most admired of his Speeches, were, that against sumptuous Buildings, and that which he made in Defence of one *Publius Cæcilius*. *Suetonius* mentions the former in his *Life of Augustus*, and *Diomedes* has preserved some Fragments of the latter. He perfected himself in the Study of Moral Philosophy, in the School of the celebrated *Panætius*, who was both his Master and his Friend. The Romans ascribe several historical Pieces to him, particularly, a Journal of the *Numantian War*, Memoirs of his own Life written in *Latin*, and a Roman History written in *Greek*; which are mentioned by *Athenæus*, B. 4. *Isidorus*, B. 20. of his *Origines*; *Velleius*, B. 2. *Aulus Gellius*, B. 1; and *Plutarch* in his *Life of Pompey*. *Appian* must have read the Works of *Rutilius*, since he confesses, that he took many important Facts from him, which

*Cicero* represents this great Man, as a Model of a perfect Citizen. He says, he had a consummate Wisdom, joined with great Innocence and the strictest Probity. But these rare Qualities, which gained him the Esteem of all Men of Honour, could not guard him against the Attacks of the envious and the wicked. His regular and blameless Conduct was an open Reproach of the Licentiousness which then prevailed in *Rome*. So many Virtues, in an Age so generally corrupted, made him formidable to the Multitude. They dreaded the Severity of a Magistrate, whom neither Interest, nor any other Consideration could move, to act contrary to Law and Equity. So that, he had already stood twice for the *Consulate*, and been twice refused; and this open Affront put on one of the most venerable Men in *Rome*, was, according to *Cicero*, *Tusculan*, L. 4, the Death of his Brother. He was ill, when he heard of the Injustice of the *Centuries*, and the News struck him with so much Grief, that he died upon the Spot. *Val. Maximus* says of *Rutilius*, that *Rome* was partly indebted to him, for the Military Academies in which the Roman Youth were taught the Art of Defence; which was taught, as it is now, by Masters in that Art.



Year of standing his Suspicions, and the cause *Sylla* had given him for Jealousy, he still kept *ROME* him with him in quality of *Pro-Quæstor*. Though the Subaltern had acquired much *DCXLVIII* Glory, it was not yet great enough to eclipse his General. *Marius* had a real Esteem for him; but it was more in regard to his own Glory, than out of Affection, that he again made him one of his Lieutenant-Generals. *Marius* long concealed his Resentment under the appearance of Friendship: And *Sylla* was not soon weary of learning the Art of War under so great a Master. He did not leave him, till he thought himself fully qualified to conquer without him. So that they settled the Provinces of *Numidia* together. Nevertheless it is probable that *Rome* sent them ten Commissioners, to assist them with their Advice. As this was now a settled Custom, there is no doubt but she acted conformably to it, in the present Instance. But be that as it will, *Marius* divided his Conquest in the following manner. He performed the Promise made to *Bocchus*, and assigned him that Part of his Son-in-Law's Dominions which lay next to his own, as a Reward for his having delivered him up; and this great Territory which was till now called *Messafilia*, from this time took the Name of *New Mauritania*. *Numidia* properly so called, was divided into three Parts. One was given to one *Hiempsal*; another to one *Mondrestal*, who doubtless were the next Heirs of *Massinissa*; and the Republick reserved to herself the Part which lay next to the Province she already had in *Africa*, and subjected it to the *Prætor*, which she annually sent thither.

*App. de Bell. Civ. Plut. in Mario.*

§. IV. And now, the Roman Senate, being freed from their Concern for Affairs in *Africa*, hastened the Departure of the Consul *Mallius* for *Transalpine Gaul*. The *Pro-Consul Cæpio*, with his victorious Army, were not sufficient alone to stop the Inundation of *Gauls*, who were coming from all Parts to join the *Cimbri*, with a Design to cross the *Alpes* with them, invade *Italy*, and utterly abolish the hated Power of the *Romans*. The Plunder of the famous Temple of *Apollo* at *Toulouse*, had exasperated all the southern *Gauls*, and they breathed nothing but Vengeance, under the Protection of their injured Gods. They were all in Motion, as far as to the Banks of the *Rhine*, and the Country of the *Bavarians*. The <sup>13</sup> *Ambrones*, the <sup>14</sup> *Tigurini*, the <sup>15</sup> *Tugenes*, the <sup>16</sup> *Urbigenes*, and in short, almost all the Nations who inhabited the Country which is now called *Switzerland*, were bringing their Troops to join those of the northern Nations, which were already dispersed about in *Gallia Narbonensis*. So that *Mallius's* Consular Army would have arrived very seasonably, if he had had the Understanding, Valour, and Experience that were necessary to enable him to make head against so great a number of Enemies. But the new Consul began his Campaign with quarrelling with *Cæpio*, as soon as they had joined their Forces.

*Oros. L. 5. c. 15.*

*Cæpio's* Character makes it probable, that he did not pay all due Regards to *Mallius*, as to his Superiour. The Disproportion was so great between the two Generals, with regard to Birth, Understanding, and Knowledge in Military Affairs, that the *Pro-Consul* could not readily give Way to the Consul. And on the other hand, the more conscious *Mallius* was, that he deserved Contempt, the sooner was he provoked when he met with it. So that the Disputes grew warm, and were carried at last to such a Height, that the only Expedient the Officers of the two Armies could find out to put an End to them, was to separate them. A detestable Resolution, which soon produced the most terrible Defeat *Rome* had ever met with, and brought her into greater Danger than had ever threatned her, since her Foundation. This innumerable Multitude of *Cimbri* and *Gauls* could desire nothing better, than to see the *Roman* Forces divided; and their Generals knew how to make the best Use of their Advantage.

As soon as they saw the *Rhone* between the Consular and *Pro-Consular* Armies, the Barbarians triumphed. See, said they one to another, the wonderful Effect of the impending Vengeance of Heaven on these sacrilegious Prophaners! *Apollo* has infatuated them, and is leading them blindfold to Destruction. Let us then sacrifice these Victims which are devoted to the angry Gods; and let us dedicate all the Spoils we shall take from the Enemy, to their Honour. This will make them propitious to us; whereas the

<sup>13</sup> The *Ambrones* formerly possessed Part of the Cantons of Zug, Glaris, Schwitz, and Uri. Canton of Friburg, and that of Lucerne.

<sup>14</sup> The *Tigurini* inhabited the Cantons of Zurich, Appenzel, Schaffhausen, Rhintal, &c.

<sup>15</sup> The Country of the *Tugenes* contained the

<sup>16</sup> The Principality of Neuf-châtel, and the greatest Part of the Canton of Friburg and of The Pais Roman, belonged to the *Urbigenes*.



Romans have incurred their Displeasure. This said, both the Gauls and their Allies made a formal Vow, not to reserve to themselves any Part of the Booty which they should take from the conquered. Year of ROME DCXLVIII.

At first, the Cimbri and Gauls seem to have acted separately, the latter on the Side of the Rhone next to Provence, the former in Gallia Narbonensis. And the first Attempt the Gauls made, was on a Detachment of the Consular Army, under the Command of a Lieutenant-General of great Distinction. This was that Marcus Aurelius Scaurus, who had been Consul three Years before, and had made War with the Cimbri. The Body he commanded was beaten by the Gauls, and Scaurus himself fell into their Hands, and was made a Prisoner of War. This Defeat filled Mallius's Camp with Terrour; and though he hated Cæpio, he thought it proper to call him to his Assistance. The Pro-Consul answered at first, in a proud and angry Manner, *We have each his Province; Let the Consul take care of himself.* But when he had reflected a little farther on the Publick Good, he became more tractable. Besides, he was afraid that Mallius would have his Revenge, and if he conquered the Gauls without him would run away with all the Glory of the Campaign. He therefore passed the Rhone, to be nearer to the Consular Army, but affected to have no Correspondence with the Consul. They neither had any Conferences, nor held any Councils, nor concerted any Measures together. The two Roman Armies watched each other as narrowly, as if they had been Enemies; and Cæpio took care to encamp in the Way, where the Cimbri must pass, in order to fall on the Romans. He hoped, that by Means of this advantageous Post, he should be able to stand all the Shock of the Cimbri himself, and thereby deprive Mallius of the Opportunity of sharing the Honour of the Victory. P. RUTILIUS RUFUS, CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS, Consuls. Tit. Liv. in Epit. Velleius, L. 2. Diod. Sic. Oros. L. 16. Sallust. in Jugur.

As for the Cimbri, they concluded that the two Generals were in perfect Union and Friendship, when they saw them draw near each other; and being less audacious than they had been during the Separation of the Roman Armies, they sent Deputies to the Consul, to propose a Peace, which they might perhaps obtain of him on better Terms than the untractable Pro-Consul would grant them. These Deputies must necessarily pass through Cæpio's Army, and he ordered them to be brought before him. Then he examined them, concerning the Commission they were charged with; and when he found that they had Orders to treat only with Mallius, he could not suppress his Uneasiness. It transported him with so much Jealousy and Rage, that he not only treated the Ambassadors very ill, but had like to have had them murdered, in his Presence; and the Fury of their General highly provoked his Legionaries. They thought themselves in the utmost Danger, under a Commander who was so little Master of himself; and they forced him, whether he would or no, to go to the General's Camp, confer with him, and assist in deliberating on the Proposals the Cimbri had sent to the Republick. Plut. in Lucullo & Mario. Eutrop. L. 5. Justin. Tacit.

But as the Pro-Consul was come to the General's Tent against his Will, he exposed himself there more than ever. He resolved to oppose his Superiour in all Things; and contradicted him with Obstinacy and Rudeness. Nay, he not only assumed much, and spake with great Haughtiness, but abused as well as insulted his General. This increased the Hatred between the two Commanders; the wisest of the Officers foreboded from thence the same fatal Effects, which the Divisions of the Consuls had produced at Cannæ; And in short, the Enemy, being informed by their Envoys of the Misunderstanding between the Generals, took this Opportunity to give battle. The Gauls attacked Mallius's Camp, and the Cimbri that of Cæpio: And the Slaughter they made was almost inconceivable. Fourscore thousand Men, Legionaries and Allies, with the two Sons of the Consul, all perished in this fatal Day; and 40000 Servants or Suttlers with them. Never was there a more compleat Victory gained. It was with great Difficulty, that only ten Men escaped with their two Generals, to carry the News of this fatal Action to Rome. And among these was the famous Sertorius, who being yet very young, was making his first Campaign under Cæpio, in the Roman Cavalry. Being well mounted, he rode into the Rhone, and swam cross it, without quitting his Buckler or Cuirass. This was the first Proof he gave, of that Intrepidity amidst the greatest Danger, which he always retained, even in old Age. As for the Conquerors, they destroyed all the Spoils they took from a sense of Duty. In compliance with their Vow, they tore in pieces all the Habits of the dead, as well as the Moveables and the Tents they found in the two Camps. The Gold and Silver they



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RUFUS, &  
CN. MALLI-  
US MAXIMUS,  
Consuls.

Jul. Obseq.

Cic 2. de Orat.  
& in Brut.

Idem pro Balb.

they threw into the *Rhone*; and drowned the Horses they had taken in the Battle. Nor would they so much as sell any of their Prisoners of War, but hanged them all on Trees, and would give no Quarter to any. Thus were these Barbarians cruel out of Piety; and revenged without Avarice the Injuries done to *Apollo*, whose Temple the sacrilegious and covetous *Romans* had plundered.

§. V. The News of this Misfortune when brought to *Rome*, filled it with fear and Consternation. When *Hanibal* was ready to come down the *Alpes*, he had never given so great an Alarm. This new Deluge of *Cimbri* and *Gauls* threatened all *Italy*, and were numerous enough to swallow up the whole Country. Their last Victory seemed to assure them of the Conquest of the Capital of the World. *Rome* had lost two *Consular* Armies, which were her chief Dependance, and was now left unprovided for her Defence, in her greatest Need. Besides, Advices also came from *Spain*, that a *Prætorian* Army had been cut in pieces there by the *Lusitanians*. Both these melancholy Accounts arrived at the same Time, that is, on the Eve of *The Nones of October*; and the Senate assembled, and ordered, that, *This should for ever be reckoned among the Unlucky Days, as well as that of the Battle of the Allia*. So that this was a new Confession, that their greatest Misfortunes had been brought on them by the *Gauls*. In this general Consternation, all the Shops in the City were shut up, and the *Citizens* laid aside the *Toga*, and put on their military Habit. A speedy Remedy was absolutely necessary for the present Evil; and the first Step taken, was to depose *Cæpio* from the Generalship, and declare him incapable of any Command in the *Roman* Armies for the future. This was new; so much so that, if we may believe some Authors, of all the most faulty of the *Roman* Generals, from the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*, not one had suffered so terrible a Disgrace. But be that as it will, the Decree of the People against the unfortunate *Pro-Consul*, did not pass without Opposition. *C. Junius Norbanus*, the *Tribune*, reported it to the *Comitia*, and there it met with many Opponents. The Nobility and Senate exclaimed against it as a Novelty, and a Blow which affected the whole Body of the *Patricians*; and such Outcries were heard, and such a Tumult made, as *Norbanus* could no otherwise suppress, than by raising a Sedition. But at his Persuasion, the People took up Stones; wounded *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, the *President of the Senate* with them in the Head; and drove out of the Assembly the *Tribunes*, *L. Cotta* and *D. Didius*, who protested against the Law their Collegue had proposed. Thus the sacrilegious *Cæpio*<sup>17</sup> was deposed, and according to some Authors, his Goods confiscated: And when thus disgraced, degraded, and reduced to Want, he condemned himself<sup>18</sup> to Banishment. But some think he was brought back and perished in Prison, from whence his Body was dragged to the *Scala*<sup>19</sup> *Gemoniæ*. A Punishment justly due from *Rome* to one of her

<sup>17</sup> The Ancients are not agreed about the Punishment inflicted on *Servilius Cæpio*, by the Assembly of the People. *Strabo* asserts, as certain matter of Fact, That the Criminal being condemned to Banishment, retired to a foreign Country loaded with Curses and Reproaches, there led a miserable Life, and there died without seeing his Relations or Country any more. *Timagenes*, the Historian, quoted by *Strabo* himself, says, That his two Daughters, who were Heiresses to his Estate, were disgraced after his Death, and died in Infamy! But according to another Version, which *Siganus* follows, The unfortunate General left only two Sons, who consumed their Patrimony in shameful Debaucheries, and at length died miserably. *Valerius Maximus's* Account, is not only different from that of *Strabo*, but inconsistent with it self. *Cæpio*, according to him, B. 6. c. 9, who was gradually raised to the highest Offices in the Republick, became a remarkable Instance of the Inconstancy of Fortune, after he had been honoured with a *Triumph*, the Dignity of *Patrician*, *Maximus*, and the Title of *Protector of the Senate*. After he had attained to the highest Pitch of Grandeur, he was brought down so low, as to die in the publick Prison. His Body was cut in pieces by the publick Executioner, and hanged upon the Gallows, to be a Spectacle of Terror to all the *Roman* People. But it is no easy Matter to reconcile this with the 7th Chapter of his 4th Book. We are there told,

That *Cæpio*, being accused of having been the sole Cause of the Defeat of the *Romans* by the *Cimbri* and *Tautones*, was closely confined in Prison; That, in his Disgrace, he experienced the Faithfulness of *Gaius Antistius Rheginus*; That this generous Friend found Means to elude the Vigilance of his Guards; and procure his Escape; That *Cæpio*, as soon as at Liberty, made the best of his Way to secure himself by a speedy Flight; and That *Antistius*, not content with having delivered him out of Prison, accompanied him in his Retreat. But if the Prisoner fled, how could he die in Prison? *Cassiodorus* has well observed this Inconsistency, in his Notes on *Strabo*; but stops there. And we may therefore add, that in order to reconcile these Places, it may be said, That *Cæpio*, through the Interest of his Family and Friends, was brought back to *Rome* from his Exile; That the *Tribunes of the People* revived the old Accusations against him; and That when he was put into Prison a second Time, he was poisoned there.

<sup>18</sup> *Cicero*, in his Oration for *Lucius Balbus*, says, That *Servilius Cæpio* retired to *Smyrna*, a City of *Asia Minor*. Some Moderns, and particularly *Pignius the Annalist*, have placed the Judgment passed on this General, in the Year 658, ten Years after the Victory gained by the *Cimbri* over the *Romans*, which we shall have Occasion to explain more fully hereafter.

<sup>19</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 10, Note 17.



own *Citizens*, who had sacrificed the Interests of his Country to his Avarice and Ambition!

And now, the whole Government of the Republick for the rest of the Year fell to the *Consul P. Rutilius Rufus*, who had been unactive at *Rome*, whilst his Collegue was so unfortunately making War in *Gaul*. It may be presumed, that if *Mallius's* Province had fallen to *Rufus*, he would have behaved himself with more Prudence and Valour than that weak General. At least, *Rome* empowered him to guard *Rome* against the Misfortunes that threatened her; and he applied himself wholly to the Duty of his Office. By his Orders, new *Legions* were raised in the City, and not a *Citizen* who was of Age to bear Arms, was exempted from the Service. No Excuses were admitted. The *Consul* would not dispense with his own Son, who was scarce seventeen. Tho', according to Custom, he might have kept him with him in his Pavilion; he chose rather, for Example's sake, to make him serve as a common Soldier in one of the *Legions*. And it was perhaps, as much in regard to him as to the publick Good, that he first introduced Fencing-Masters<sup>20</sup> into the *Roman* Camp, to teach the young Soldiers how to handle their Arms, and attack an Enemy or defend themselves, with Art. In this manner, the wise *Consul*, who was a very learned *Stoic*, and a skilful Warriour, prepared for his Successor an invincible Army; which afterwards preserved, and was the Glory of, the Republick.

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P. RUTILIUS  
RUFUS, &  
CN. MALLI-  
US MAXIMUS,  
Consuls.

Val. Max.  
L. 2. c. 3.

§. VI. Whilst *Rutilius* was thus raising and disciplining his Troops in *Italy*, the *Cimbri* and *Gauls* held their Councils of War beyond the *Alpes*. Some were for going down into the Plains of *Insubria*, passing the *Po*, and drawing near to *Rome*. Others, for conquering the new *Roman* Province, and reducing *Aix*, *Narbonne*, and *Toulouse*, and their Dependencies. But before they came to any Resolution, the *Cimbri* thought it proper to bring into their Assembly, their *Consular* Prisoner of War, *Aurelius Scaurus*, and hear his Opinion. The *Roman* was therefore brought before the Generals of the *Cimbri* and *Gauls* with his Hands loaded with Chains, and was asked, whether it would be safe for them to go into *Italy*, and carry on the War to the Foot of the *Capitol*? They, no doubt, entertained Hopes, that since *Scaurus* had lost his Liberty, he had likewise extinguished all Affection for his Country. But to their great surprize, he spake very honourably of his Countrymen, without the least Deference for his new Masters.

*Regulus*, said he, *when a Captive among the Carthaginians, as I now am among you, never forgot that he was a Roman; neither are you to expect any Advice from me, which may be prejudicial to my Republick. I shall only give you such, as may be useful to your selves. It is a great deal for you, to have brought yourselves into such a Condition, as will allow you to deliberate whether you shall march to Rome; and my Advice is, to stop here, and not to proceed so far as to attempt to execute such an Enterprize. Enjoy the Glory Fortune has given you, in your first Battle; and don't rashly throw away this accidental Advantage. Tho' you have succeeded through the disunion of two bad Commanders; you have nevertheless Reason to be afraid of the Republick, when all the Members of it shall unite to resist and destroy you. I neither judge of your Fate, nor of that of Rome, by the present State of Things. The recollection of what is past, is to me a surer Rule, whereby to judge of the Misfortunes, which will hereafter befall you. Pyrrhus came from Epirus into Italy, attacked the Republick before it was well established, and his first Success intimidated, tho' it did not discourage, the Romans. But at last, his shameful Flight effaced all the Glory of his former Victories. And Hannibal is a later Instance. This Conqueror of Spain came over these Alpes which you are inclined to pass, and many Nations repaired to his Standards in the Heart of Italy. Nay, he was victorious in several pitched Battles, and drew near to the Capitol, and insulted it. But what was the Issue? He was recalled into Africa by a well-judged Diversion, was there conquered, and Rome triumphed. Indeed the Defeats of Pyrrhus and Hannibal have not lessened the Reputation of those great Men; but they have much raised the Fame of the Romans. Their very Name and their Forces are now become formidable to the farthest Parts of the Earth. You may fight them once with Suc-*

<sup>20</sup> *Valerius Maximus* tells us, That *Rutilius* committed the Care of these military Academies to those Masters of Arms, whose Business it was to instruct the Gladiators, that *Caius Aurelius Scaurus* had bought at his own Expence, for Combats in the Amphitheatre. *Caius* was probably one of the *Ædiles* in the Year 649;

at least its certain, it was their Business to preside at the Games; and it has been already observed, That it was likewise their Concern to provide every thing necessary for the Games, either with their own Money, or that of the Publick. See Vol. 2. p. 77, Note 51.



cess; but in the End you will find their Republick to be invincible. This was thought too insolent a Speech from the Mouth of a Captive; and Bojorix, one of the Kings, or Leaders of the Cimbri, a young Prince, full of Fire, being provoked at it, drew his Sword, and without regard to the Name or Dignity of a Prisoner of that Consequence, stabbed him. A barbarous Action! and Heaven would not suffer it to escape unpunished!

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C. MARIUS,  
C. FLAVIUS  
FIMBRIA,  
Consuls.  
*Plut. in Mario.*

§. VII. From this Time, the united Germans and Gauls were wholly intent on their Expedition into Italy. In the mean while, Rome chose new Consuls to succeed Rutilius and Mallius; and as she usually took care in Time of great Distress, to prefer only Men of known Abilities and experienced Commanders, she first pitched on Marius, tho' absent. He was the Hero of the Time: And his Victories in Numidia were the sole Motives to his Election. No Canvassing or Artifices were now necessary; the Necessity of Affairs promoted him. Two Laws were urged against him: One which forbade the Choice of any absent Person to be Consul; and another which enacted, That no one should be raised to the Consulate a second Time, till ten Years after the first. But the People made the Laws give way to the publick Good. They recollected the Instances of the two Scipio's, who, on account of the great Importance of the Wars in Africa, had not been subjected to the common Rules. In short, Marius was proclaimed Consul a second Time, and C. Flavius<sup>21</sup> Fimbria was given him for his Colleague.

Marius was busy in Africa, in regulating his new Conquest, and thought of nothing less than his new Promotion: So that this News was a very agreeable Surprize to him; and he left Africa without delay. He arrived at Rome, in the latter end of December; and prepared, both for receiving the Honours of a Triumph, and for entering upon his Consulship, on the first Day of January. A Day therefore which did him double Honour, and was one of the most remarkable of his Life. He entered Rome with the Pomp of a triumphant Victor; and his magnificent Chariot was preceded by the Riches which he had brought from his Province. These consisted of 3700 Pounds Weight of Gold in Ingots; 5775 Pounds Weight of Silver in Bars, and 287000<sup>22</sup> Drachma or Silver Denarii, in Specie. But the Spectators were not so much struck with the Sight of this<sup>23</sup> Wealth, as with that of the Captive King, who was led in Chains before his Conqueror. The Eyes of all were fixed on Jugurtha and his two Sons, the eldest of whom was named Oxindas; and the Remembrance of the great Reputation which the Numidian King had acquired, together with the Joy of having overcome him, drew Reflections from the Romans, which were the Effects of a true manly Compassion. Is this then, said they, the Jugurtha, whose Power and Riches have so long fatigued us? Which was the greater General, He, or Hannibal? The latter was the more rapid Conqueror, but the former defended his Dominions with greater Address. They were both very artful Men; but the Numidian had the ascendant. Hannibal fought us openly; but at a Time, when his own Republick was in the height of her Glory, and ours had very little extended her Dominions. Whereas Jugurtha formed Designs against Rome, when she was most powerful, and most successful. He borrowed Arms from his Enemies, and made use of our Passions to destroy us. He made great Advantage of the Covetousness of our Generals, and the Avarice of our Magistrates: And the Attacks he has made upon our Prebity, have done the Republick more Mischief, than all the Ravages which Hannibal committed in our Dominions. And with Regard to his own Kingdom, with what Glory did he carry on the War there? Did Hannibal defend himself with that Valour and Constancy? The Loss of one Battle discouraged him. But Jugurtha, tho' supported only by an Army of fickle and effeminate Men, found Means to make them constant, and inspire them with Courage. He found they were not fit for pitched Battles; and he employed them in sudden Incursions. And tho' he seldom overcame us in regular Engagements, yet he destroyed our Ar-

*App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.*

<sup>21</sup> Cicero, in his Brutus, says, That Flavius Fimbria was in some Reputation, as an Orator, and no less valuable for his Experience in the Administration of the Republick. The Senate, more than once, did him the Honour, to follow his Advice. He had some Knowledge of the Civil Law, and made a good Use of it at the Bar. His Orations were not unknown to Cicero, who had read them when he was very young; but they were soon after buried in oblivion. The Roman Orator blames him for being too satirical, and too indiscreet, in his Speeches; and for speaking with

a Vehemence and high Tone of Voice, which looked like raving.

<sup>22</sup> Plutarch reckons only 17028 Drachma, or Denarii, in Specie.

<sup>23</sup> At the rate of 500 Livres to a Pound of Gold, and 50 to a Pound of Silver, the 3700 Pounds weight of Gold will come to 1503500 Livres; and the 5775 Pound of Silver will come to 288750 Livres. The Drachma, at the rate of 10 Sols each, come to 143500 Livres.



mies by piece-meal. In short, he discovered great Abilities in his Marches and Retreats; great Artifice and Cunning in his Attacks; and a great Readiness at Expedients, in Distresses. Nay, he would have been at the Head of his Troops to this Day, if the Eloquence of Sylla, and the Treachery of a King, had not been made use of, to load him with Chains. Fortune has indeed prospered the Arms of Marius; but her Frowns have not made Jugurtha contemptible, tho' miserable.

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FIMBRIA,  
Consuls.

These were the Thoughts of the Romans concerning their Captive, even when they were triumphing over his Misery. But, tho' they esteemed him, they were the Instruments Heaven chose to punish the Crimes he had committed, in order to extend his Dominions. He was made a Spectacle to the People, from the triumphal Arch to the Capitol; and some say, he fainted in his March; which if true, he must have recovered himself very soon. After the Ceremony, when the Roman Soldiers tore off the Tips of his Ears, in snatching away his Pendants, he was deeply affected with their Insults: And when he was thrown into a deep Hole, there to drag on the Remainder of his miserable Life, he cried out, *Alas! Romans, Your Stoves are very cold!* But tho' he was still willing to live, even in this filthy Pit, he was soon delivered<sup>24</sup> from the Miseries of it. The Inconveniences of his Prison, and the Want he suffered, brought a Distemper upon him, which killed him in six Days after the Triumph of his Conqueror. His two Sons survived him, and spent their Lives in a more tolerable Captivity, at<sup>25</sup> *Venusium*. And as for Marius, his Pleasure was not without its Allay, even amidst the Applauses of the People. They sufficiently gave him to understand, that they allowed Sylla his Share of the Honour of the Conquest.

Epit. Livian.  
L. 67. c. 19.

Epit. Liv.  
L. 67. c. 20.

Front. Strat.  
L. 4.

§. VIII. As soon as the Victor came down from his Chariot, he assembled the Senate, and ventured to appear in the Senate-House, in the pompous Dress he wore in the Procession. Whether he did this by Mistake, or out of Affectation, the Thing was new; and when he saw the Resentments of the Senators in their Looks, and Sneers, he was ashamed of it. He therefore went immediately, and pulled off his triumphal Habit, and returned in a *Pratexta*, the usual Dress of Consuls.

The Business of the Assembly was to assign the Consuls their Provinces. But as the People had already determined that Marius should go to *Transalpine Gaul*, to suppress the Insolence of the *Cimbri* and *Gauls*, and revenge the Cause of the Republick; all that remained was, to divide the Armies between them. Marius had brought that from *Africa*, which had gained him the Conquest of *Numidia*. *Rutilius* had just raised a new one, and taught it that sort of Discipline, which he had himself invented, and which made it almost invincible. Marius had his choice, and he readily preferred the new Legions which *Rutilius* had instructed, and left the old Troops which he had commanded in *Africa*, to his Colleague *Fimbria*. Perhaps he might not be entirely satisfied with them, because he discovered that they still retained some Affection for *Metellus*, their old General, and his personal Enemy. But be that as it will, the two Consuls agreed, That Marius should manage the War beyond the *Alpes*, with Sylla for his Lieutenant General; and That *Fimbria* should continue in *Italy* to receive the Barbarians, in case they should think fit to cross the Mountains.

These were the wise Preparations the Republick made to guard her self against the Descent of the *Cimbri* and *Gauls*. The chief Dependance of the Romans was on Marius, and they had therefore heaped upon him the highest Honours. It was probably no small Mortification to the Nobility, to see this vile *Plebeian* become so very necessary to the Publick, and exalted above the Senate and all the *Patricians*. Whilst on the other hand, it did not a little increase the Boldness of the *Tribunes*, to see themselves supported by a Consul of their own Faction, who was as formidable for his Arms, as they were for their Influence over the People. The Situation of Affairs never so much favoured their Enterprizes as at present; and therefore four of the ten, signalized themselves by the Laws they got passed, or attempted at least, in favour of the Commons, and to the Disadvantage of the Senate and Nobility.

§. IX. One of the most zealous for mortifying the *Patricians*, was *Cneius Domitius Enobarbus*, the great Grandfather of the Emperor *Nero*. He cited *M. Æmilius Scaurus*, The President of the Senate, before the People; and got him fined, for having neglected, as he pretended, the annual Sacrifices offered to the *Dii Penates* at *Lavinium*.

<sup>24</sup> Eutropius, Livy, and Orosius say, That Jugurtha was strangled in Prison, after he returned from the Ceremony of the Triumph.

<sup>25</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 126. Note 16.



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C. MARIUS,  
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FIMBRIA,  
Consuls.

Suetonius in  
Nerone.

Cic. pro Dejo-  
tar.

Val. Max. L.  
6. c. 5.

Cic. contra  
Rullum.  
Suet. in Ne-  
rone.

Val. Max. L.  
6. c. 5.

Cic. in Bruto.

Cic. in Balbo.

Cic. Verr.  
Tertia.

But it was pure Revenge, and not any Zeal for Religion, which led the *Tribune* to this Severity. *Scaurus* had affronted him, by refusing to admit him into the *Augural College* as he had desired. Nevertheless, as revengeful as *Domitius* was, he still retained some Principles of Equity. At the Time that he was preparing to accuse *Scaurus*, with an Intention to ruin him if he could, one of the Slaves of the accused offered to put into his Hands all his Master's Papers. These would doubtless furnish him with sufficient Matter for new Complaints to destroy his Enemy. But he had Probity enough to detest pursuing even his Hatred, by such base Means. He abhorred the Treachery of the Servant, and sent him back to his Master, to give him due Punishment for it. Thus, tho' the *Romans* were now grown very vitious, yet they still had some great Virtues as well as great Faults. However, That it was a part of *Domitius's* Character to conceal his Acts of Injustice, under the Appearance of Equity, was likewise seen in the new Law he got passed against the *Pontifical College*. At the Establishment of it, the Power of filling up the Vacancies in it, was solely in the *Pontifices* themselves; and tho' this Matter had gone through several Changes, the ancient Usage was at length re-established. But *Domitius* resolved to transfer again the Right of electing the *Pontifices* to the *Comitia*; which was a new Wound to the Nobility, who had the College in a manner at their Disposal. And in order to conceal the Hardship, under an Appearance of Moderation, he inserted a Clause in the Law, that when a *Pontifex* was to be elected, only 17 of the 35 *Tribes* should be assembled, and he should be chosen by a majority of their Suffrages. This he said he did, to obviate any Complaint, that the whole Republick had assumed a Right of granting Promotions, which was contrary to the Laws of Religion. But how thin was this Sophistry; how apparent the Deceit? As if a Part of the People had a better Right to dispose of the Offices of Religion, than the whole. Nevertheless, there was no resisting Force. The Law was passed; and a little time afterwards, the Law-maker himself was chosen *Pontifex Maximus*, by the 17 *Tribes*. A sure sign that the *Tribune* had his own Interest in view, when he gave the People a Privilege, which was not properly within their Sphere! However, he did not succeed so well in the Accusation he brought before them against *M. Junius Silanus*. This illustrious *Patrician*, who was *Consul* five Years before, having been unsuccessful in his Expedition against the *Cimbri*, the *Tribune* made his Misfortune his Crime. But the Commons would not blindly give themselves up, to be guided by his Passions. *Junius* was acquitted, with only two *Tribes* against him. So that the *Romans* did not always think, that the Loss of a Battle was to be imputed as a Fault to all their unfortunate Generals.

Another *Tribune*, who shewed his Zeal against the *Patricians*, was *Cassius Longinus*; who took occasion from the Success of his late Accusation against *Servilius Cæpio*, to get a new Law passed, That every *Citizen*, who was degraded by a *Plebiscitum*, should be thereby for ever deprived of his Place in the Senate. This took away from the Senators their Power of restoring their Honour to those, whom the People had disgraced.

But the *Tribune* who did the Senate most Injury, was *Caius Servilius Glaucia*. He not only revived the *Gracchian Law*, which deprived the *Conscript Fathers* of the Cognizance of any civil Causes, and vested it wholly in the *Roman Knights*; but gave them still a deeper Wound. He got it enacted by the Commons, That the *Allies of Latium*, who should accuse a Senator, and prove their Charge, should enjoy all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. This was opening a large Field, for oppressing the greatest Men in the Republick. And lastly, the same *Tribune* got a Law passed by the People, That whensoever any Cause concerning publick Oppressions, should be postponed for further Information, the accused should not be heard in their Defence without hearing the Accusers likewise at the same time. This was the only way to hinder the Oppressors from escaping the Punishment they had deserved. Hitherto, whenever they had obtained a Decree to postpone the Sentence, they had been allowed to defend themselves without hearing their Opponents; and often secured themselves against the Rigour of the Laws by meer Chicanery.

As for the *Tribune*, *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, he attempted to revive the Law of *Tiberius Gracchus* concerning the Distribution of Lands. But this was thought a seditious Attempt; and he at last acquiesced upon the Remonstrances of the Nobility. He submitted to their Reasons, and desisted; and did himself Honour by his Moderation. All these Attempts against the Nobility sufficiently shew, how much the popular Faction depended on the Protection of the new *Consul*; and the mortified Senate peaceably submitted to these Hardships, as long as he continued in Power.



§. X. In the mean time *Marius* set out for *Transalpine Gaul*. The *Narbonne* Province was the Rendezvous appointed for his Troops; and he found it ravaged, but the Enemy gone. Instead of passing the *Alpes*, as they had proposed after the defeat of *Cæpio* and *Mallius*, their Hopes of Booty had drawn the Barbarians back into *Spain*; and the *Consul* returned Thanks to the Gods for this Happiness. His Army was not yet disciplined or formed, in the manner he desired; and had he been obliged to fight immediately after his arrival, he would have had some Reason to fear the Success of Troops, who had never been exercised but in Places of Safety, and far from an Enemy. But he now had Time, till the Return of the *Cimbri*, to perfect his *Legionaries* in Discipline, and make them superior in Power to the Multitudes of the Enemy; and his Vigilance in forming them was very great. Not that he taught his Troops Frugality and Continence by his Example only; they were more influenced by the Severity that appeared in all his Deportment. There was a wildness and fierceness in his Looks and Eyes not to be described. The very Tone of his Voice was so rough and harsh, that whenever he gave Orders, it made those that received them tremble. And this had more Effect than Punishments, in keeping his Men in exact Subjection and Obedience. Tho' the *Cimbri* were gone, he was altogether as severe in his Discipline, as if they had been within reach of him. The strictest Rules were observed in conducting his Convoys, and in Foraging. Whenever his Troops marched, it was in order of Battle. And that they might habituate themselves to rally the more easily, and form themselves with little Trouble, he would suffer but one sort of Ensigns in his Army. He ordered, That *Eagles* only should be borne; and every Man was taught to repair readily to his own, without Confusion.

But this Army, tho' thus wisely disciplined, had never yet been exposed to the Hazards of Battles: And *Marius* therefore, till the return of the *Cimbri*, whom he came to seek, found Employment for it, by sending them against the *Teutofages*. He ordered *Sylla* to go and make War with all the Enemies to the *Roman* Name, who were dispersed from *Narbonne* to the *Pyrenees*: And *Sylla* kept up the Glory he had acquired in *Numidia*. He fought the *Teutofages*, with a Detachment of the new Army; and took one of their Kings, named *Copillus*, Prisoner of War. By these slight Advantages, the *Consular* Army was gradually prepared for greater Victories, when the Barbarians should return from *Spain*. Nevertheless *Marius*, did not think the Troops he had brought from *Italy* sufficient to withstand so terrible an Inundation of *Cimbri*, *Teutones*, and *Gauls* as he expected: And he obtained leave to send for Succours to the farthest Parts of the East. He sent as far as to the King of *Bithynia*, desiring him to send some *Bithynian* Succours even beyond the *Alpes*. But *Nicomedes* the Son of old *Prusias*, offered such Reasons for his Excuse, as were not disapproved of at *Rome*. He represented, That great Numbers of his Subjects had been carried away by the *Roman* Knights, who farmed the Revenues of the Republick in the *Levant*; That being kept in Slavery by these Publicans, they could no longer serve in his Troops; and That unless his *Bithynians* were restored to him, he could not compleat his Phalanxes, or march them to assist *Marius*. The Complaint was allowed to be a very just one, and the Senate had regard to it. They passed a Decree, That all those Men of free Condition, who had been brought from the Country of any Ally and enslaved, should be restored to their Liberty. But this Decree, tho' nothing could be more just, gave rise to a new War, in which a great deal of *Roman* Blood was spilt, and of which *Marius* was, by this Means, the innocent Occasion.

§. XI. The greatest part of these Slaves had been brought from the East against their Wills, and had been dispersed about, partly in *Italy*, but chiefly in *Sicily*, to cultivate the Lands which were appropriated to the Publick: And upon the first News of this Decree, the unhappy Creatures broke off their Chains, and without waiting for further Orders, set themselves at Liberty. Their first Commotion was at <sup>25</sup> *Nuceria*, a City of *Campania*, on the Banks of the <sup>27</sup> *Sarnus*: And the Number of them here being not great, the Tumult was the less formidable and soon suppressed. But a more violent Passion, even than the Desire of Liberty, gave rise to a second Storm at *Capua*. A young *Roman Knight*, named *Vettius*, whose Father was immensely rich, had squandered away his Fortune in Debauchery: And after he was thus reduced, he fell violently in

<sup>26</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 227, Note 99, & Page 283, in Mount *Tifate* in *Campania*, and falls into the *Mediterranean*. The Mouth of it is not called *Sarno*, Note 93. but *Scafati*.

<sup>27</sup> The *Sarnus*, or *Sarno*, as it is now called, rises

Year of  
ROME  
DCXLIX.  
C. MARIUS,  
& C. FLAVIUS  
FIMBRIA,  
Consuls.

Plut. in *Mario*.

Plut. in *Sylla*.

Diod. Sic. in  
Eclog. 1. apud  
Valef.



Year of love with a beautiful Slave, whom he bought for seven *Attick Talents*, upon Credit, for a certain Time. The Riches of the Father made it easy for the Son to obtain his Mistress in this manner; the only Use he made of her, was to minister to his Pleasures; and he still continued fond of her, when the Time came that he must either pay for her, or restore her to her former Master. Being therefore both in love and insolvent, his only Recourse against Justice, was to make an Insurrection among the Foreigners, who cultivated the Lands of the Publick in his District. The new Decree of the Senate, and his Quality of a *Roman Knight*, which he derived from his Father, made it easy for him to seduce these unfortunate Eastern People, who had been reduced to Slavery by force. *Vettius* also found Credit enough still, to purchase Arms for 500; and he promised all that would follow him their Liberty, and put himself at the Head of them. At first his Company consisted of only 400; and his first Expedition with them was to murder those who had pressed him to pay for his new Mistress. Then he led them to the Villages and Farms in the Neighbourhood, which he put under Contribution; wherever he came, the Slaves he set at Liberty joined him; and when he had assembled to the Number of 700, he then posted himself in a Place difficult of Access, and made it an *Asylum* for all fugitive Slaves. The Senate thought they could not be too quick, in providing a Remedy for this growing Evil; and they dispatched in all haste *Lucius Lucullus* the *Prætor of Rome*, with Orders to purge *Campania* of these Robbers. *Lucullus* took only 600 disciplined Men with him; but, gathered up as he marched 4000 Foot more, and 300 Horse. As fast as the *Prætor* advanced, *Vettius* fortified himself in his Post, and got himself proclaimed King by his Party. They by this Time amounted to 3500; and the first Attack turned to the Advantage of the Rebels. *Vettius* defended himself like a Man desperate. It was therefore necessary to make use of Artifice, for want of Force; and *Lucullus* by promising Impunity and Rewards to one *Apollonius*, who was General under *Vettius*, brought him over to him. What could the pretended King expect but Treachery from the venal Wretches he had about him? In short, *Apollonius* sold him to the *Prætor*; and he could only escape a publick Execution, by killing himself. A melancholy End! But such a one, as might have been an instructive Lesson to the Debauchees of his Time! When Men are grown desperate in their Incontinence, what an Abyss of Misery must be the Consequence!

§. XII. These little Storms were Preludes to a more important War, which the Decree of the Senate raised in *Sicily*. Almost all the Land of this fruitful Island belonged to the Publick Treasury; and this was the Reason, that the *Publicans* annually sent vast numbers of Slaves thither, to cultivate it. Nor were these Receivers of the Publick Revenue, at all scrupulous in the Choice they made in the East, of the Persons they sent hither into Slavery. If a Man was a good Husbandman, whether he was a Freeman or not, they seized him, and sent him to work in *Sicily*. This was the Cause of the King of *Bithynia's* Complaints, whose Country was by this means unpeopled; and the Senate, as we have observed, had ordered the Grievance to be redressed. But the Execution of the Decree, made the Remedy worse than the Disease. *Sicily* was then governed by a *Prætor* named *Licinius Nerva*, a weak timorous Man, and very capable of being corrupted by the *Publicans*. At first, he obeyed the Decree, which ordered the Eastern People of free Condition, who had been brought by force into the Island, to be set at liberty, as soon as he received it. He struck off the Chains of 400 of these unfortunate Men, and ordered that all who had any Remonstrances to make concerning their Slavery, should repair to him to *Syracuse*. The number of these poor Creatures was much greater than he had imagined; and he found just Cause to be astonished at the Villanies of the *Publicans*, who had by force carried so many thousand Men from their own Country, and reduced them to Slavery. But after his first Fire was spent, the Persons concerned found means to soften him. By their Presents, they turned his Compassion into Cruelty. He then looked on this Multitude of People who had been enslaved by force, only as a troublesome Mob, and sent them back to their Masters to be severely punished for their Insolence. But the fear of being ill used made these unfortunate Creatures dread their respective Homes; and they retired to a Wood, consecrated to the <sup>28</sup> *Dii Palici*, in hopes, that the Respect paid to

<sup>28</sup> *Æschiles* is the first, who, we know, has mentioned these Gods. Poetry gave them birth, as it did to most



so venerable a Sanctuary, would procure Justice for them. The *Prætor* at first seemed to approve of the Step they had taken, and urged the Holiness of the Place, as a Motive for them to be reconciled to their Masters. But this Moderation was now too late. They were too much exasperated to be easily appeased. On the contrary, they met together in Companies, and took Measures to extort by force of Arms, the Liberty which had been unjustly refused them.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCXLIX.  
C. MARIUS,  
& C. FLAVIUS  
FIMBRIA,  
Consuls.

Their first open Attempt was made upon two Brothers, of the Name *Ancylus*, who had great Estates. Thirty of their Slaves cut their Throats in their sleep, plundered their Farms, made an Insurrection in the Neighbourhood, and in that very Night got 150 together. The *Prætor* with all his Diligence, could not come before there were near 200 in Arms; and being too weak to attack them, he made an Agreement with a Leader of *Banditti* named *Caius Titinius*, who having been condemned to die by Law, had made his escape, and was turned Robber. This Man promised the *Prætor*, that he would join his Company with the Slaves, and betray them. Accordingly the Villain kept his Word; delivered up the Castle which the Associates had seized, to the *Romans*; and the Slaves all perished, either Sword in hand, or by throwing themselves down from the top of the Fort, to avoid Punishment.

§. XIII. *Licinius* therefore, when he had suppressed this first Commotion, should have kept the Field, in order to prevent the ill Consequences of this Sedition. But he disbanded his Troops; and his Indolence emboldened some Slaves to murder a *Roman Knight* named *Clonius*. He was assassinated by his own Domesticks, who to the number of fourscore, broke off their Chains, and retired to an Hill, armed with their Tools. The *Prætor* immediately hastened thither with an handful of Men which he had ready; but finding them intrenched he passed by, and turned towards *Heraclea*. His not attacking them was imputed to his Cowardice, and the Rumour spreading, this made the Rebels the more insolent. In less than seven Days, 800 Slaves assembled at a Place appointed; and they increased so fast in Number, that they were, in a few Days more no less than 6000. Then finding it very inconvenient for so great a Multitude to continue together without a Head, or Order, or Discipline; they immediately chose themselves a General, and gave him the Title of King. This was a Flute-player, named *Salvius*, who likewise pretended to Predictions, by consulting the Entrails of Animals. His Flute and his Art of Divination had introduced him into all the *Orgyæ*

most of the Pagan Divinities, *Macrobius* ascribes their Origin to an unlawful Commerce between *Jupiter* and the Nymph *Thalia*. They met on the Banks of the *Simæthus* near *Catanea*; and when she was ready to be delivered, she prayed the King of the Gods, who had debauched her, to hide her from *Juno's* Resentments. Accordingly, by *Jupiter's* Orders, the Earth opened, and swallowed her up. The Nymh appeared no more till she had been delivered of two Twins, whom the Poets call *Palici*, from a Greek Word which signifies the wonderful Manner of their Birth. *Sicily* afterwards paid them Divine Honours, and made them her Tutelary Deities. Altars, and a magnificent Temple were erected to their Honour, in which they were said to have uttered Oracles. This Sanctuary was greatly revered in the Country, as an *Asylum*, which none could violate with Impunity. The Priests, who found their Account in imposing on the Credulity of the People, always said, in order to credit the Worship of the *Palici*, that the Gods immediately punished every Prophanation of their Temple. They also reported it as a certain Truth, That when the Twins came out of the Bowels of the Earth, they had opened two Gulphs near Mount *Ætna*, which vomited out Fire; and That there were two Lakes formed there, in which sulphureous and pestilential Waters boiled up through several Passages. These Lakes were formerly called *Delli*, and *Palici*; and now *Naphtia*. *Diodorus Siculus* makes the two but one Lake, as does *Cluver* in his *Geography*, and *Pazellus* in his *History*; to whom we refer. The Mythologists have

vented the like Dreams about the Fountain *Palicene*, which probably was the Lake itself. It rose, according to them, near the famous Temple which was deemed the Center of Religion; and the *Sicilians* ascribed a miraculous Virtue to it which was that of discovering Perjury. The Person who was to swear, went to the Altars of the *Dii Palici*, and there wrote on a little Table a solemn Form expressing the Thing sworn, which Table was thrown into the Water. If it swam, the Fact was deemed true; but if it sunk, this was adjudged a Conviction of the Crime. And *Diodorus Siculus* pretends, That the Offender was always punished on the Spot, and generally with Blindness. There was also a current Tradition in *Sicily*, that these gracious Gods, had, at the Prayers and Vows of the *Sicilians*, brought Plenty there after a Famine. Under this Persuasion, the Islanders came in crowds to bring their Offerings, and pay their Homage to these chimerical Gods. Nay, formerly, so detestable was their Superstition, that human Victims were slain at these Altars. But Humanity soon got the better of so barbarous a Custom, and the *Sicilians* acknowledged the monstrous Abuses of such Sacrifices.

*Lactantius*, *Servius*, and *Stephen of Byzantium*, have changed the Name of the Nymph *Thalia*, into that of *Ætna*, and call her the Daughter of *Vulcan*. The last, and *Diodorus Siculus*, speak of a City of *Palice*, on the Banks of the *Simæthus*, so called from the Name of these Gods.

29 See Vol. 2. p. 547. Note 47.

30 The *Greeks*, according to *Servius*, gave the Name of *Orgyæ*, to all sorts of Sacrifices. But it most



Year of *gya* of the Women; but nevertheless his Pleasures and Effeminacy had not enervated his Courage. He was found worthy of the Rank to which he was raised; and *ROME* he immediately divided his People into three Parties, which he sent out under three *DCXLIX.* Leaders, to pillage the Country, and assemble their Comrades, and bring them to the Camp. These Expeditions by his Subalterns succeeded beyond his Expectation; and they brought him so many Men and Horses, that he was soon in a Condition to form a numerous Army.

C. MARIUS,  
& C. FLAVIUS  
FIMBRIA,  
Consuls.

It amounted, in a very short time, to 20000 Foot and 2000 Horse; and he then attempted to besiege <sup>31</sup> *Morgantia*, a strong City on the Banks of the <sup>32</sup> *Simæthus*. On the other hand, the *Prætor Licinius*, could raise no more than 10000 Men, partly *Italians*, and partly *Sicilians*: but nevertheless he ventured to march against the Enemy. He came in the Night, and attacked the Camp of the Slaves, which he found deserted. All *Salvius's* Troops were engaged in the Siege; and the *Prætor* seized the Booty these Robbers had brought out of the Country, and taking their Wives Prisoners, reduced them again to slavery. From thence, before Day-break, the *Prætor* drew near to the besieged City, and by means of the Darkness surprized the Enemy. A sudden Pannick seized them, and they dispersed; but did not run far. Before Sunrise, they assembled together again, and consulted how to revenge themselves, by surprizing the *Prætor*. Then, by favour of the Night, they came unexpectedly on the *Prætorian* Army, who thought themselves victorious, surrounded them, and attacked them when they were least upon their guard. This was a fine beginning for this new King; and though the *Romans* long disputed the Victory with him, yet he compleated it by a masterly Piece of Conduct. He made Proclamation throughout all his Army, that no Enemy should be killed, who laid down his Arms. The *Romans* heard this, and being hard pressed, demanded quarter. This lessened the Slaughter, so that the *Prætor* had no more than 600 Men killed upon the Spot; but he had 4000 made Prisoners of War.

§. XIV. This compleat Victory raised the Courage of the new King; and his Army visibly encreased. He was soon in a better Condition than ever to take *Morgantia*; and he attacked it again, and surrounded it more closely than before. The bravest Defenders of the Place, against this Army of Slaves, were the Slaves of *Morgantia*, who faithfully adhered to their Masters. These had promised them their Liberty if they repulsed, or tired out the Besiegers; and they chose rather to acquire it honestly, than take it by joining the Rebels. They performed Exploits much beyond Men of their Condition; and in a Word, obliged *Salvius* to raise the Siege. How then could the *Morgantini* have done better, than to have kept their Words with the Deliverers of their Country? But *Licinius* thought fit to disannull the Promises they had made them. The base *Prætor* seems by his Conduct, to have had nothing in view, but to stir up and foment a War, which gave the *Romans* much Trouble, and cost them much Blood. And accordingly, the Slaves of *Morgantia* abandoned their Masters whom they had defended, and went over to the Enemy. By this means the Evil daily encreased, and the Contagion spread through all Parts of *Sicily*. A Slave born in *Cilicia*, and named *Athenio*, raised an Insurrection among his Fellows, in the neighbourhood of <sup>33</sup> *Egesta*, and <sup>34</sup> *Lilybæum*. His Master had made him Major-domo, and given him the Charge of his great Estate in the Country: And *Athenio* in return killed his Benefactor, and put himself at the Head of the 200 Slaves, which his Master had in his Service. As soon as he encreased his Party to the Number of 1000, he got them to declare him a King; and then his Conduct was very different from that of *Salvius*. The new Monarch would not admit into his Service all the Fugitives that offered themselves. He only chose out such, as were most inclined to, and best qualified for, military Service. This was an excellent Artifice to draw more People after him; and one Effect that he found from it was, that the handsomest Men were ambitious of the Honour of being admitted among those whom *Athenio* thought fit to prefer.

most properly signifies the tumultuous Assemblies which the drunken *Bacchantes* held in the Night, in Honour of *Bacchus*. *Cybele* had also her *Orgya*, in which her Adventures were represented, and Flutes and other musical Instruments attended the Ceremonies.

<sup>31</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 231. Note 41.

<sup>32</sup> The *Simæthus* is now called by the Natives *Larretta*. *Pliny*, L. 7. speaks of a City of this Name, on the Banks of this River.

<sup>33</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 544, Note 42.

<sup>34</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 469, Note 4.



*Licinius* flattered himself, That the two Kings of the Slaves would destroy one another, and That Jealousy would sow Divisions between the two Armies; but his Expectations were frustrated. The two Heads of the Rebels acted separately, in different Countries, without seeking for, or hurting one another. *Athenio* very much resembled *Salvius* in his Qualifications and Abilities. They were both brave, both endued by Nature with some Talents for commanding, and both valued themselves much on their Skill in Divination: And this last Prejudice was of more use to them than any thing else, in preserving their Superiority over their Comrades. Whilst *Salvius* was carrying all before him, in all the Country between *Morgantia* and <sup>35</sup> *Leontini*; *Athenio* marched his Army, consisting of about 10000 Men to the side of *Lilybæum*, with design to besiege and take that City. A chimerical Project indeed, since *Lilybæum* was perhaps the strongest Place then in the World; but Expeditions concerted with all the Wisdom of experienced Commanders were not to be expected from such a General. However, *Athenio* spent much Time and Provision in this fruitless Attempt; and then found out an Expedient to quit his Enterprize without Dishonour. He pretended to be inspired, and in a sudden Transport cried out; *What do I see? What is this that threatens us! Let us, my Friends, be gone this instant from a Place, where a melancholy Fate is preparing for us. If we persist in attempting to take Lilybæum, we shall be undone! Let us then make our Advantage of the Knowledge that is given me from Heaven!* And indeed, the Impostor happened to speak more Truth, than he himself imagined. At the very time that his Army was decamping, a Fleet arrived from *Mauritania*, sent by *Bocchus* to assist the Romans in *Sicily*. It was commanded by a General named *Gomon*, who enter'd the Port of *Lilybæum*, landed his Troops there, and immediately fell on the Rear of *Athenio's* Army as it was upon the march. But this slight Defeat, only served to raise the Glory of the Head of the Rebels, and encrease the Confidence of his Soldiers. They revered him, as a Man in such Favour with the Gods, as to be admitted into their Councils.

§. XV. On the other hand, *Salvius* was now wholly intent on finding out a proper Place to be made the Capital of his new Dominions. After he had reviewed his Army, which he found to be 30000 strong, he offered Sacrifices to the Demi-Gods worshipped in *Italy*, and presented each with a Purple Robe. His Name seems to imply, that his Family had originally come from *Italy*, and that he was descended from one of those Captives, whom the Romans had formerly taken, when they conquered the Provinces of *Italy*. But be that as it will, this King of the Slaves, chose out a Place which in the Language of the Country was called <sup>36</sup> *Triocala*, because it had three great Advantages which are seldom to be found together. First, it had plentiful Springs of the best Water in the World; in the next place, the Hills about it were covered with Olive-trees, Vines, and other Fruit-trees; and lastly, the Situation was such, that a City built there might be made impregnable. At *Triocala* therefore *Salvius* resolved to fix his Habitation: And it was there that he thought proper to change his *Italian Name* into a *Greek* one. In order to ingratiate himself with his Multitude of Eastern People, he called himself *Trypho*. Then he began the Foundations of his new City, built the Citadel of it on the Ruins of an old demolished Castle, and surrounded it with a wide Ditch which was a Mile in compass. There he raised himself a fine Palace, and opened a Market for the sale of Provisions brought from the neighbouring Countries. He likewise settled a kind of Polity in his City, and chose himself a Council consisting of his Friends and the most prudent of his Subjects. In short, all Things were settled in great Order at *Triocala*, and nothing was wanting but to people the new Colony with the Slaves that *Athenio* had under his command. *Trypho* invited him to come, and partake of the Pleasures of the Place where he was settled; and *Athenio* accepted of the Invitation, and came attended with only 3000 of his Men, the rest being by his Orders dispersed about the Country to pillage it. But his stupid Complaisance cost him dear. He was seized as soon as he entered *Triocala*, and shut up Prisoner in the Citadel. Such were the Beginnings of this new War of the Slaves in *Sicily*. Though it may resemble the Insurrection raised by *Eunus*, a few Years ago,

<sup>35</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 474. Note 9.

<sup>36</sup> *Stephen of Byzantium* and *Ptolomy* mention a City of *Triocala* otherwise called *Tricala* by the ancient

Geographers; which stood in the South of *Sicily*, near the Place where we now find *S. Giorgio di Tricala*.



Year of in some Particulars, it was a very different War; and we shall see it last above four  
R O M E Years. Let us therefore now return to *Marius's* Camp in *Transalpine Gaul*.

DCXLIX. §. XVI. The *Consul* waited for the Return of the *Cimbri* to the *Narbonne Province*, with impatience. His *Consular* Year drew near an end, and he had not yet seen the Enemy. The Barbarians were still subsisting on the Booty they got in *Spain*; and resolved not to return towards the *Alpes*, till they could find no more Provisions beyond the *Pyrenees*. In the mean time, *Marius's* Army daily increased, by the Succours he received from all the eastern Countries. This mixture of Soldiers of so many different Nations, made him the more vigilant in keeping an exact Discipline in his Camp; and he punished Vice there with great Severity. We may judge of the Abhorrence he had for that infamous Debauchery which Licentiousness too often introduced into the *Roman* Armies, by the following Instance.

*Plut. in Mario.*  
*Val. Max. L.*  
*6. c. 1.*  
*Cic. pro Milone.*

He had brought with him into *Gaul* a Sister's Son, named *Caius Lucius*, who bore a considerable Rank among the Officers, being a *Military Tribune*. This *Tribune*, who was not so virtuous as his Uncle, gave himself up to the most abominable of all Passions, and being struck with the Beauty of a young Soldier, ordered him to come to him, at Night, to his Tent. *Trebonius* <sup>37</sup> (which was the Soldier's Name) obeyed, and came: but when he found that he could not preserve his Chastity, without resisting the Violence going to be offered him; he, without regard to the General's Resentment, stabbed his Nephew, and saved his Honour at the Hazard of his Life. The Death of *Lucius* made a great Noise; and *Marius* was soon informed of it, after his Return from the Expedition which he was at that Time upon. *Trebonius* was warmly accused by some Flatterers; but he produced his Witnesses, and proved his Innocence. The *Consul*, tho' much affected with the Loss of a Nephew whose good Qualities were obscured by this single Vice of Incontinence, put on an Appearance of the contrary; and not only acquitted *Trebonius*, but rewarded him for his Courage. He with his own Hands, put one of those Crowns on his Head, which Generals never gave to their Soldiers but after some valiant Action. Fame soon divulged the Equity of the *Consul*, and the Virtue of the private *Legionary*; and the Applauses the Army gave them reached *Rome*. The Praises of *Trebonius* and *Marius* were in every Mouth; and as the Time of Elections drew nigh, the *Centuries* thought they could not do better than continue a General in the *Consulate*, who so generously guarded their Children under his Command, against the infamous Attempts of their wicked Officers. <sup>38</sup>.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCL.

C. MARIUS,  
& L. AURE-  
LIUS ORES-  
TES, Consuls.  
*Cic. in Orat.*  
*de Provin.*  
*Consular.*

§. XVII. Accordingly, when the *Comitia* were assembled in *The Field of Mars*, there was no difficulty in the new Election of *Marius*. Tho' absent, he was proclaimed *Consul*, a third Time; and the People ordered, that he should continue in *Transalpine Gaul*, there to wait the Return of the *Cimbri*. The most inveterate Enemies the *Consul* had, as the *Crassus's*, the *Metellus's*, and *Marcus Scaurus*, highly approved of this Appointment. They had more Regard to the good of the Publick, than to their own private Resentments. The Collegue the Republick gave *Marius*, was *L. Aurelius Orestes*, who continued some Time at *Rome* to settle Affairs there. The first that employed him

<sup>37</sup> *Valerius Maximus* is the only Author, who gives this young Soldier the Name of *Plotius*.

<sup>38</sup> At the same time, or near it, according to *Cicero*, and *Valerius Maximus*, *Quintus Fabius Eburnus* gave the *Romans* a like Instance of Severity, in the Person of his own Son. This young Man was suspected of the most scandalous Debaucheries. At least, his Irregularity had raised great Suspicions of his Modesty; and *Fabius* in vain endeavoured to recover him to a Sense of Things worthy of his Birth and Name. Neither Advices nor Threatenings made any Impressions, on a Heart blindly devoted to its Passions. The Father therefore first banished his Son into the Country; and thereby removed him from his wicked Companions, and gave him Time for Reflection and Repentance. But the Son, tired with his Solitude, became more untractable than ever, and laid a Scheme for shaking off the Yoke of this troublesome Censor, who debarred him of his Pleasures. And then *Fabius*, in his Despair, forgot that he was a Father. Having the Laws to support him, which gave Fathers an absolute Power over their Children, he even condemned his Son to die, and the Sentence was immediately

executed by two Slaves. To both these he gave their Liberty, to save them from the Rack; and then retired to a Solitude, in which he died of Grief and Vexation. *Valerius Maximus* gives this *Fabius* the Surname of *Servilianus*. According to *Cicero*, one *Cneius Pompeius* accused the too rigorous Father, of having unjustly put his Son to death; and *Fabius* prevented the Sentence, by a voluntary Exile, and ever after lived at *Nuceria*, and was made a Citizen of that City.

Another *Quintus Fabius*, the Son of the Conqueror of the *Allobroges*, disgraced himself by a licentious and debauched Course of Life. One of the *Prætors* of *Rome*, whom *Val. Maximus* calls *Quintus Pompeius*, made a strict Enquiry into the Conduct of the young Debauchee, put him under the Guardianship of his Relations, as a known Prodigal, and deprived him of the Management of his Estate, as early as the Year 533, as *Orosius* gives us room to conjecture. *Marius Fabius Buteo* had caused his own Son to be put to death, upon his being accused and convicted of Theft.



were those of Religion. It was said, That, among other Prodigies, a Dog at *Ariminum* had spoken Words articulately ; That at <sup>39</sup> *Ameria*, two Armies had been seen fighting in the Air, one in the East, the other in the West ; and That at last, the eastern Army was vanquished. By a Decree of the *Aruspices*, Expiations were ordered to be made, to avert these fatal Presages ; and twenty seven young Girls, marched in Procession, singing Hymns as they went, to the Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, and made their Offerings there.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCL.  
C. MARIUS,  
& L. AURE-  
LIUS ORES-  
TES, Consuls.  
*Jul. Obseq.*  
c. 103.

At the same Time, the City was entertained with a kind of Comedy, at the Expence of a contemptible *Prætor*, named *T. Albucius*, who became the Jest of the Publick. He was extremely vain, and highly valued himself upon being at the same time well acquainted with polite Learning and Philosophy and a Master in the Art of War. He had formerly resided at *Athens* to learn the Elegancies of the *Greek Tongue* ; and there gave out, that he best understood the Delicacies of the purest *Atticism*, of any Man in the World. *Quintus Mucius Scævola*, then *Prætor* in *Achaia*, came to *Athens*, and did himself the Pleasure to visit this *Roman*, whose Folly made the *Athenians* themselves laugh. When *Scævola* saw him, he, in derision, saluted him only in *Greek* ; and ordered his *Lictors* to speak to him in no other Language, but that which he pretended to understand, better than the Natives themselves. *Albucius*, tho' no Conjuror, had Sense enough to see through the Ridicule, resented it, and openly declared himself an Enemy to *Scævola*. When returned to *Rome*, he, in Revenge, accused the *Prætor* of publick Oppressions in *Achaia*, but lost his Cause. Nevertheless, this worthless Creature was nominated *Prætor* for *Sardinia* ; and on that Occasion, displayed his Vanity in the strongest light. Tho' he had done nothing in his Province, but given chace to some Robbers, he demanded of the Senate a Decree, for publick Thanksgivings to be offered up to the Gods for his Exploits : And tho' the Petition was laughed at, he decreed himself a sort of *Triumph*, in his Province. As soon then as he was out of his Office, the young Orators, by way of diversion, accused him before the Commons of Disobedience ; in having triumphed without the Consent, either of the Senate, or People. Every one was very desirous of declaiming against him ; and particularly *Curius Pompeius Strabo*, who had been his *Quæstor*, made all the Interest he could, to get leave to be one of his Accusers. But it was thought an ill Precedent, to suffer Subalterns to accuse their Generals. *Caius Julius Cæsar* was therefore chosen to plead against this mighty triumphant Victor ; and his Speech was very artful and elegant, and full of the most delicate Satyr. After him spake *Scævola*, with great Vehemence, mixed with great Drollery. And in short, *Albucius* was condemned to Banishment, more out of Contempt to his Person, than for the Enormity of his Crime. The Place he chose for his Exile was *Athens* ; and there he puzzled his Head with the *Epicurean Philosophy*. In short, that nothing might be wanting to make him compleatly ridiculous, he afterwards turned Poet, and Satyrist. He pretended to imitate *Lucilius*, and to write very severe Verses, by which no body suffered but himself.

*Cic. de Divin.*  
*Et ejus inter-*  
*pres Pædianus.*  
*Idemque va-*  
*riis in locis.*  
*Apuleius,*

§. XVIII. These droll Scenes diverted the *Romans*, whilst their Republick was hard pressed in several Places, and in more apparent Danger of sinking than ever. In *Transalpine Gaul*, a frightful Multitude of *Germans*, of different Appellations, *Teutones*, *Helvetii*, and *Ambrones*, and of *Gauls* of all the western Provinces, exclusive of the *Cimbri*, were threatening *Italy* with a most terrible Inundation. *Marius* was covering the Country beyond the *Alpes* with his Army ; and the new Consul *Aurelius*, was preparing to receive them on this side the Mountains. In *Sicily*, the rebellious Slaves were ravaging all the Provinces, and taking Advantage of the Indolence of *Lucullus*, who had been sent to make War with them. And in *Spain*, the *Cimbri* were laying waste *Celtiberia* with as much Fury as they had ravaged *Narbonne-Gaul* ; whilst, at the same time, *Rome* was now resolved, to send no more Troops thither. After the Defeat of *Mallius* and *Cæpio*, she kept all her Forces, to oppose the Torrent of Enemies which threaten'd her from the *Alpes*. So that the Republick had now at most but one *Legion* in *Hither Spain*, commanded by the *Prætor*, *Marcus Fulvius* ; which was a small Force, to stop the Incursions of the *Cimbri*. However, Necessity and their common

*Jul. Obseq.*  
c. 103.

<sup>39</sup> *Ameria*, formerly known by the Name of *Ame-  
lia*, was thought by the *Romans* to be one of the most  
ancient Cities of *Umbria*. *Pliny* pretends, on the Au-  
thority of old *Cato*, that it was built 964 Years, be-  
fore the War with *Perfes* King of *Macedon*. Which

if true, it must have been founded about 383 Years  
before *Rome*. It was near *Narnia*, and at a little di-  
stance from the *Tiber* and the Lake *Bassano*. *Cicero*  
calls it a *Municipium*, in his *Oration for Roscius*.



Year of  
ROME  
DCL.

C. MARIUS,  
& L. AURE-  
LIUS ORES-  
TES, Consuls.  
Front. Strat.  
L. 2. c. 5.

Interest had made the *Celtiberians* join with the *Romans*, in defending their Lands and Estates against the Northern Barbarians; and it happened very fortunately for them, that the *Roman* General was an excellent Soldier. He conducted his *Legion*, and *Celtiberian* Troops with so much Prudence, and inspired them with so much Valour, that he forced the *Cimbri* to leave *Spain*, and that with the Expence of only one Battle. His Stratagem was this. In order to tire out this Multitude of Vagabonds, he sent some of his *Spanish* Horse to insult the Enemy to the very Foot of their Entrenchments. Upon this, the Barbarians immediately sallied out of their Camp, and left no body to defend it. At the same time, the Horse were too nimble for them, and easily escaped them in the pursuit. And *Fulvius* finding, upon repeated Trials, that they always left their Camp empty on such Occasions, he resolved to take this Advantage, and surprize it, the moment they should leave it. To this end, he marched himself at the Head of a chosen Body of Men, and hid himself behind their Camp, in the Night. The next Morning, the *Spanish* Cavalry came to insult it, as usual; and the *Cimbri* immediately marched into the Plain, and pursued them with Fury. Then the *Prætor* instantly left his Ambush, and made himself Master of their Entrenchments; and this was enough to discourage those Robbers from continuing in a barren Country which they had already ravaged, and where Provisions now began to fail. They resolved to return back into *Gaul*, in the first beginning of the Spring.

Plut. in Sylla.  
Vell. Patere.

In the mean time, *Marius* employed himself in disciplining the new Reinforcements he was continually receiving, from *Rome* and her Allies. He was not idle in his Camp; his very Inaction was laborious<sup>40</sup>. Before the *Cimbri* returned back over the *Pyrennees*, a swarm of<sup>41</sup> *Marfi*, Natives of *Germany*, who came from the Banks of the<sup>42</sup> *Luppia*, appeared all on a sudden, in *Gaul*, with a Design to join the *Teutones*, and enter *Italy* with them. Upon this, *Sylla* was immediately detached to meet these new Enemies: And he chose rather to make use of Persuasion than Violence with them. He first desired a Conference; and in it prevailed upon them to alter their Resolution, and come over to the *Romans*. So that hitherto, *Sylla* had been in a manner *Marius's* Right-hand. The Lieutenant General had faithfully assisted his *Consul* with his Arm and his Eloquence, in promoting the publick Good. But now they parted. Whether or no, *Marius's* Jealousy of a Subaltern, who gave him Umbrage, revived at this Juncture; we cannot say. But this we know, That their Diffensions had begun three Years before in *Numidia*; That they had hitherto artfully concealed them, under the Appearance of a perfect Friendship; and That, whatever their mutual Sentiments of each other now were, they no more acted together after this Time. *Sylla* will no longer shine in *Marius's* Army; but we shall find him next, in the Army of the Collegue which the Republick gave *Marius* for the next Year. Towards the end of the present *Consular* Year, *Aurelius Orestes* died in his Camp at the Foot of the *Alpes* on the side of *Italy*; and the Republick was obliged to recall *Marius*, the surviving *Consul*, to preside at the new Elections. He left the Command of his Troops in *Transalpine Gaul* to *Manius Aquilius*, and returned with Joy to *Rome*; where he acted a Part very suitable to his Ambition.

§. XIX. When he arrived, he found a very intriguing, artful Man, at the Head of the *Tribunes*, named *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*; who, after he had spent his Estate and the best Part of his Life, in Debauchery had stood for the *Quæstorship*, in order to raise himself from the Disgrace which his Effeminacy had brought

<sup>40</sup> *Marius*, says *Plutarch* in his Life of this General, in order to discipline his Soldiers, forced them to take great Marches; gave them but short Intervals for rest between their Labours, and those almost always interrupted; and the Time he allowed them, for their private Necessities, was rather spent in Labour than in Ease. They were obliged to provide and dress their own Victuals without any Assistance; tho' their Arms were very heavy, they were obliged to carry on their Backs, not them only, but likewise all their Provisions and Utensils. So that they were compared to Beasts of Burden; and in a Word, were called *Marius's Mules*. But *Plutarch* gives us another Derivation of this Nick-name; as we have before observed, p. 88, when we spake of the Activity of *Marius* at the Siege of *Numantia*.

<sup>41</sup> The *Marfi*, according to *Tacitus*, were a People of old *Germany*. They at first inhabited a little District in *Holland*, beyond the *Iffel*, a small River that rises near *Utrecht*. Then they settled in a Part of *Germany*, which is now a Part of the Circle of *Westphalia*, and of the Bishoprick of *Paderborn*. Some Remains of their Name are still preserved in the Town called *Dithmarsen*.

<sup>42</sup> The River *Luppia* or *Lupias*, as *Strabo* calls it, rises at *Lippsprink*, a Village of *Westphalia*, near *Paderborn*; from thence it runs through a small Tract of Ground, and falls into the *Rhine*, after it has passed through the Dutchy of *Cleves*. On its Banks stands *Lipstad*, a City of *Westphalia*; which was formerly called *Luppia*, as well as this River.



upon him, and thereby put himself in the Road to the first Dignities. He was chosen; and it had been his Lot, to discharge that Office at *Ostia*, where he had received a Commission from the Republick to supply *Rome* with Provisions, the City having been almost reduced to a Famine, since the Rebellion of the Slaves in *Sicily*. But he had discharged his Office so ill, that he had been recalled. This so mortified him, that he then resolved to lay aside all Thoughts of pursuing the *Curule* Dignities, and entering warmly into the *Plebeian* Party, he had now gained himself some Reputation by his furious Zeal <sup>43</sup> against the Nobility. So that the *Consul* could not but think a *Tribune* so active and warm against the Senate, a very proper Tool to be employed in carrying on his ambitious Schemes. The Point *Marius* had in view, was to get himself nominated *Consul* the next Year. But this was a tender Point, and might easily give Offence to the People. It was a Thing unheard of, that the same Person should so often be chosen *Consul* successively; and his Management in order to succeed a fourth time, was masterly. The Scheme was this. Upon concerting Measures with the *Tribune*, it was resolved, That *Marius* should pretend to refuse the *Consulship*; and That *Apuleius* should engage the People to force him to accept it. And the Plot was carried on with great Dexterity and Address. In the first place the *Tribune* caused it to be privately whispered about, that the People could not pay too much Honour to the General, who was appointed to preserve *Italy* from the Inundation of the *Cimbri*. Then he assembled the People together, and publicly addressed himself to them thus. *What! Romans, will You, who have had Resolution enough hitherto, to overlook the Laws, in regard to the publick Good, dishonour yourselves at last by an Inconstancy which will be very prejudicial to the Publick? What has been your View, in advancing Marius to so many Consulships already? Was it only the Promotion of a private Man, or mere Fondness and Caprice? It was the Necessity of the Times that led you to it. It was the threatened Inundation from the West. And if then your Resolution was right the last Year, why will you alter it now? Is the Storm blown over; or are our Fears yet abated? The Tempest still hangs over the Pyrenees, and we shall soon hear it roar towards the Alpes. Who then shall be able to screen you from it? Will a new Commander, a tender effeminate Patrician, a General who is unknown to his Army, unacquainted with the Country, and unexperienced in War? Divert, O ye Gods, such pernicious Counsel! In our present Situation, the fierce Marius is the only Man that can withstand the Barbarians. His Competitors, and those that envy him and his Competitors, are at present as much to be feared by the Republick, as the Teutones, and the Cimbri. If the latter get the Consulship, the Republick is ruined, and Rome utterly undone. Upon your next Choice, depend the Safety of your Wives and Children, and the very being of our Houses and our Temples. Consider this; and be determined by the mighty Danger that threatens us.*

On the other hand, *Marius* played his Part well. He pretended to be mighty modest, and refused to suffer his Name to be entered among those of the Candidates. Men of Understanding indeed saw through the Disguise; but even his Rivals did not disapprove of his being continued at the Head of Affairs. The Nobility themselves could not but esteem him; and the extream Danger the State was in, made his Assistance necessary. During these Transactions, News was brought to *Rome*, that the *Cimbri* were leaving *Spain*, and returning back to *Gaul*; and then the publick Alarm, made the People impatient to bring on the Elections, and not to defer the Choice of *Marius* for *Consul*. But the more pressing the People were with him to accept their Offers, the more resolute he pretended to be to decline them. And among the Pretences which he urged for his refusal, he always took Care to intermix some which tended to throw an Odium upon the *Patricians*. In short, he carried his feigned Opposition so far, that the *Tribune* in one of his Harangues, began to treat him as a Person who obstinately resisted the Will of the People, and a Traytor to his Country: And the Game was so artfully played, that the People were effectually imposed on. They nominated *Marius Consul* the fourth Time, much against his Will as they imagined; and gave him for his Colleague, *Q. Lutatius* <sup>44</sup> *Catulus*, a Man in great

Year of  
R O M E  
DCL.

C. MARIUS,  
& L. AURELIUS  
ORES-  
TES, Consuls.  
Diod. Sic. apud  
Valef.

Cic. in Bruto,  
pro Sexto, & de  
Arusp. respond.

Plut. in Mario.  
Epit. Liv.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLI.

Esteem  
C. MARIUS,  
& Q. LUTAT-  
IUS CATU-  
LUS, Consuls.

<sup>43</sup> Cicero, in his *Brutus*, says that *Apuleius Saturninus* had the Art of imposing on the People, not so much by his Eloquence, as by the Vehemence of his Action.

<sup>44</sup> Cicero has given us a perfect Character of *Quintus Lutatius Catulus* in different Parts of his Works. His good Nature, and his polite and engaging Behaviour prejudiced all Men in his Favour. His agreeable Manner of speaking in Publick, and the Purity of his Expression, added new Beauties to his Speeches; and



Year of Esteem with the Senate, and at the same time beloved <sup>45</sup> by the People for his good Nature.

DCLI.  
C. MARIUS,  
& Q. LUTA-  
TIUS CATU-  
LUS, Consuls.

Auth. de Vir.  
Illust.

Nevertheless all the *Tribunes* were not equally well-affected to *Marius*. *Bæbius* opposed the Law proposed by *Apuleius* to please the new *Consul*, That the Veterans of his Armies should be put in Possession of the Lands conquered from *Jugurtha*, in *Nu-midia*. But the People were so enraged at the Opposition, that they took up Stones, and drove *Bæbius* down from *The Rostra*. Such was the Temper of the *Romans* at this Time. Their *Comitia* were no longer held in Order, or Peace; but a Spirit of Faction prevailed in them; and the Parties succeeded by Violence. However, *Marius*, it is certain, had the Hearts of all the People; whose Prayers for his Prosperity followed him beyond the *Alpes*.

§. XX. All *Gaul* was in Motion; and the Season, and Approach of the Enemy, hastened the Generals to their Posts. *Catulus* indeed fell very short of the Merit or Reputation of *Marius*; but *Sylla* had joined him, and under the Conduct of this illustrious Lieutenant-General, the Forces of the former were very near equal to those of the latter. However, the two *Consuls* set out from *Rome* at the same time; and left the City in great Uneasiness about the Success of Affairs abroad, and as great a Consternation at the new Troubles raised at Home.

Abroad, The *Thracians* <sup>46</sup> had raised Disturbances in *Macedon*, ever since the last Year. The rebellious Slaves laid *Sicily* waste, and straitened the *Citizens* of *Rome* for Provisions. And to increase the Misfortune, a swarm of Pyrates had appeared in the maritime Parts of <sup>47</sup> *Cilicia*, and infested the *Mediterranean*. So that their Piracies contributed as much to the Famine which afflicted *Rome*, as the Devastations in *Sicily*. They made sudden Descents in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*, and carried away all the Inhabitants they could find, to sell them; and the Island of *Delos* was their Staple. There they kept a publick Market, where the *Romans* themselves bought their Slaves. Though *Cilicia* was then dependent on the Crown of *Syria*, yet the Inhabitants carried on their Piracies with impunity. The *Syrian* Monarchs, who were continually quarrelling among themselves, were forced to connive at what they could not well prevent. In the mean time, *Rome* suffered by it, and the Ships which were bringing Provisions thither, often fell a Prey to these Barbarians. 'Till at length the Republick considered them as a publick Scourge; and sent a Man to destroy them, who seemed most nearly concerned, to clear the Seas of them. This was the famous Orator, *M. Antonius*, whose Daughter the *Cilicians* had carried away, from near the Cape of <sup>48</sup> *Misene*. The Republick gave him an extraordinary Commission, with the Title of <sup>49</sup> *Pro-Consul*; and he fitted <sup>50</sup> out Ships, cleared the Seas of these Robbers,

Florus, L. 3.  
Liv. Epit. L.  
58.  
Tacit. Annal.  
42.

and his Eloquence was so sweet and insinuating, that he captivated the Hearts of his Hearers. He was an Orator, a Historian, and a Poet. He wrote historical Memoirs of his *Consulate*, after the manner of *Xenophon*, whom he took for his Model; and he presented his Book to his Friend *Aulus Furius* of *Antium*, whose Poems were esteemed by all Judges. He employed his Leisure in poetical Performances; but the too great Levity of his Muse, to say no more, ill became the Gravity of his Character, and that Austerity of Life, which he professed. At least this is the Judgment, *Ovid* and *Pliny the Younger* made of it. *Aulus Gellius* has preserved one of his Epigrams on a Child named *Theotimus*, in the 19 Book of the *Noctes Atticæ*; which he produces as a Master-piece of Elegance and Politeness. *Cicero* quotes another, in his first Book, *De Nat. Deorum*, on young *Roscus*, in these Words.

*Constiteram, exorientem Auroram forte salutans,  
Cum subito a Læva Roscius exoritur;  
Pace mihi liceat, Cælestes! dicere vestra,  
Mortalis Visu'st Pulchrior esse Deo.*

Here *Catulus* appears to have been so charmed with *Roscus*, that he even raises him above the Gods. Nevertheless, says *Cicero*, this Child, whom he makes a superior Divinity to all others, squinted. The Poet's Wit and Affection were too partial to *Roscus*.

<sup>45</sup> This Man, who was so greatly beloved by the People, and whose Merit was universally acknow-

ledged, had nevertheless the Mortification to be twice disappointed of the *Consulate*. First, in the Year 647, when he was opposed by *Gaius Atilius Serranus*, a Man of experienced Wisdom in the Government of the Republick, as *Cicero* confesses, in his *Oration for Plancius*. And a second Time, when, to his much greater Mortification, the People preferred the contemptible *Mallius* before him, in 648. *Cicero* exclaims against this odd Choice, and condemns with Indignation the odious Preference.

<sup>46</sup> *Florus* tells us, B. 3, That the *Prætor*, *Calpurnius Piso*, marched against the *Thracians*, whom he forced to abandon *Macedon*, and pursued as far as to Mount *Caucasus*. *Julius Obsequens* reckons among the Events of the Year 650, the total Defeat of the *Thracians*, who had ravaged *Macedon*.

<sup>47</sup> In some Copies of *The Epitome of Livy*, and of *Julius Obsequens* we read *Siciliam*, instead of *Ciliciam*; but the Criticks have corrected this Mistake in the later Editions. The Pyrates here spoken of, scoured the Sea of *Cilicia*, and not that of *Sicily*.

<sup>48</sup> The Promontory of *Misene*, is on the Sea-coast of *Naples*, near *Cumæ*, *Putoli*, and *Baia*. It still bears the Name of *Misene*, which was likewise given to a City in the same Place, which is not now in Being.

<sup>49</sup> *Cicero* gives *Marcus Antonius* this Title, in B. 1, *de Oratore*; which is a decisive Authority against the *Abridger of Livy*, who supposes, that he commanded in the *Cilician* Seas, with the Title of *Prætor* only.

<sup>50</sup> *Tacitus* tells us, *Annal.* B. 2, That the Inhabit-



and returned to *Rome* to triumph. But as the Success of this Expedition was uncertain when the *Consuls* left *Rome*, the City was in great Anxiety about it.

At home, new Disturbances were raised by a more formidable Enemy than those *Cilicians*, at the same Time, that so many Enemies threatened her from abroad. This was *Lucius Apuleius Saturninus*, that factious *Tribune of the People*, who by his Intrigues, had got *Marius* his fourth *Consulship*. Being proud of the Protection of a *Corrupt* of his own Stamp, and an avowed Enemy to all the *Patricians*, he was wholly bent on promoting such Men to the *Tribunate* as were wholly devoted to him; and such as would preserve the same Spirit, in the College. To this end, he cast his Eyes on the meanest Creature in *Rome*, to raise him to that Dignity; a poor *Freedman*, named *Lucius Equitius Firmanus*; whose Parents, and even whose *Tribe*, were utterly unknown. But *Apuleius* knew him to be a bold active Man, fit for Intrigues; and thought he would be a proper Tool to exercise his Fury, if he could place him among the *Tribunes*. To this End therefore he invented a false Story, which he imagined his Influence with the People would make them readily adopt. It being probable, that the Birth of *Equitius* would be the greatest Obstacle to his Advancement, *Apuleius* made him change his Name to that of *Gracchus*; and presented him to the People, as the Son of *C. Tiberius Gracchus*, and the only Remains of that illustrious Family, who had sealed their Affection for the *Plebeian* Party with their Blood. A Descendant from the *Gracchi* could not but be very dear to the *Roman* People; and he would have been immediately promoted to the *Tribunate*, if the *Censors* had not discovered the Cheat, and disconcerted all their Measures.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCL.

C. MARIUS,  
& Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS, Consuls.  
Cic. pro Lege Manilia.  
Plut. in Pomp.

Auth. de Vir.  
Illust. c. 73.  
Flor. L. 3. c. 18.  
Orosius. L. 5.  
c. 17.  
Val. Max. L. 9. c. 7; & L. 3. c. 8.  
Vell. Pat. L. 2.  
Appian. L. 1.  
Civ.

Cic. in Orat. pro Sext. & pro domo sua.

The *Censorship* was then in the Hands of two *Metelli*, the Sons of <sup>51</sup> two Brothers; and the most famous of the two was *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, surnamed *Numidicus*, for having conquered *Jugurtha* before *Marius* had triumphed on his Account. This great Man was the main Support of the Nobility whom *Marius* and his Party laboured to oppress; and he had likewise personal Reasons for hating <sup>52</sup> *Apuleius*. Besides, that this Incendiary was wholly devoted to his most cruel Enemy, he had very lately raised an Insurrection among the People against the *Censor* himself. As soon as *Numidicus* had returned to his House, after his being elected *Censor*; *Apuleius* had beset it, with a Body of armed Men, and *Metellus* had been forced to flee to the *Capitol* to save his Life. Nor had even the Sacredness of this Place put a stop to the Pursuits of the audacious *Tribune*, who had marched thither with his Company and invested the Sanctuary, whither the *Censor* was fled for Refuge. So that he would certainly have been murdered there, if the *Roman Knights* had not in some Compassion for the Hero, and in Indignation against the villainous *Tribune*, immediately come to his rescue. Such was now the Fury of Party-zeal at *Rome*! The most venerable Men in the Republick, were not safe from the Violence of the *Tribunes*.

It may therefore well be imagined, that the brave *Metellus*, who had been thus personally injured, and was an Enemy to all Deceit, would not suffer *Apuleius* to put a Cheat upon the People, with regard to *Equitius*. He made a Speech to the *Commons*, and convinced them that *C. Gracchus* had but three Sons; the eldest of whom died

tants of *Byzantium*, then in Alliance with the Republick, furnished *Marcus Antonius* with a Reinforcement of Troops and Gallies; which the *Byzantine* Deputies put the Senate in mind of, in the Speech they made to them in the Presence of the Emperor *Nero*.

<sup>51</sup> One of these two *Censors*, for this Year 651, surnamed *Numidicus*, was the Son of *Lucius Cæcilius Metellus Calvus*; and the other, who was surnamed *Caprarius*, was the Son of *Quintus Metellus Macedonicus*, the Brother of *Calvus*.

<sup>52</sup> *Appian* says, *Bell. Civ. L. 1*, That *Quintus Metellus* declared himself openly in his *Censorship*, against *Lucius Apuleius* and *Gaius Servilius Glaucia*, who had been *Tribune of the People*, two Years before. The *Censor* degraded them both from being Senators, for being factious Men, and unworthy of that Rank. But his Collegue opposed this scandalous Degradation, and they were both reinstated, in spite of *Metellus*. *Apuleius* was so angry at this Affront, that he set no Bounds to his Resentment. He every

where exclaimed against the *Censor*; let slip no Opportunity of doing him Mischief; and the Friends of the seditious *Tribune* assisted him in the Design he had formed of destroying *Metellus*. But this great Man, whose Conduct had ever been blameless, found his Innocence a sufficient Security against the Attacks of his Enemies; who charged it upon him as a Crime, that he had built too fine a House in the Country. And *Cicero* mentions, *De Oratore, L. 2*, a Reply of *Gaius Julius Cæsar* to the *Censor*, in Allusion to it. *Metellus* was ordered to raise Recruits in the City for the *Roman* Army, that was employed in guarding *Italy* against the Irruption of the *Cimbri*; and having no regard but to the pressing Wants of the Republick, he would excuse none from the Service that were able to bear Arms. *Julius* pleaded an Exemption from the Law, because he had bad Eyes; and when the *Censor* asked him whether he could see nothing, he replied, Yes, I can still see from *The Esquiline Gate*, the fine Palace that you have built.



Year of  
ROME

DCLI.

C. MARIUS,  
& Q. LUTAT-  
IUS CATU-  
LUS, Consuls.

in *Sardinia*, when he was making his first Campaign there; the second at *Præneste* in his Infancy; and the third, who was born after the Murder of his Father, in his Mother's Arms, at *Rome*. But still *Apuleius* would not acquiesce in the Testimony of the *Censor*. He ordered *Sempronia*, the Widow of *The second Africanus*, and the Sister of *Gracchus*, to be cited to appear. He took it for granted, That his Presence would strike the illustrious Dame with dread; and That she would in Deference to him, acknowledge *Equitius* to be her Nephew. She was therefore brought up to *The Rostra*, in an Assembly of the People, (tho' this was contrary to the Laws, which forbade any Woman to appear in a Court of Justice) and she there shewed the Constancy of an Heroine. *Apuleius* in vain put on an angry and revengeful Look. In vain, did *Equitius's* Party endeavour to intimidate her with their Clamours. She remembred the noble Blood that ran in her Veins, and would not pollute it with an impure Mixture. As soon as *Equitius* drew near to her, to accost her, as his Aunt, she thrust him away with Indignation in her Looks and Gesture, and would not suffer him to salute her, as near Relations usually did. This *Metellus* thought a sufficient Ground for him to refuse to insert the Name of *Equitius* in the List of the *Roman Citizens*; but the publick Declaration he made of his Refusal, had like to have cost him dear. He very narrowly escaped being stoned by the Populace, at the Instigation of *Metellus*. So very different were the present *Citizens* of *Rome*, from those first Republicans, who were remarkable for their Moderation, even in their Seditions! They spared the Blood of their Fellow-Citizens, in their most violent Transports. With These, it was now grown customary to make even the Places of their Assemblies Fields of Battle. And after all, these were but the Beginnings of those Excesses, of which we shall see *Apuleius* guilty hereafter.

§. XXI. Thus did *Marius* embroil *Rome* by the *Tribune*, his Agent; whilst he was himself preparing to conquer the Barbarians in *Transalpine Gaul*. The *Cimbri*, now driven out of *Spain*, were come down the *Pyrenees*, and the *Roman General* was expecting that they would return to their old Post, and ravage the *Narbonne-Province*. But they appeared there no more. In a great Council of War, this terrible Multitude of Northern Confederates resolved to enter *Italy*, where they desired to settle, by two different Ways. The *Cimbri* were to cross *Germany*, march along by the sides of the *Alpes*, and after a long Circuit to pass over the most Eastern Parts of them, near the Country of the <sup>53</sup> *Carni*. The *Teutones*, *Ambrones*, and the other *Gallic* and *Helvetian* Troops, were to make their way through <sup>54</sup> *Liguria Transalpina*, and cross the *Alpes* in the Western Parts. So that the former were to march through the Country of the <sup>55</sup> *Norici*, where they would meet with no Opposition; but the latter must force their Way through *Marius's* Army, before they could reach *Italy*. And indeed, this Division of the Barbarians into two Bodies was mighty well judged. By this means, they did not hurt one another with their Numbers, and their Troops were not the less formidable for being divided. And before they parted, they agreed on a very natural Division of their new Settlements; which was, That the *Cimbri* should have all that Part of *Italy* which lay beyond the *Po*; and the *Teutones* and their Allies all that was on this side of that River: each Army mutually promising the other, that it would not attempt the Siege of *Rome*, till they were both joined, in the Heart of *Italy*. On the other hand, the two *Roman Consuls* conformed their Measures to the Designs of their Enemies. *Marius* continued in *Transalpine Gaul*, to hinder the *Teutones* from passing the *Alpes Ligures*; whilst *Catulus* advanced towards the *Carni*, to wait for the *Cimbri*, in the Eastern Parts of the *Alpes*; and before we pursue the latter cross the *Norican* Provinces, we will first attend *Marius* in his Expeditions.

His Army was by this Time accustomed to his rough Voice, and rigid Behaviour; and as they confided much in his Valour, and more in his Prudence, they esteemed, and began to love, him. He had just given them a Proof of his Address, in the Me-

<sup>53</sup> The Country of the *Carni* contained all that Tract of Land, which is bounded, to the North by Mount *Ces*, to the East by the River *Rizan*, to the West by the River *Tajamento*, and to the South by the *Adriatick* Sea. It is now the Eastern Part of *Friuli*, the County of *Goritz*, and a small Part of *Istria*.

<sup>54</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 5. N. 24, and p. 6, N. 31.

<sup>55</sup> We don't find the Accounts of the ancient Geographers minute enough to enable us to shew ex-

actly the Limits of the Country of the *Norici*. *Ptolemy* places them between the Conflux of the *Im* and the *Danube*, and the Chain of Mountains that separates them from *Pannonia*. But he has not told us their Boundaries to the North and South. Nevertheless it is agreed that the greatest Part of *Upper Austria*, the Archbishoprick of *Saltzbourg*, and all *Stiria* and *Carinthia*, were formerly inhabited by the *Norici*.



thod he took to discover, which of the *Gallic* Nations were steady, and which wavering, in their Affections to the Republick. He had written a circular Letter to all the Cities in the eastern Parts of *Gaul*, and had sent in it a second Letter sealed with his own Seal, with Orders to the Magistrates not to open the inclosed, till the Day that he appointed. Some obeyed, others broke open the second Letter contrary to his Orders; and before the Day appointed came, he sent for all these Letters to be returned to him, and by this Circumstance of opening the Seals, judged what dependence he ought to have on the Inhabitants of each City. In the mean time, the better to guard the Passes of the *Alpes*, in the further Part of *Liguria*, and to secure himself against this terrible Multitude of *Teutones*, *Marius* came and encamped a great Way below the Conflux of the *Ijser* and the *Rhone*, near which stands *Arles*. This was an advantageous Situation, where he might have conveniently supplied his Army with Provisions up the *Rhone* from the Sea, if the Mouth of that River had not been stopped up with a heap of Mud and Sand, which the Waves continually lodged there. But this Circumstance made it still to be feared, that his Troops would be forced to remove to a worse Station, for want of Necessaries: And *Marius* therefore undertook a great and difficult Work, which is remembered to this Day, and was called *Fossa Mariana*<sup>56</sup>. He dug a large Canal into which he turned the Waters of the *Rhone*, and thereby made a new Communication between the River and the Sea. Through this Canal, the largest Transports could pass, and through this Passage, he supplied his Army with plenty of Provisions; and when thus encamped, as it were in an Island, between the two Arms of the River and the Sea, he had the less Reason to fear the Attacks of the Enemy. The neighbouring District is to this Day called *La Camargue*<sup>57</sup>, which is a Corruption of *Castra Mariana*, that is, *Marius's Camp*.

Year of  
R O M E  
D C L L.  
C. MARIUS;  
& Q. LUTAT-  
TIUS CATU-  
LUS, Consuls.

*Plut. in Mario:*

§. XXII. Here, the *Consul* enjoyed for some Time, the advantageous Post which he had chosen, and fortified. The Enemy drew near to him, and with their innumerable Multitudes covered a vast Tract of Land. But the Army was so situated, that they could not come to make a general Attack upon it. They could only march Detachments to the Foot of the Camp, where they made frightful Shouts, and challenged the *Romans* to come out, and fight them. Whereas *Marius* was not in haste to venture a Battle, till his Troops had had some Knowledge of the Enemy, and had learned to despise their Clamours. There was an inexpressible Fierceness in the Countenances of these Barbarians; which was very terrible to those who had not been used to them. And therefore, as oft as they appeared, the *Consul* ordered his Troops to mount the Ramparts, that their Outcries, and the clatter of their Arms, might become the less terrible by being familiar to them. He likewise sent out some of his *Manipuli*, at different Times, to lay the neighbouring Country waste, thereby to distress these numberless Barbarians with Want; and the more the Scarcity of Provisions increased, the more

<sup>56</sup> *Strabo*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and *The Itinerary of Antoninus*, all mention this famous Work which has perpetuated among us the Memory of the Name and Exploits of *Marius* among the *Gauls*. But the Moderns are not agreed about the Place where this Canal which was called *Fossa Mariana* was made. *Mercator*, *Montanus*, *Belle-Forêt*, and *Spond*, quote a Passage of *Ptolomy* to prove, That the new Channel was on the eastern Part of the *Rhone*, where now stands *Aigues Fortes*. But this is not sufficient to destroy the Opinion of the Ancients, who all expressly say, That the *Fossa Mariana* ran East and West from the *Rhone*. *Father Moret*, in his *Geography of Gaul*, makes it the same with the great Channel of the *Rhone*, which runs 7 great Leagues and a half from North to South, in *La Camargue*, from *Arles* to the Sea. But if we at all consider the Text of the ancient Geographers, we shall be obliged to agree, that *Marius* turned the Course of the *Rhone*, over-against *La Camargue*, through a stony Country which they therefore call *Campi Lapidei*, and which the Natives now call *La Crau*. Besides, the *Itinerary of Antoninus* and *Pliny the Naturalist*, speak of the Channel of *La Camargue* and the *Fossa Mariana*, as of two different Stations. We therefore agree with the generality of Geographers, both ancient and modern in Opinion, That the Channel here spoken of, was made in the Plains

of *La Crau*, and reached to the Village of *Fos*, between the *Rhone* and the Pond of *Martigues*, which the Roman General made Navigable by this Means. It was with this Design, that *Marius* widened the Channel which we find at this Day between the Tower of *Boac*, and the *Terra-firma*. By this means he made a free Passage for his Transports, as far as to *Martigues*, whither they could not come before, without great difficulty. The Branch of the *Rhone* which has a Communication with this Canal, is now called *Bras Mort*, because the Sands, which in length of Time have been left there, have choaked up the River, and stop'd the Water. The Map given Plate 8, Page 199, makes it unnecessary to enlarge further upon it.

<sup>57</sup> *La Camargue* is an Island in the most western Part of *Provence*, made by the *Rhone* and the *Mediterranean*. It is commonly said to be 7 great Leagues and an half broad, from *Arles* to its most southern Part. Some, who have thought that *Marius* encamped in it, have imagined that the Name of *La Camargue*, was only a Corruption of *CASTRAMARI*. Others derive it from *Marga*, which according to *Pliny B. 17*, signifies a fat Earth, with which the *Gauls* and *Britons* used to enrich their Lands; and which is to this Day called *Marne* by the French, and *Margal* by the Flemings. And indeed *La Camargue* passes for the most fruitful Part of all *Provence*.



Year of earnest they were to come to a decisive Battle. They were continually insulting the  
 ROME Romans; but their Insults affected only the common Soldiers. The General and his  
 DCLI. Officers disregarded them; and if at any Time, the *Legionaries* were pressing to revenge  
 C. MARIUS, them with their Arms, the *Consul* restrained them, and treated their Zeal as a false Bra-  
 & Q. LUTA- very, and themselves as Enemies to their Country. He told them, That their present  
 TIUS CATU- Business was not to acquire Glory, or erect Trophies, but to preserve *Italy*, their Reli-  
 lus, Consuls. gion, and *Rome* itself, from Destruction: And That therefore, all Rashness was to be laid  
 aside, and no Hazards to be run, upon any account.

Front. Strat.  
L. 5. c. 11.

But this Opposition of *Marius*, and the Contempt they began to have for the Ene-  
 my, only made the *Romans* the more impatient to come to a Battle. Upon seeing and  
 hearing the Barbarians, they had already found out, that their Valour was not propor-  
 tionate to their Stature. And they observed to one another, *That Outcries and Shouts*  
*only fill the Air with Noise, but do no Execution; That gasty Eyes, and a savage Mien*  
*can only frighten Cowards; and That regular, and well disciplined Troops will always have*  
*the Advantage over a disorderly, and ill-conducted Multitude.* These Sentiments and  
 Declarations gave the *Consul* great Pleasure; yet still he was resolved to hazard nothing.  
 If he continued unactive in his Camp, so did the Enemy in theirs. And when he found  
 that the Murmurs of the *Legionaries*, and their Impatience for fighting increased, in  
 proportion as their Fears abated; *Marius* had recourse to their Superstition, to abate  
 their Ardour. *Julia*, the *Consul's* Wife, who was of the Family of the *Cæsars*, had  
 sent him a Woman from *Rome*, named *Martha*, whose Skill in Predictions, she said,  
 she had experienced. This pretended Prophetess, who was a Native of *Syria*, had come  
 to the Capital of the World, to make her Fortune there, by her Divinations; and after  
 she had been rejected by the Senate, she found it easier to impose on Women, than those  
 grave Magistrates. She had found Means to make her Court to *Julia*, and gained her  
 Esteem, by a Prediction which it was not very difficult to make. As she was sitting  
 near the *Consul's* Wife, at a Show of Gladiators, *Martha* foretold to her which of the  
 two Champions would conquer; which, without doubt, she judged of by his Stature, and  
 his Skill. However, the Lady was charmed with the Prediction; and well knowing  
 that her Husband had, or at least pretended to have, a great Regard for Diviners, *Julia*  
 sent *Martha* to *Gaul*, where the *Consul* received and treated her with the most profound  
 Respect. He honoured her, as if she had been entrusted with the Secrets of Fate; pre-  
 sented her with a Chariot for her own Use; and offered no more Victims but by her Or-  
 ders. She presided at all Sacrifices, dressed in a long Purple Mantle, fastened about her  
 Neck by a Gold-Clasp; and carrying in her Hand a Javelin, adorned with Ribbands,  
 and a Garland of Flowers on the top of it. Doubtless, *Marius* privately informed her of  
 his Designs, so that she was not so much an Interpreter of the Will of the Gods, as of  
 that of the *Consul*; and by her Means, he kept his Soldiers in a more ready Obedience.  
 He is said to have frequently made use of such religious Cheats to gain the Esteem of  
 his Troops. He tamed two Vultures, upon whose Necks the Soldiers had put Brass-  
 Collars; and as these carnivorous Birds flew frequently to the Camp, after they were set  
 at Liberty, whenever they appeared, the Troops cried out *Victory*. And this taught  
*Sertorius*, who learned the Art of War under *Marius*, not to neglect these military Arti-  
 fices, which easily impose upon the Multitude.

Plut. in Mario.

Front. Strat.  
L. 4. c. 7.

§. XXIII. At length, the *Teutones* were tired out with *Marius's* so long delaying to  
 give Battle; and they were continually hovering about the Camp, and insulting the  
*Legionaries* with great Shouts. One of them, who was of a gigantick Size, challenged  
 the *Consul* to fight him, in single Combat. But *Marius* answered, *If the German is so*  
*much in haste to die, let him go and hang himself. But if he has a mind, I'll send out the*  
*least, and oldest of my Fencing-Masters, to fight him; and when he shall have overcome*  
*him, he will be the more worthy to enter the Lists with me.* By these Delays, the Gene-  
 ral gained Time, and insensibly ruined the Enemy's Army. So that their Leaders, ha-  
 ving no other Enterprize within their Reach, rashly attempted to force the *Roman*  
 Camp. But Numbers could do little against an Army of brave Men well entrenched.  
 The *Romans* overpowered them with their Darts, from the tops of their Ramparts. No-  
 thing therefore remained, but to decamp as soon as possible, and endeavour to force a  
 Passage over the *Alpes* some other Way; and we may judge of the terrible Number of  
 these Confederates, by the Time they were filing off. We are told, That they were six  
 whole Days, without intermission, in passing by the *Roman* Camp. In their March,  
 the Barbarians cried out to the *Romans*, who were upon their Walls, *Adieu, Adieu.* If  
 you

Plut. in Mario.



*you have any Messages to your Wives, we will soon deliver them at Rome.* And when the Enemy were decamped, *Marius* was forced to decamp likewise; tho' he was very unwilling to leave the Post, which it had cost him so much labour to fortify, and which had gained him so much Honour. His Abode in the Neighbourhood of *La Camargue* has ever been thought a masterly piece of Conduct. However, he followed close after the Army of the *Teutones*, into the inner Parts of *Provence*, and came up with them near a City which *Sextius* had built, and which is now known by the Name of *Aix*. It stood at a little distance from the *Alpes*; and the *Romans* now prepared for a general Action, which they had so long desired. The *Teutones* had spread themselves along the <sup>58</sup> *Arc*, a little River near *Aix*; and *Marius* designedly encamped higher, in a dry Place, where there was no Water, on purpose to oblige his Soldiers to fetch it, at the hazard of their Lives. When the *Legionaries* complained of Thirst, he shewed them the River, and said, *There is Water enough, but you must purchase it with your Blood.* And when they replied, *Lead us then to the Enemy, while we have some Blood in our Veins; and don't tarry till we are perished with Thirst*; this was very agreeable to the Consul; only he thought it necessary, first to fortify a Camp, that at all Events, he might be sure of a Retreat.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLI.

C. MARIUS,  
& Q. LUTAT-  
TIUS CATU-  
LUS, Consuls.

§. XXIV. Whilst his Troops were busy in making the Camp, the Servants of the Army who wanted Water for themselves, their Masters, and their Horses, went in Crouds to the River with their Pitchers and Pails, and armed as well as they could with Hatchets, *Partisans*, and Swords, for their Defence, in case of an Attack: And they had the good Fortune to find very few Enemies at the River's side. It happened to be the Time of their eating, and bathing; which they did with great Pleasure in the Hot-Springs, which they found near *Aix*. But nevertheless, the few *Teutones* that were left to guard the River, fell upon the *Roman* Servants. These made a great Outcry, and some of the *Legionaries* ran to their Assistance. Upon this, the whole Army of the Enemy took Arms, and *Marius* was forced to draw up his Troops in Battalia. The *Legions* halted at a certain distance from the River; whilst the *Ligures* in the *Roman* Army advanced to begin the Action. On the other hand, the *Ambrones*, who were the best Part of the Confederate Army, being 30000 in Number, faced the *Ligures* in good Order. They were a warlike Body, and to them was ascribed the Victory formerly gained over *Mallius* and *Cæpio*. Besides, their Bravery was now heightened with Wine, and they briskly marched up to the Enemy, beating Time on their Bucklers. When they came to the River they passed it without hesitation, and fell on the *Ligures*, crying out, *Ambrones!* <sup>59</sup> *Ambrones!* This Name was not peculiar to that People only, but to all the Nations of *Liguria*; and as at this Word the Attack became general, the *Ligures* were put to the Rout. Then the *Legions* advanced with slow Pace, and when they came to the Attack, the Face of Affairs was changed. The *Ambrones*, repulsed in their Turns, retired to the Banks of the River; and there their total Defeat began. The Land and Water were both stained with their Blood; and Part of them recovered the opposite Bank, but the *Romans* still pursued them fighting. At length, a small Remains of the Fugitives fled for Refuge to a kind of Fort made of Carts, which served them for a Camp, and the *Legionaries* marched after them. There the Wives of these

<sup>58</sup> The River *Arcq*, called *Genus* by the *Latins*, rises between *St. Maximin*, and the Village of *Pourieres*; and after it has run, from East to West, through a small Part of *Provence*, it falls into the Sea of *Martigues*.

<sup>59</sup> The Enemy's Men cried out *Ambrones* from all Parts, either to encourage one another, or intimidate the *Romans*, by the Sound of a Word which the Defeat of *Mallius* and *Cæpio* had made formidable; and *Plutarch* adds, That the *Ligures* who served under *Marius* returned the Shout, repeating the same Appellation; which, he says, was formerly common to all the Clans of *Liguria*. This has led some to infer, That the *Ambrones*, who inhabited one of the *Swiss* Cantons, came originally from the *Ligures*, within or without the *Alpes*. Others seat them in the City and Territory of *Embrun*. But there is no solid Proof for this Conjecture. *Reineccius*, and after him the learned Author of *The Monuments of Paderbourn* pretend, That the *Ambrones* who were in Alliance with the *Cim-*

*bri*, lived on the Banks of the *Emmer*, in *Westphalia*; where there are two Rivers of this Name, one called *Ambra Major*, the other *Ambra Minor*. The former rises in the Village of *Langelau*, in the Diocese of *Paderbourn*, and falls into the *Weser*. The other falls into the *Werse* near *Munster*. Father *Briet* confines the *Ambrones* to a Part of the Canton of *Fribourgh*, and that of *Lucern*. *Gluver* gives them the Cities of *Soleure* and *Vindisch*; and after having spoken with great Uncertainty of the Origin of these People, he supposes that their Country bordered on the River *Amma*, now the *Emme*, in *Switzerland*. From thence, according to him, they were called *Ammerones*, and by Corruption *Ambrones*. Add to this, that according to *Festus*, this Nation were so much abhorred for their Robberies, that their Name afterwards became proverbial, to signify scandalous People who had no Honour; and *Isidorus* understands the Word *Ambro* in the same Sense.

Barbarians



Year of ROME DCII. C. MARIUS, & Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS, Consuls. Oros. L. 5. c. 15. Val. Max. L. 6. c. 1. Plut. in Mario.

Barbarians had stayed, during the Fight; and as soon as these Furies saw their Husbands in disorder, and the *Romans* at their Heels, they armed themselves with Axes and Sabres, and fell on the Pursued and their Pursuers without distinction. They gnashed their Teeth, and threw themselves, with great Shrieks, into the midst of the Fight, and without any regard to their own Defence, seized the Swords, and endeavoured to snatch away the Bucklers, of the Combatants. At length, when their first Fit of Fury was over, they desired to capitulate. The only Condition they proposed was, That their Honour should be preserved, and they should be put under the Protection of the Gods, who were the Protectors of the Chastity of the *Vestals*. But this Request was not granted; and then these poor unfortunate Women being reduced to despair, first killed their 60 Children, and then themselves. Not one remained alive of so great a Multitude: A noble Instance of a constant Love of Chastity, which was now extinguished at *Rome*, whilst the western Barbarians thus signalized themselves by it!

§. XXV. However, this first Battle on the River *Arc*, was only the beginning of Victory. This Action had been begun by accident, and only the Army of the *Ambrones* was defeated. The *Teutones*, encamped at a greater distance from the River, were still in Being, and their Numbers infinite. So that the *Romans* retired to their Camp, where they did not pass the Night in very great Tranquillity. No Songs of Victory were heard among them as usual; their Sleep was interrupted by the Howlings of the Barbarians; and what increased their Uneasiness was, That the Battle had forced them to leave the Works of the Camp unfinished. So that, if the Enemy had attacked them in the dark, they might easily have entered the Trenches which were open on all sides. But the good Fortune of *Marius*, and the Ignorance of the Enemy, saved the *Romans*. The *Teutones* did not stir all that Night, nor all the next Day; and thereby gave the *Legionaries* Time to fortify themselves, on the Eminence which their General had at first chosen.

In the Night before the second Battle, *Marius* sent away *Claudius Marcellus* with a Body of Infantry, and gave him, instead of Cavalry, the Boys of the Army, mounted without Saddles, on all the Beasts of Burden and Cart-Horses he could find. His Orders were to lay in Ambush in the hollow Roads behind the Enemy's Camp, and to fall upon them in the Heat of the Action. Tho' the Detachment was small, yet the great Number of the Servants thus oddly mounted, gave it the Appearance of a great Army. Frontin. Strat. L. 2. c. 4.

At the rising of the Sun, *Teutobocchus*, or as others, *Teutobodus*, the King, or rather General of the *Teutonic* Army, drew up his Troops, in the Plain. On the other hand, *Marius* formed his Infantry on the Declivity of the Hill where he was posted, at the Foot of his Entrenchments. He suffered only his Cavalry to go down into the Plain, to insult and harass the Enemy. Their Orders were first to attack the Barbarians briskly, and then draw them towards the Hill by a feigned Flight, and afterwards return and post themselves in the two Wings of the *Roman* Army, to cover it. And the Stratagem succeeded. The *Teutones* were impatient, and transported with Rage; and this was the sole Cause of their Defeat. If they had had the Phlegm of the *Romans*, they would have conquered them. But they inconsiderately advanced, tho' in good Order, to the Foot of the Hill; and the wise *Consul* still kept the Advantage of the Ground. Plut. in Mario. Oros. L. 5. c. 16.

Perhaps no Action ever began with an Ardour equal to that of the Troops which *Teutobocchus* commanded. They stood the Shower of Darts which the *Romans* threw down upon them, without stirring; and tho' forced to climb, before they could get at the Enemy, they came up with them, and attacked them Sword in Hand. But their Feet often failed them, and when the *Romans* only pushed them back with their Bucklers, they tumbled over one another. Besides, the Sun shone with great Strength, and the *Teutones* were not used to the Heats of *Provence*. Nevertheless, they kept the Battle doubtful till Noon, notwithstanding these Disadvantages; and then the Approach of *Marcellus* determined the Victory. As soon as the *Teutones* saw a great Army advancing to attack them in the Rear, their Courage and Strength failed them all at once. They were struck with a Panick, and dispersed themselves; but their Flight did not save them. The *Romans*, who in a manner surrounded them, made a terrible Slaughter of

60 *Orosius* and *Val. Maximus* inform us, That after these Women had dashed their Children to pieces upon the Rocks, some of them stabbed themselves, and others strangled themselves, to avoid the Shame of being exposed to the Lust of the Soldiers.

them;



them; and that chiefly by the Hands of the Servants who had been mounted, only for Shew. In short, the Enemy's Camp was taken and plundered, and it is said, that the Roman Soldiers gave up all the Spoils to *Marius*; which, if true, was not a Present equal to his Services. *Teutobocchus*<sup>61</sup>, according to some, was killed in the Battle; according to others, he was made a Prisoner of War; and he is said to have been of such a gigantick Stature, that when he marched before *Marius's* Chariot at his *Triumph*, his Head reached above the Trophies which were carried before the Victor. As to the Number the Enemy lost in this glorious Victory, it is not easy to ascertain it. Some say the Slain and the Prisoners in the two Battles, amounted to 290000; and the lowest Calculations say, That there were 100000 killed upon the Spot. But be that as it will, the Field of Battle was certainly so much<sup>62</sup> enriched by the Bodies buried there, that the *Marseilles*<sup>63</sup> had the next Year a much more plentiful Crop from it, than usual: And some say, the Dead were so numerous, that they made Fences for their Vineyards, of their Bones.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLI.

C. MARIUS,  
& Q. LUTAT-  
TIUS CATU-  
LUS, Consuls.

Velleius.  
Eutropius.  
Orosius.  
Florus, L. 3.  
Liv. Epit.  
Author. de Vir.  
Illustr.

§. XXVI. It may well be imagined, that there was no little Joy in the Roman Army, at their Deliverance from so terrible a Multitude. But *Marius* would not take any Advantage to himself, from the Spoils of the Enemy, with which his Soldiers had complimented him, as the sole Author of the Victory. He ordered them to be gathered all together, which took up a great deal of Time; and in the mean while, he dispatched a Courier to *Rome*, with the News of the Deliverance of *Italy*, on the Side of the western *Alpes*. This filled the City with inexpressible Rejoycings; Feastings, and Applauses; and the assembled Tribes thought they could no way better testify their Honour for their Deliverer, than by choosing him *Consul* for the next Year. Thus was *Marius* advanced to the *Consulate* a fifth Time; and that, not by any Artifice or Intrigue, but purely by the just Gratitude of the People.

And whilst the People at *Rome* were magnifying the Glory of the Conqueror, the Army gathered together all the Booty taken from the Enemy; of which *Marius* only reserved such Particulars, as might do him Honour at his *Triumph*. All the rest he dedicated to the Gods. The Soldiers built a Pyramid of all the combustible Things they found in the Enemy's Camp, and on the Field of Battle; and the *Consul*, with his Robes tucked up after the manner of the *Galli*, and with a Flambeaux in his Hand, was just ready to set fire to the Pile; when Messengers arrived from *Rome*. These congratulated him in the Name of the Republick, brought him the News of his fifth Election, and presented him with a Decree of the Senate, which gave him leave to triumph. At this, the Shouts of the Army were doubled; *Marius* was almost borne down with the Number of the Crowns, which the Soldiers pressed to put upon his Head; and he accepted these new Honours with Gratitude, and without any indecent Exultation. *I accept the Consulate*, said he, *as a new Obligation upon me to conquer the Cimbri, as I have the Teutones. As for a Triumph, I desire it may not be mentioned to me, till I have made my Victory compleat. As long as there shall remain any Barbarians to be feared in the Neighbourhood of Italy, the Pomp of a triumphal Procession, and the Marks of Glory, usually produced on such Occasions, will be very unseasonable.* This said, he set fire to the Pyramid, and finished the Sacrifice.

61 What *Honore Bouché* relates in his *History of Provence*, has the Air of a Fiction. He says, That there was found near the Village of *Tretz*, a Stone with an Inscription, which preserved the Name of *Teutobocchus*. From whence some inferred, That his Tomb was erected in the same Place. And *Monsieur de Peirase*, according to *Gassendi*, thinks there is no better Foundation for the Conjectures some have made, upon a Brick Sepulchre, which was dug up in the Year 1613, near the Conflux of the *Rhone* and the *Isere*. It was 30 Foot long, 12 broad, and 8 high, and in it, was a Stone with this Inscription, *TEUTOBOCCUS REX*.

62 The most common Opinion is, That the first Battle with the *Ambrones* was fought in the Plain of *Ailbano*, on the Banks of the *Arce*; which, according to some Authors, was so called from the *Triumphal Arch*, which the Conquerors, or the *Gauls* then in Alliance with the *Romans*, erected near it, in Ho-

nour to *Marius*. The second Battle, according to the Tradition of the Inhabitants of the Country was fought, four Leagues and a half from *Aix*, in a great Plain, between the Villages of *Porrieres* and *Tretz*. In proof of which, they say, there have been dug up in this Place some Arms of an ancient Form, and the Remains of several Trophies.

63 The *Marseilles* had favoured the Expedition of the *Romans* against the Barbarians; and *Marius* piqued himself on shewing his Gratitude. He not only gave them a Share of the Spoils of the Enemy, and put them in Possession of all the Sea-Coast near the *Rhone*, but gave them a Right to the Canal he had dug; and they, according to *Strabo*, finding this to be a free Passage for all Ships to go up, and down the *Rhone*, settled a Custom on all Vessels that came that Way, which raised a considerable Revenue.



Year of  
ROME  
DCLII.

C. MARIUS,  
& MANIUS  
AQUILIUS,  
Consuls.

Jul. Obseq.  
c. 100.

Orof. L. 5. c.  
16.  
Auctor Lib. ad  
Heremium.  
Cic. Lib. de In-  
ventionem & pro  
Roscio Ameri-  
no.

Diod. Sic. Ecl.  
L. 36.  
Jul. Obseq.

But the Republick had not the same Regard to *Catulus*, as to *Marius*. He was not continued in the *Consulship*. *Rome* thought it enough to leave him at the Head of his Army, in quality of *Pro-Consul*. The new Collegue given the Conqueror of the *Teutones* in *The Field of Mars*, was one *Manius Aquilius*, an able General, whose Merit will appear when he comes to carry on the War with the rebellious Slaves in *Sicily*. But of this hereafter, when we have first related the Expedition against the *Cimbri*, in which the Republick was more nearly concerned.

§. XXVII. The *Romans* began the Year, which was so fruitful in Victories, with an Application to religious Affairs. Prodigies of several Sorts were said to have been seen, in different Parts of *Italy*. One of the most surprising was the Noise the sacred Bucklers made by striking against one another, without any Persons touching them; and the Terror increased upon the Reports spread of the Commission of such Crimes, by two Monsters in Iniquity, as had yet had no Example. An unnatural Son, *Publicius Mallcolus*, had killed his Mother; a Crime on which the *Roman* Laws had hitherto inflicted no Punishment. Their Legislators had thought Parricide so enormous a Villany, that they had not presumed it possible for Men to be guilty of it. Only one Villain<sup>64</sup> had been suspected of killing his Father, ever since the Foundation of *Rome*. But now *Publicius* was fully convicted of having dipped his Hands in his Mother's Blood. A new Punishment was therefore allotted for this new Crime; and a Law was made, by which it was expressly enacted, That every Parricide should be sewed up in a Leathern-sack, and with Execrations, thrown into the *Tyber*. The other Crime which was new, was an Attempt which a Slave made upon himself. In an extravagant Fit of Superstition he resolved to imitate the<sup>65</sup> Priests of *Cybele*, who took away the Marks of their Sex, when they dedicated themselves to *The Mother of the Gods*: And there was Reason to fear that this Eastern Superstition would get ground in *Italy*. One of these Half-Men, consecrated to *Cybele*, named *Batabates*, had come the last Year to *Rome*, to warn the *Roman* People, to purify the Temple of the Goddess, whose Minister he was. The Senate had received the Impostor honourably, borne his Expences during his stay, and suffered him to appear in Publick, wearing a Crown of Gold, and a long Robe of the richest Brocade. Nevertheless, when he had appeared in the *Comitium*, a Tribune of the People, named *Aulus Pompeius*, had treated him as a Cheat, and had not suffered him to mount *The Rostra*, to harangue the People. But it happened that *Pompeius* was seized with a violent Fever, as soon as he got Home, and died of it, in a few Days. This had raised the Credit of *Batabates*, and spread the Worship of the Goddess; and his Example had been so far contagious, that a Slave hoping to have gained himself the same Respect, had mutilated himself. But *Rome* being apprehensive of the Consequences of so dangerous a Delusion, banished the Madman, for ever from *Rome*, and transported him: And these new Alarms led the *Romans* to seek for a new kind of Expiation, which they seem to have borrowed from the *Jewish* Religion. They took a He-Goat, tied some burning Materials to his Horns, loaded him with the Curses of the Publick, and then drove him out of the City, through the Gate<sup>66</sup> *Nævia*.

§. XXVIII. After this, *Rome*, thinking herself reconciled to the Gods, depended on great Success. But the *Cimbri*, having in the mean time passed the<sup>67</sup> *Alpes Norica*, and returned into *Italy*, this greatly alarmed her. The *Pro-Consul Catulus*, who should have opposed the Passage of these formidable Enemies, had not found himself strong enough to guard all the Passes; and therefore, according to *Sylla's* Advice, he chose rather to withstand the Enemy in the Plain, than divide his Army into small Bodies, and run the Hazard of dispersing them in several Parts of the Mountains. He was come and encamped on the<sup>68</sup> *Athesis*, to hinder the *Cimbri* from passing<sup>69</sup> that River.

He

<sup>64</sup> *Plutarch* gives this Villain the Name of *Lucius Ostinus*.

<sup>65</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 475. Note 44; and our former Remarks on the *Archigalli* and *Galli*, Priests of *Cybele*.

<sup>66</sup> It is difficult to say exactly where the Gate *Nævia* stood. *Victor* seems to place it near the Gate *Capena*. See the preceding Volumes.

<sup>67</sup> The *Alpes Norica* reached from the Spring of the *Drava*, to that of the *Sontius*, now the *Lizons*, which falls into the *Adriatick* Sea after it has

watered *The County of Goritz*. The Ancients seem to have been ignorant of the Name of *Alpes Norica*. We don't find it used by any, but the Authors of the middle Age, such as *Jornandes*, *Aimoin*, &c.

<sup>68</sup> The *Athesis* is a River of *Italy*, now known by the Name of the *Adige*. It has several Springs, the chiefest is to the South of *The Trentine Lake*, in *The Alpes*. After it has watered the Cities of *Trent* and *Verona*, it runs through the *Polesin* of *Rovigo*, and falls into the *Adriatick* Sea.

<sup>69</sup> A modern Writer, deceived by the Text of *Plutarch*,



He had pitched too Camps, and admirably well fortified both. The first was on the Northern-bank, and faced towards the Enemy. The other was on the Southern, and joined to the other by a Wooden-bridge built over the River. And the outward Parts of both were guarded by little Forts, erected on purpose to cover the Entrenchments.

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R O M E  
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C. MARIUS,  
& MANIUS  
AQUILIUS,  
Consuls.

Orof. L. 5. c.

16.

Plut. in Mario.

Whilst the *Romans* were busy in these Works, the numerous Army of the *Barbarians* came down from the *Alpes*, which were yet covered with Snow and Ice. They might have passed by the Mountains, without difficulty, through the Valleys. But being used to cold, they took a Pleasure in tumbling about in the Snow half naked; and instead of walking down the Mountains, they sat down upon their broad Bucklers, and slid from top to bottom. When they were got together at the Foot of the Mountains, in *Friuli*, and the Country of the *Veneti*, they soon began to taste the Sweets of this new Climate; but nevertheless marched to the *Roman* Camp, and prepared to attack it. In order to surround it entirely, it was necessary to pass the River, which they founded, but found not fordable. Then they endeavoured to supply their want of Skill, with Labour and Strength. They pulled up great Trees by the Roots, and threw great Pieces of the Rocks into the River, in order to make it narrower. By this means they hoped, both to make the Stream more rapid; and so to fill up the River, as to make it passable: And whilst they were doing this, the great Beams they threw into it, were brought down the Stream with such Violence, that they shook the Piles of the Bridge, and threatened it with ruin.

And now, the terrible Appearance of these incredible Multitudes, had a very surprising Effect. The *Romans* were struck with a Panick at the Sight of them: And the Alarm began in the great Camp, that is, the Camp which the *Pro-Consul* had pitched, in the extream Part of *Italy*, and in which were his own Quarters. The *Legions* first deliberated for some Time, and then took to their Heels, leaving the little Camp to the Mercy of the Enemy. *Catulus* in vain endeavoured to encourage them, and persuade them to despise the Menaces of the Enemy. Fear prevailed over Duty. However, *Catulus* had the Presence of Mind, to save at least the Honour of his Republick. He ordered his *Eagle* to be carried before him, and marching apace, put himself in form, at the Head of the Fugitives. By this means the shameful Flight of the *Legionaries* had the Appearance of a Retreat, directed by the General. But this Management did not hinder some of the *Knights* from riding, full speed, to *Rome*; where it may well be imagined, they must be ill received. The Son of *Scaurus*, the perpetual *Prince of the Senate*, was one of them; and as soon as his Father was informed of his cowardly Desertion, he sent him Orders never to appear again in his Presence. Upon this, the Shame of his Fault sunk the *Roman* into Despair; and he, who was afraid of dying honourably in the Field of Battle, fell very ingloriously by his own Hands. In the mean time, the little Camp made a Resistance worthy the Bravery of *Romans*. One of the *Cimbri* who was of a most gigantick Size, came and insulted the single *Legion* that was left, and challenged the bravest Man, among them, to fight him. *L. Opimius* accepted the Challenge, and overcame him. Nevertheless, even the Example of this brave Man, was not sufficient to encourage all the Cowards. One of the six *Tribunes*, who commanded the *Legion*, refused to attempt to break through the Enemy, in order to go and encamp in a safer Place. A private *Centurion* therefore named *Petreibus*, stabbed the cowardly Officer, and left him dead upon the Place. Then being chosen Commander of the little Camp, he capitulated with the Enemy upon honourable Terms; and in order to secure the Fidelity of the *Cimbri*, he made them swear to the Articles, on the brazen Bull which they worshipped. Thus *Petreibus* conducted his *Legion* to a place of Safety, who in Gratitude honoured him with an *Obsidional Crown*; and afterwards he led them to the main Army, whose Fears *Catulus* could not appease, till he had brought them to the Banks of the *Po*. And it

*Plutarch*, is of Opinion, without any Regard to the Authority of the Ancients, that the River here spoken of, is the *Atiso*, now the *Tosa*, which rises in the *Alpes* at Mount *de la Fourche*, and falls into the great Lake, in the Dutchy of *Milan*. But whoever will at all examine the Course of the *Tosa*, will find, as *Chuvr* observes, that this River was 200 Miles distant from the Territory of *Venice*, where the *Cimbri* first posted themselves.

70 We know, by the History of the fabulous Gods,

that *Jupiter*, the *Sun*, the *Earth*, and the *Moon*, were all worshipped, in the Shape of a Bull. See *Macrobius*, *Saturnal.* L. 1; *Vossius* *de Idololatr*; and *Lilio Giraldi*, *Syntag. Deorum*. After this Victory was gained over the *Cimbri*, the Bull with other Spoils fell to the Share of *Lutatius Catulus*; and he kept it in his House, as a glorious Monument of the Defeat of the Barbarians.

71 See what we have said of the different Sorts of *Military Crowns*, in the preceding Volumes.



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ROME  
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C. MARIUS,  
& MANIUS  
AQUILIUS,  
Consuls.  
Front. Strat.  
L. I. c. 5.

is said, That when he came to pass this River, a large Detachment of the *Cimbri* came to oppose it; and That he got rid of these troublesome People, who had harrassed him in his Passage, by this ingenious Stratagem. He took Possession of an Eminence as if he intended to encamp upon it, and the better to deceive the Enemy ordered some Tents to be pitched; but at the same time commanded his Soldiers not to lay down their Burdens. The Enemy, seeing this, resolved to encamp themselves; and whilst they were busy at their Work, *Catulus* took this Opportunity to pass the River, and secured his Troops.

§. XXIX. As to the Barbarians, had they known how to have made the best Use of their Advantage, they might doubtless have made themselves Masters of *Rome*, with as much ease, as the *Senones* formerly did, after the Battle of the *Allia*. They would have found the City defenceless, and all Orders of Men in the utmost Consternation. But they had several Motives for their Delay. They had promised the *Teutones* not to make any attempt on the Capital, but in concert with them; and they were so captivated with the Pleasures of this new Region, that they forgot their Conquests. These People, who had been accustomed to the Northern Colds, had formerly lain in the open Air, and had lived only on raw Flesh, began now to make use of Tents, to relish the Wine of the Country, and to taste with pleasure the Fruits and Delights of the Place, to which they said their good Fortune had brought them. And in Proportion as they enjoyed the Conveniencies of Life, their Courage and love of Labour gradually wore off. Their Courage was not founded in Reason like that of the *Romans*, but only in Habit, and the Want of every Thing that makes Men love Pleasure. So that they now languished away their Time in Idleness, daily expecting the arrival of their Confederates the *Teutones*; and in the mean time, the Senate of *Rome* took advantage of their Negligence. Their first Step was to recal *Marius* to *Rome*, both to take his Advice, and to employ him; and in order to encourage him to support his Country in so great a Distress, by new Honours, they gave him leave to have one *Triumph* immediately, and promised him another, after the Defeat of the *Cimbri*. But *Marius* affected Modesty, and declined the present Offer. He said, *That he thought it by no means proper, to entertain the People with a vain Show, in Times of so much Danger; That he could not look on the War as ended, as long as there remained Enemies to conquer; That the Army with which he had conquered the Teutones was still in Gaul; and That it would be an Act of Injustice in him, to rob them of their Share of those honourable Fruits of their Victory, which the Senate had offered him.* Then the Consular Army was ordered to return forthwith from *Transalpine Gaul*, where *Rome* had no more Enemies to fear; and it was hoped, that when joined to the *Pro-Consul's* Army on the *Po*, these united Forces would not only equal those of the Barbarians in number, but excel them in Strength and Valour.

Upon their Union, *Marius* was declared Generalissimo, his *Consulate*, and personal Reputation giving him a Superiority over *Catulus*; and the *Cimbri* were not now thought so formidable. *Catulus* had with great Prudence got the *Po* between him and the Enemy when he had only two *Legions* to oppose them with; but after both Armies were joined, the *Consul* repassed the River with them, to guard *Italia Transpadana* from the Ravages of the Barbarians. *Marius* and *Catulus* encamped separately, but always within reach of each other; and after they had passed the *Po*, the Conqueror of the *Teutones* met with a Mortification, which, though on a slight Occasion, yet very sensibly affected him.

Plut. in Sylla.

We have already observed, that after *Sylla* had served some few Years under *Marius* as his Lieutenant-General, he had been affronted by him, and afterwards chose rather to serve under *Catulus*. He had found that *Marius* was secretly his Enemy, or at least a perfidious Friend, and was continually putting Obstacles in the way of his Advancement out of Jealousy. But he found *Catulus* to be naturally indolent; and as he left the Care of the Army to *Sylla*, he did him Justice for his Services. The Lieutenant had very lately procured a very great Plenty in *Catulus's* Camp; insomuch that his Magazines were indeed over full. Whilst on the other hand, *Marius* wanted even Necessaries, and his Purveyors were very negligent in supplying him with Provisions. *Sylla* therefore being informed of the *Consul's* Want, came and maliciously offered him the Superfluities he had gathered; and though Necessity obliged *Marius* to embrace the Offer, never was Present accepted with more Reluctance. This was genteelly reproaching him, with the Injury he had done himself, in driving from him an Offi-

cer



cer, whose foresight would have prevented the Discontent of his Troops; and from this Time *Sylla* ventured to enter into an open Competition with him, notwithstanding the Superiority which five *Consulates* gave him, over a private Lieutenant-General. We shall henceforward see their mutual Enmities daily encrease; and not end, till they have produced some terrible Catastrophes in the State.

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AQUILIUS,  
Consuls.  
*Plut. in Mario.*

§. XXX. In the mean time, the *Cimbri* were tired with the Inaction into which their Indolence and love of Pleasure had led them; and they either believed that the *Teutones* would soon appear in *Italy*, or pretended to do so. At least, they severely beat all those who brought them the News of their Defeat: And that, they might act with some appearance of Justice, the Barbarians before they came to Blows, sent a Deputation to the *Roman* Generals. These Deputies, informed the *Romans* of their Pretensions in these Words: *Either let the Romans assign us Lands, for ourselves and our Brethren* (for so they called the *Teutones*, their Allies) *in the Country where we are, or else they must expect to feel the weight of our Arms!* To which *Marius* replied, with an Air of great Fierceness. *You ask for Lands for your Brethren; I have given them some already. Their Carcasses are now sinking in the Fields by the Arc, and their Bones serve for Stones for the Vineyards of the Marseillaise.* The Deputies were exasperated at the Jest, and in a great Rage threatned to make him repent of his Insults, as soon as the Kings of the *Teutones* should pass the *Alpes*. *You need not then delay a Moment,* answered *Marius*, *for They are here, and you shall immediately see them;* and then shewing them *Teutobocchus* and the other Chiefs of the *Teutonic* Army, his Prisoners, and in Chains; he added, *Pray, salute your Brethren; and make yourselves ready to come and join them.* After these Insults, nothing remained but to have recourse to Arms; and *Bajorix*, the King of the *Cimbri*, came himself to the Camp of *Marius*, to bid him Defiance, and to require him to fix the Time, and Place, for a Battle. This the *Romans* had scarce ever done. Each Party usually chose the Field of Battle upon the Spot, without any previous Determination. But nevertheless, *Marius* had the Complaisance and Address on this Occasion, to pitch on the Plain of <sup>73</sup> *Vercelle*, and to fix on the Day before *The Eve of the Calends of August*, (which was at three Days distance) for the Day of Battle. This <sup>74</sup> Field was barely wide enough for drawing up the *Legions* of the two *Roman* Armies; but was not a sufficient Breadth for forming so vast a Multitude as the Barbarians, who could not be ranged there, without crowding. However, the *Romans* and *Cimbri* appeared there, on the Day appointed; and the Army of *Catulus* amounted to 20300, and that of *Marius* to 32000 Men. In the Morning, a Fog arose, and *Marius* shewed his Judgment, in using the same Caution, which *Hannibal* had done, at the Battle of *Cannæ*. He took care, that his own Troops should have the Sun in their Backs, if it should shine out; and the Enemy have Sun, and Wind, and Dust, in their Faces. He also first ordered his Troops to make a plentiful Meal, and then drew them up before his Trenches, very early in the Morning; whereby he so hurried the Enemy to form likewise, that their Men were already fatigued, when they took their Posts. Their Infantry seemed innumerable; and when drawn up in a Square covered 30 *Stadia* <sup>75</sup> of Ground. Their Cavalry were 15000, each armed with a *Cuirass*, a white Buckler, two Javelins and a Sabre. Their Helmets were in the Form of gaping Mouths of strange Beasts, with Wings of Birds upon the Tops of them, by way of Crest; and this seemed to add to the Heighth of their Stature, which was naturally gigantick.

*Front. Strat.*  
*L. 2. c. 2.*  
*Plut. in Mario.*  
*Flor. L. 3.*  
*Orf. L. 5. c.*  
16.

Before the Action began, each of the *Roman* Generals offered a private Sacrifice. *Marius* promised the Gods an hundred Victims, if he should be <sup>76</sup> victorious; and *Catulus* made a Vow, to erect a Temple not to *Fortune* in general, but to *The Fortune of this Day*, which was something new and singular. *Marius* as Commander in chief, had drawn up the Troops with a view to his own Advantage; and in order to deprive the *Pro-Consul* of any Share of the Glory of the Day, had posted his Troops in the Center. But he had divided his own Army into two Bodies, and posted one in the right Wing, and the other in the left; and these two Wings projected before the main

<sup>73</sup> *Strabo* speaks of the City of *Vercelle*, as a Town on no Account considerable. *Tacitus* tells us, that in *Vespasian's* Time, it had the Title of a *Municipium*.

<sup>74</sup> *Velleius*, *Florus*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illustrious Men*, give this Field the Name of *Camp Randius*; which *Cluver* thinks was the same Place, V. O. L. V.

where the Village of *Rubio* now stands.

<sup>75</sup> Thirty *Stadia*, at the rate of 125 Paces to each, make near one *French League* and a Quarter.

<sup>76</sup> *Plutarch* says, That *Marius* found an happy presage of his Success, in the Entrails of the Victim he sacrificed, and then cried out with an Air of Enthusiasm, *The Victory is mine.*



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Body, and consequently run nearer to the Army. So that all the Efforts of the Enemy must fall on the General's Army; and he expected to have monopolized all the Glory; of having fought and conquered the Barbarians. But he was mistaken. Two unforeseen Accidents prevented his robbing his Collegue of his Share of the Victory. In the first place, the Cavalry<sup>77</sup> of the *Cimbri* made a Motion, as if they intended to wheel about the Flanks, and surround the *Roman* Army. Upon this, *Marius* detached his two Wings to follow them, and withdrew himself to a considerable distance from his main Body. This ill Disposition is said to have been occasioned by a *Legionary* who cried out, *The Cimbri flee; Let us pursue them.* Upon which *Marius's* Men advanced against these pretended Fugitives, and drew their General with them. And in the next place, the Wind blew pretty hard, and raised such a Cloud of Dust, that the Enemy could not see *Marius's* Troops. Nevertheless, the Barbarians advanced through the Cloud, and fell on the *Legions* commanded by *Catulus* and *Sylla*, who were too brave to be affrighted at their Multitude. And as for their Soldiers, the Dust hindered them from seeing the Number of the Enemy, and made them the less apprehensive of their Danger. However, the Barbarians made the Onset with unparalleled Intrepidity; and the Wind ceasing, the Dust was soon dispersed. After this the Sun shone out with such Strength, that these northern People, who were little able to bear great Heats, found their Strength and Courage fail them at once. They were soon covered with Sweat, and scarce able to lift up their Hands to strike a Blow. Whilst the *Romans* on the contrary, who were used to burning Suns, and inured to Fatigue, made what Havock they pleased of their Enemies, who had put it out of their own Power to avoid their Blows, and flee. The *Cimbri*, like true Barbarians, had tied themselves to each other with Cords fastened to their Belts, that they might keep their Ranks the better. So that every Rank, being as it were hung in a String, they could not separate themselves, to save their Lives. And to compleat their Misfortune, their own Squadrons whom *Marius* had so long pursued, came at last and fell on their own Infantry, and put them entirely into Disorder. And then, all that followed was a dreadful Butchery; and the whole Plain was covered with these great Bodies, whose Appearance only had struck so much Terror, into the *Germans, Gauls, and Spaniards.*

XXXI. When thus Conquerors in the open Field, the *Romans* marched in all haste to take, and plunder, the Enemy's Camp: And here they had a new Battle to fight, not with Men (there were few of them left) but with their Wives, who were even more fierce than their Husbands. They were dressed in black Rags, and seemed already in mourning for their Fathers, Husbands, and Sons, who had just now perished in the Battle; and they threw all the Darts they could find, from their Carts, which was a sort of Fortification for them. Till at last, when they had spent their Rage on their Friends, Relations, and Enemies, without Distinction; they first suffocated their Children in their Arms, and then killed themselves. The greatest Part hanged themselves in Cords on the Branches of the Trees. One who was hanged to the side of her Cart, was seen to spurn way with her Feet two of her Children, whom she had tied by the Neck, one to each of her Feet, to hang them. Others for want of Trees and Stakes, tied Strings in running Knots about their Necks, and then fastened them to the Tails of their Horses, to strangle themselves that way. In short, these unhappy Creatures sought Death all manner of Ways, by the Sword, the Halter, and by Poison. Thus was almost this whole Nation extirpated, whose Incursions and Robberies had been looked on as a public Scourge. The few Men that escaped in the Fight, were either taken and enslaved, or fell by their own Hands in single Combats. Two of their little Kings stabbed each other. *Bojorix* and *Luig*, their chief Commanders, died in the Action, Sword in hand. And the only two of their Generals, which the *Romans* made Prisoners of War, were *Clodic* and *Sesorix*. Quarter was given to 60000 of these Barbarians, who were put in Chains, and sold to the best Bidder; and at least 120000 were left dead in the Field of Battle. Whereas the *Romans* had scarce 300 Men wanting in both their Armies. But *Marius* brought to his Camp only two Colours taken from the Enemy; whilst *Sylla* brought to his, one and thirty, with the brazen Bull which the *Cimbri* worshipped.

<sup>77</sup> The Cavalry of the *Cimbri*, according to *Plutarch*, were 15000 Men. Each Horseman was armed with a terrible Helmet, in the Form of a terrible wide Mouth, and surmounted with a Bunch of long Feathers, so that they looked more like Beasts than

Men: with Iron *Cuirasses* which were very bright; and with two Darts to throw at a Distance: And when these were thrown, they attacked the Enemy Sword in Hand.



Besides, almost all the Darts with which the Barbarians were wounded, were found marked with the Name of *Catulus*, who had imprinted it on all the Arms of his Soldiers before the Battle. So that *Sylla* saw with Pleasure the greatest Part of the Glory of the Action taken from *Marius*; who had endeavoured to engross it all to himself <sup>78</sup>.

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& MANIUS  
AQUILIUS,  
Consuls.

Florus L. 3.

c. 3.  
Plut. in *Mario*.

But when the News of this important Victory came to *Rome*, which some Historians, (following the Fables the *Pontifices* put into their Annals) say *Castor* and *Pollux* brought thither, the very Day of the Battle, the People there gave all the Honour to *Marius*. They ran into great Extravagancies in the Honours they paid to this Consul of their own Faction. They began their Meals with invoking him, as a God; and ended them, with pouring out Liquors in his Name, by way of Libation. They called him, *The third Founder of Rome*, and *The second Deliverer of his Country*; and neither Time, nor the most circumstantial Accounts, could undeceive his Partisans and Adorers. They could not bring themselves to allow *Catulus* any Share of the Success. When the two Generals were in the Suburbs, waiting for Orders for a *Triumph*, all the Outcry was for *Marius*. The Clamour was, *That he only had deserved a Triumph, and That the Honours of it ought not to be divided, between so great a Man, and a common General*. But notwithstanding all this, *Marius* had not the Face to rob *Catulus* of the Share he had in the Victory. Besides, he was afraid, that the Army of *Catulus* would oppose his *Triumph*, if he pretended to exclude their General: And the Consul's Condescension went still farther. Tho' he was offered two *Triumphs*, one for having defeated the *Teutones*, and another for having extirpated the *Cimbri*, he contented himself with one. So that it may be presumed, That the two Victors were carried in the same Chariot from *The Triumphal Gate* to *The Capitol*, attended by their two Armies. The chief of the Captives taken, either from the *Teutones* in *Gaul*, or the *Cimbri* in *Italy*, marched before their Chariot; and no part of the Sight struck the People so much as that of the Giant *Teutobocchus*. If he was really higher than the Trophies that were carried in the Procession, he must have been at least ten Foot high. And tho' the two vanquished Nations were very poor, yet the Spoils taken from them were pretty considerable. These Robbers by Profession eventually enriched the *Romans* with all the Booty they had taken from all the Nations through which they had passed. So that *Marius* was sufficiently enabled to build a Temple, *To Virtue and Honour*; but it was a Monument of his want of Taste, as well as of his Glory. He neither employed any Greek <sup>79</sup> Architect to build it, nor used any foreign Marble in it. And when at the Dedication of it, the People were entertained with Games after the Greek manner, *Marius* had not Patience to stay long at them, but was immediately tired, and withdrew. This great General had no Taste for Arts. His Element was War. Nevertheless, he had constantly drank out of a Cup with two Handles, ever since his last *Triumph*. He had heard that <sup>80</sup> *Bacchus* the Conqueror of the *Indians*, had used such a one after his Conquest;

Florus L. 3.  
c. 3.

*Vitruvius* in  
*Præfat.* L. 7.  
*de Archit.*

*Val. Max.* L.  
5. c. 7.

<sup>78</sup> This Expedition of the *Romans* in *Provence*, against the *Ambrones* and *Teutones*, gave rise to an ancient Tradition which continues among the Natives to this Day. They fancy, That the Triumphal Arch which is still at *Orange*, was erected in honour to *Marius*, to perpetuate his Name and Exploits in *Narbonne-Gaul*. But the Figures carved in Relievo on the two Fronts, always gave just Cause to doubt of the Truth of the vulgar Opinion. We see there a confused Mixture of Anchors, Tridents, Sterns of Ships, and Oars; which are certainly Marks of a naval Victory, and can never be applied to that gained by *Marius* in the Plains of the Territory of *Aix*, whatever *Joseph de La Pise*, the Author of *The History of Orange*, may say to the contrary. He says, That under this Monument, were dug up among some Ruins, about the End of the 16th Century, a Stone on which the Name of *Teutobocchus* was inscribed; and quotes his own Father as an Eye-witness of the Fact. But tho' we shall not dispute the Truth of it, we must assert, That the Inscription is not decisive in favour of his Opinion. In order to make it so, he must first prove, That there was no other *Teutobocchus* among the *Gauls* and *Teutones*, but the King over whom *Marius* triumphed. Whereas this Name was perhaps as com-

mon among the Celtic Nations, as *Cornelius*, *Cæcilius*, &c. among the *Romans*,

<sup>79</sup> *Vitruvius* calls the Man, who undertook to build this Temple, *Caius Mutius*; who had gained himself some Reputation at *Rome* as an Architect, by the Buildings of which he had had the Direction. And this which he now raised by Order of *Marius*, increased the good Opinion the *Romans* had entertained of his Ability, and fine Taste, in the Proportion of *Colonnades* and their *Architraves*. *Vitruvius* owns, That this Temple might justly have been ranked among the finest Monuments of the Roman Architecture, if the Goodness of the Materials had been answerable to the Greatness of the Design. But *Marius* did not regard Magnificence, or give himself any Trouble about doing himself Honour by publick Works.

<sup>80</sup> The *Egyptians* dispute the Honour of *Bacchus's* Birth with the *Greeks*. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Herodotus*, and *Plutarch* say, That *Nisa*, a City of *Arabia Felix*, was the Place of his Education; and make him the same Person with the famous *Osiris*, whom the *Egyptians* make the Conqueror of the *Indies*. *Diodorus* pretends, that *Orpheus* introduced the Worship of this *Egyptian* God into *Greece*. But not being able to find in him all Things that are attributed to *Bacchus* by the



Year of quest; and he made a Vow, to imitate this God in this Particular. But *Catulus* acted very differently. He built his Temple of the richest Marble, and adorned it with the finest <sup>81</sup> Statues: And *Rome* did not disapprove of the Inscription he put upon it, viz. *To the 82 Fortune of this Day*. His Intention in it was to transmit to Posterity the Memory of *The Third of the Calends of August*, which was not barely fortunate to him, but the most glorious Day of his Life <sup>83</sup>.

C. MARIUS,  
& MANIUS  
AQUILIUS,  
Consuls.  
Plut. L. 34.  
c. 8.

Diod. Sic. in  
Eclog. 1. L.  
36.

§. XXXII. Thus was *Italy* at last delivered from her Fears, by the Defeat of the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*; and the only Enemies the Republick now had were in *Sicily*; a slight Insurrection which had been made by the *Lusitanians*, had just been suppressed. But the rebellious Slaves were still in Arms, in a Country, which the *Romans* were nearly concerned to settle in Peace; and we must now return from the Digression into which the Torrent of northern Barbarians has led us, to prosecute the *Sicilian* Affairs. We have already observed, That *Athenio*, one of the Kings of the Slaves, had suffered himself to be surprized by the other, whose first Name was *Sakvius*, and who afterwards called himself *Trypho*: And the latter having shut up the former in the Citadel of *Triocala*, carried on the Rebellion alone, and maintained himself in the advantageous Post which he had fortified. *Trypho*, put on the Royal Robes, and with the Diadem on his Head, and the Scepter in his Hand, gave Law to his new Subjects, whom a Spirit of Servitude made obedient: And in the Year 650, *Rome* had sent into *Sicily*, the *Prætor Lucius Licinius Lucullus*, with an Army of 14000 Men, *Legionaries* and *Auxiliaries*, exclusive of the Succours that were brought him from *Greece* and *Lucania*. As soon as the *Roman* Army was landed, *Trypho* delivered *Athenio* from his Confinement, and advised with him about the Means of resisting the new General. His Opinion was, That they should wait to receive the Enemy in the Fort he had built; but *Athenio* represented, That it would be both more glorious, and more safe, to march directly to the *Romans*, and fight them in the open Field; and the latter prevailed. *Trypho* continued in the City to defend it if attacked, and *Athenio* marched away with a Body of 40000 Slaves to receive *Lucullus*. The two Armies met in the Neighbourhood of <sup>84</sup> *Scirtæum*, not far from *Triocala*, and encamped, 1500 Paces from each other. Some Days were spent in Skirmishes, and at length they came to a Battle, in which the Victory was warmly disputed. These Men, who, for the most part had been Soldiers before they were Slaves, wanted neither Valour nor Discipline; and they fought with a Regularity and Constancy which the *Romans* did not expect. Insomuch that the Success would have been dubious, if *Athenio* had not been wounded in both his Knees, towards the End of the Battle. He had advanced too far into the Engagement, at the Head of 300 Horse, and falling to the Ground through Faintness, was covered with a heap of dead Bodies. And then, as soon as he disappeared, all his Troops dispersed themselves, and more of them fell in the Flight, than in the Action. Above 20000 were killed on the Spot;

the Fabulists, he is forced to make three *Bacchus*'s, who were all worshipped by the ancient *Pagans*. The first, an *Egyptian*, the Son of *Ammon* and *Amalthea*, was surnamed *The Bearded*, because he wore a long Beard, after the manner of the *Indians* whom he had subdued. The second, was the Son of *Jupiter*, and *Proserpine*, or rather *Ceres*; who, according to the Mythologists, first found out the Art of yoking Oxen, to plough Land. The third was born at *Thebes*, of *Jupiter* and *Semele*. And *Cicero* reckons up five *Dionysius*'s, or *Bacchus*'s, exclusive of the Son of *Semele*. The Delusions of the ancient *Pagans* concerning this chimerical God, the different Names they gave him, and the shameful Ceremonies which made a Part of his Worship, are fully collected by *Noel Le Compte*, *Lilio Giraldi*, and *Vossius*. *Arnobius*, *Clement of Alexandria*, *St. Austin*, and *Lactantius* have published Accounts of the horrible Things that the Priests invented, and Superstition decreed sacred, in the Celebration of the Festivals of *Bacchus*; and they are transmitted to us, in many Antiques, which Time has spared.

81 *Pliny* says, That these Statues which were 8 in Number, were made by one of the most famous Sculptors in *Greece*, named *Pithagoras*. A different Person from the *Samian* Philosopher, tho' born in the same Island as well as of the same Name. This skill-

ful Statuary learned to paint, when he was young, and from thence drew the Principles of his Art.

82 *Pliny* speaks of the Dedication of this Temple, but in Terms that will admit of different Constructions. *Ad Ædem Fortunæ Hujus Que Diei*. Most Criticks read *Hujusce*, instead of *Hujus Que*, which they take to be an Error of the Copyists. But *Father Hardouin* retains the first Reading, after he has proved by several Instances, that *Hujus Que* has the same Signification as *Unius Cujusque*. Upon this Supposition then, which we leave to the Reader's Judgment, the Inscription can no otherwise be interpreted than to signify, *To the Fortune of each Day*; importing, That the Power of the Goddess was boundless, and reached to all Times. Nevertheless, the Reading which we have followed in the Text, is supported by great Names. It agrees very well with the Design of *Catulus*, who intended to transmit to Posterity, by this Monument, the Remembrance of the most glorious Day of his Life.

83 *Cicero* adds, in his *Oration Pro domo sua*, That with Part of the Spoils taken from the *Cimbri*, the *Pro-Consul* built a *Portico* in *Rome*.

84 *Diodorus* is the only Author who mentions a City in *Sicily*, called *Scirtæum*, and its true Situation is not known.

and



and the nearness of the victorious Army struck *Trypho* with such dread, that before the Sun arose the next Morning, the Coward deserted the City which he had built.

However, *Athenio* was still alive. Notwithstanding his Wounds, he got from under the Heap of dead Bodies that covered him; and, with difficulty reached *Triocala*, and there he found a Retreat. The Remains of his Army likewise took Refuge there. But these Soldiers, who had behaved themselves with so much Bravery in the Battle, lost all their Courage after their Defeat. Being reduced to Despair, they thought of nothing but returning to their own Masters. They thought Slavery preferable to the Labours and Perils of War: And if *Lucullus* had known how to make his Advantage of their Dispositions, the War in *Sicily* would have been ended. But he lost Time in Precautions, and Preparations for the Siege of *Triocala*: Which he did not begin to invest, till nine Days after the Battle. And then, the Fears of the Slaves were worn off, and their Courage revived. *Athenio* sustained the Siege with a Valour superiour to Men of his Rank; and rendered the Machines and Efforts of the *Romans* useless. *Lucullus* was obliged to desist from his Enterprize, amidst the Shouts of these insolent Slaves, who insulted him from their Walls; and it is incredible, what Uneasiness this ill Success of the *Prætor* caused in *Rome*, and what Disorders it produced in *Sicily*. The Slaves all over the Island were daily leaving their Masters, and increasing the Number of the Rebels. In the mean time, the indolent *Lucullus* took no Care to remedy the Evil, but sat still in *Syracuse*, wholly intent on enriching himself at the Expence of his Province. So that as soon as his Year was expired, he was recalled; and being accused before the <sup>85</sup> People, of Oppressions, he was condemned to Banishment.

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AQUILIUS,  
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§. XXXIII. The *Prætor* sent by *Rome* to succeed him, made a yet more unfortunate Campaign there. This weak General, named *C. Servilius*, suffered the Rebels to get such an Ascendant over him, as sunk his illustrious Name below that of a contemptible Slave. *Trypho* was now dead; and *Athenio*, still brave and enterprizing, came and attacked *Servilius*. The *Roman* Army was defeated, and their Camp plundered. So that the *Roman* durst not take the Field any more, but spent the rest of his Year in inaction. A great Triumph indeed for *Athenio*; and as great an Encouragement to the *Banditti* about him. The Commander assumed the Sceptre and Crown, and his Soldiers came from the inland Countries to the Sea-Coasts, and left behind them in all Places Marks of their Robberies and their Cruelty. At length they turned towards <sup>86</sup> *Messiana*, a strong Place, whither the Inhabitants of the Country had brought their Effects to secure them. The Booty of this rich City, was the Bait that drew them thither; and it being difficult to take it by Force, *Athenio* endeavoured to surprize it. He knew the Inhabitants were to assemble in the Suburbs, on a certain Day, to perform some Religious Ceremony; and he hastened thither. But whether through the Precipitation of the Aggressors, or the vigorous Resistance of the Besieged, he failed in his Attempt. However, he fell on <sup>87</sup> *Macella*, took it, and made it as it were the Center from which he continually

*Flor. L. 3. c. 19.*

*Diod. Sic. Eclog. 1. L. 36.*

<sup>85</sup> According to *Plutarch* and *Cicero*, it was one *Servilius*, then *Augur*, who accused *Licinius Lucullus*. The accused had two Sons whose Zeal he experienced after his Condemnation. In order to revenge their Father's Quarrel, they combined together, and accused *Servilius* of Male-Administration. And those Quarrels were a source of Animosity and Hatred between the *Licinian* and *Servilian* Families. *Rome* was long troubled with their Divisions, till at length their personal Enmities were forced to give way to the Wants of the Republick, and *Cicero* tells us, in his *Academic. Quæst. L. 4. De Officiis L. 2.* and his Discourse *De Provinc. Consular.* That a Concern for the publick Good, united the two Families; which *Plutarch* confirms, in his *Life of Lucullus*.

The Annalists likewise place in this Year, or near it, the Condemnation of one *Caius Papirius Mæso*, who was accused of imbezzling the publick Money, by *Comptius* a Native of *Tibur*. *Cicero* says in his *Oration for Balbus*, That the Accused was rewarded with the Right of *Roman Citizenship*, for his Accusation.

It was also about this Time, that *Publius Sextius*, who was nominated *Prætor* for the next Year, was convicted of having made use of unlawful Means in canvassing for that Office. His Accuser was *Titus*

*Junius*, whom the *Consular Annals* make one of the *Tribunes of the People* for the Year 652; and the Accused could not escape a shameful Condemnation. He was sentenced according to the Rigour of the Law, and was degraded to the Condition of a private Person.

Before *Sextius*, one *Caius Cosconius*, who was known to have been guilty of several Crimes, had the Happiness to recover the Favour of his Judges, by recriminating on his Accuser *Valerius Valentinus*. The latter was thought the Author of some licentious Verses, in which the Writer gloried in the most infamous Debaucheries. The Piece was produced and read aloud; and procured the Favour *Cosconius* had expected from it, and made a Diversion in his Favour. The Judges being prejudiced against *Valerius*, did not think proper to give him a Triumph over his Adversary, of which he might have made an ill Use; and *Cosconius* was acquitted. This Account is given us by *Valerius Maximus, L. 8. c. 1.*

*Festus* speaks of this *Valerius Valentinus*, and ascribes to him some obscene Poems on the Pleasures of good eating.

<sup>86</sup> See Vol. 2.

<sup>87</sup> *Polybius* places *Macella*, an ancient City of *Sicily*,

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continually sent out Detachments to ravage the Country. And this Progress of the Rebellion, which Rome had not apprehended, opened at length the Eyes of the Senate.

The Consul *Aquilius*, who was elected in the *Campus Martius*, when *Marius* was there promoted to his fifth *Consulship*, had *Sicily* and the War with the Slaves for his Province. *Sicily* was laid waste, and *Rome* suffered by it. A *Consular* Army was scarce sufficient to stop the Insolencies of a King, contemptible in himself, but supported by such Troops as had got the better of three *Prætors*. However, *Aquilius* crossed over to the Island, in order to make War with the Slaves there, whilst his Collegue was preparing to drive back the Barbarians.

§. XXXIV. It may well be imagined that these vile Creatures, who had no Commerce with any foreign Nation, could not long subsist in an Island which they had themselves laid waste. The Lands were left uncultivated, and the Corn was brought from the Granaries in the Country, and laid up in walled Towns; whilst the Slaves, fell greedily to enjoying the present Plenty, and had no Foresight of the future. So that they were in Want, in the most fertile Country in the World. Whereas the Romans wanted no Convenience of Life. The Consul, who took as much Care to provide all Necessaries for his Legions, as to deprive the Rebels of a Subsistence, had Corn and other Provisions continually brought him, both from *Africa* and *Egypt*. In short, *Aquilius* made it his whole Business in his *Consulship*, to starve the Enemy; and the next Year, which we will here anticipate, in order to finish at once a War which brought so little Honour to the Romans, being left *Pro-Consul* in *Sicily*, he entirely destroyed the Rebels whom he had weakened. He took the Field, insulted the Enemy, and brought them to a Battle. Both Parties maintained it, with equal Valour; till at length, the two Generals met, and the Victory was determined by a single Combat, as in the heroic Ages. *Aquilius* not disdaining to enter the Lists with *Athenio*, a stop was put to the Battle; and both Armies made way for the two Champions. The Romans on one side, and the Slaves on the other, were only Spectators of the Duel. At first, the *Pro-Consul* received a Blow on his Head, but being exasperated with the Wound, he fell at his Adversary with such Fury, that he laid him dead on the Sand, at one Blow. This discouraged the Rebels, and they fled. The Romans took Advantage of the *Pro-Consul's* Victory, and their Fears; and made a terrible Slaughter of them. There were scarce 10000 of all this Multitude left; nevertheless they rallied, and took refuge in their Camp. There they were surrounded by the Roman Army, and being pressed with Hunger, they chose rather to destroy and devour one another than surrender. Till at length, being reduced to 1000 Men, under a Leader named *Satyrius*, he capitulated with the *Pro-Consul*, who promised them their Lives; and sent them to *Rome*, to fight with *African* wild Beasts, in the Shows of the *Circus*. But when they came there, these unfortunate Creatures desiring rather to fall by each other's Hands, than to appear as Gladiators, in the Religious Ceremonies, *Rome* consented. They all killed one another, before the Altars, till *Satyrius* only remained alive: And then the brave Captive, that he might not survive his Companions, stabbed himself with his own Sword, and fell the last Victim to a Rebellion, which had lasted four Years, and is said to have cost the Romans a Million of Slaves. Nevertheless *Aquilius*, when he returned to *Rome*, had only an <sup>88</sup> *Ovation* granted him, in Reward for his Victory. In judging of his Merit, the Romans had not so much Regard either to the Services he had done the Publick, or his Valour, as to their old Customs; which had ever been, not to grant a *Triumph* to the Conquerors of Rebels, especially if they were only Slaves. However, the Name and Glory of *Aquilius* were perpetuated on a <sup>89</sup> Medal which was struck by one of his Descendants, in Memory of his Victory in *Sicily*.

Flor. L. 3. c.  
29.  
Diod. Sic. L.  
38. Ecl. 1.

Cic. de Orat.  
L. 2.

\* See Pl. 10.  
No. 2. Page  
253.

*cily*, near *Palermo*, a little more inwards towards the Land. See Vol. 2. p.

Whether this be a different City from that whose Inhabitants *Pliny* calls *Magellini*, is uncertain. But we must not confound it with another *Macella* which stood on the Coast of *Further Calabria*. Some Geographers place it where *Strongoli* now stands.

<sup>88</sup> *Aquilius*, according to *Athenæus*, had the Honour of a *Triumph*. But *Livy* and *Cicero* both say, That the Senate and People only granted him an *Ova-*

*tion*, in the Year 654.

<sup>89</sup> The Face of the \* Medal struck in Memory of the Exploits of *Aquilius* against the Slaves, is a *Military Virtue* armed like a Warriour; and on the Reverse, we see *Sicily* in the Figure of a fainting Woman. *Aquilius* holds his Hand out to her, and raises her up; to shew that he was the Restorer of this desolated Province. The Inscription informs us, That he was the Son of one *Manius*, and the Grandson of another.



# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K LV.

§. I. **T**H E Republick had now scarce any Enemies left abroad; but she nourished Vipers in her own Bosom, which in the End proved more cruel to her, than either the *Cimbri* of *Germany*, or the Slaves of *Sicily*. This I say with respect to Persons, as well as to those Vices which were now indulged to the utmost Excess. How unlike was *Rome* become to herself! As she now surpassed the most wealthy Cities of *Asia* and *Africa* in Riches; so she exceeded them in Luxury, Delicacy, and all Kinds of Debauchery. The few Virtuous that were left in her, in vain endeavoured to preserve in their Families the Frugality and Continence of the old Times. What could the Example of a *Metellus*, a *Scævola*, or a *Rutilius* do, against the Torrent of Men's Passions, and the Silence of the Laws? The Quarrels between the Senate and People were become more furious than ever, and rarely ended without Blows and Blood-shed. The *Tribunes* armed the *Tribes* at pleasure, and Edicts were no longer passed without the Help of Stones, and Daggers. So that the Violences of the People in their *Comitia* authorized all manner of Wickedness. What Hopes of a Reformation, amidst the Licentiousness of Arms! What Power could the Magistrates have to effect it, in such a State!

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLII.  
C. MARIUS,  
& MANIUS  
AQUILIUS,  
Consuls.

In point of Luxury and Extravagance, the *Romans* were become as elegant in their Furniture and Dress as the People of *Athens*, and as effeminate as those of *Antioch* and *Alexandria*. Their *Sallons* where they gave their Entertainments were very magnificent. The Beds round their Tables, which they used instead of Chairs, were made of the scarcest Woods, and covered with Plates of Ivory, if not of Gold or Silver. Cushions and Mattresses adorned with Gold Stuffs, or enriched with Embroidery, were become common. And the Delicacies of the Table were answerable to the Richness of the Furniture. The common Wines of *Italy* were left to vulgar Palates; the Rich would touch only those of *Falernum* and *Chios*. No Fish were thought fit to appear but such as were of a monstrous Size; no Meats fit for the present Taste, but such as were brought from far, or were the Venisons of foreign Countries. A Barrel of salted Flesh brought from *Pontus* in *Asia*, was sold for 400 *Denarii*; and a Slave, that was a good Cook, for <sup>1</sup> four *Talents*. So little was the Regard now shewn to the wise Laws formerly passed against sumptuous Entertainments! And in Point of Dress, the Men carried their Profuseness to Effeminacy and Indecency. Young Men appeared in Publick, not in <sup>2</sup> Silk (for it was then unknown to the *Romans*, or at

*Diod. Sic. apud  
Valef.*

<sup>1</sup> Four *Talents* according to our Estimation make 12000 *Livres*. [and 755 *l. Sterling*.]

<sup>2</sup> It appears in Fact, that till after the Republick was utterly destroyed, Silk-Habits were very scarce among the *Romans*. At least, even the greatest Men among them had not till then worn such, if we may credit *Lampridius*. He tells us, That the Emperor *Heliogabalus* was the first who appeared in Publick in a Silk-Robe. Indeed, by a Passage of *Marcus Varro*, quoted by *Nonius*, it seems to appear, that the Wo-

men of the first Rank had begun to leave their Woollen Habits for more valuable ones. He is there speaking of the *Roman Ladies*, who were very expensive in their Dress, and were not ashamed to appear in Robes made all of Silk. *Aliam cerneret cum sola Holoferica*. But it is likewise probable, that Silk was not then near so common in *Rome* as it was in after Ages. The Scarcity made it dear, and the Price must have been excessive in the Times we are treating of; since in the Emperor *Aurelian's* Time, that is, about 273 Years



Year of at least was very scarce in *Italy*) but in Stuffs so thin, and transparent, that they were *ROME* offensive to Modesty.

DCLII.  
C. MARIUS,  
& MANIUS,  
AQUILIUS,  
Consuls.

As to their Seditions, if they fomented the Luxury of the *Romans*, so did their Luxury prompt them to Seditions. They dreaded nothing so much, as placing at the Head of the Government Men of Credit, and desirous of a Reformation, who might by the Authority of the Laws, deprive them of all their fashionable Splendor, and revive the Probity of old *Rome*. And therefore they bestowed not the highest Dignities on the most virtuous and deserving, but on the most ambitious and intriguing. Besides, they sold their Suffrages, in order to enable themselves to go on in their Debaucheries; and as the Competitors were divided into different Factions, their Parties not content with Shouts and Acclamations, proceeded to Blows and Murders. Hence it came to pass, that the strongest, and the most formidable were preferred to the *Curule* Dignities, before the most noble, the most wise, and the most venerable Members of the Republick: And it was easily to be imagined, that such Promotions could not be made, without publick Broils and Disturbances. Besides, at the Head of the Republick was *Marius*, whose Ambition comprehended all Vices in one; and whose seditious Spirit contributed more towards the intestine Troubles that followed, than even the Restlessness of the *Tribunes*, the Excesses of the debauched, and the Licentiousness of the People.

On the other hand, *Sylla* was no less greedy of Honour, than his Enemy *Marius*; but found the latter a perpetual Obstacle, in the Way of his Advancement. So that their Misunderstandings must soon break out. Two Men, who were each at the Head of a great Party, each jealous of the other, and each renowned for great Exploits in War, could not long continue in Peace and Friendship. When their natural Fire could no longer vent itself against the common Enemies of the Republick; nothing remained, but to turn it against themselves, and against their Country.

Such was the Situation of *Rome*, at the End of the fifth *Consulship* of *Marius*. She had not for a great while beheld more Tranquillity abroad. All the conquered Nations revered the Orders of the *Roman* Senate and People; and the Kingdoms in Alliance with them were almost as submissive as if they had been reduced to Pro-

Years after the Birth of Christ, it was sold for its Weight in Gold. This *Vopiscus* affirms; and adds, That that Emperor refused the Empress, his Wife, a Silk Mantle, which she had earnestly desired of him, on Account of the great Price of it. Nevertheless, *Pliny the Naturalist*, who lived long before *Heliogabalus* and *Aurelian*, inveighs against the Luxury of those voluptuous *Romans*, who were not ashamed to imitate in their Habits, the Effeminacy and Vanity of a Sex, who were passionately Fond of Finery. The Men, says he, envy the Women the Richness of their Dresses, and chiefly borrow all their Lustre from the Silk that covers them. And *Tacitus* had, before *Pliny*, reproached the *Romans* with a Disorder of this Sort; and says, that *Tiberius* was forced to put a Stop to it, by a Decree made for that Purpose. *Decretum ne vestis Serica vires scdaret.*

So that *Lampridius*, on one hand, says, That *Heliogabalus* was the first Man who appeared in Silk; and on the other, *Tacitus* and *Pliny* say, That this Luxury prevailed long before, at least in the most wealthy Families, among both Sexes. And it would be difficult to determine, which is right, if *Lampridius* himself did not enable us to reconcile them. He represents *Heliogabalus* indeed, as the first *Roman*, who altered the ancient Custom; but immediately adds, That till this Emperor's Time, Silk was only used in Mixture, to enliven Stuffs, the Woofs of which were Flax or Wool. *Primus Romanorum Holoferica veste usus. fertur, quum jam Subserica in usu esset.* So that we must explain those Passages in *Tacitus* and *Pliny*, in this latter Sense. To which *Pliny* adds, That the *Affyrian* Silk was reserved for the *Roman* Ladies, because thinnest and softest. That which came from the Islands of *Cea* and *Cos*, which was much coarser, was worn by the Men. *Nec puduit has vestes usurpare etiam viros, levitatem propter esti-*

*vam. In tantum a Lorica gerenda discessere mores, ut oneri sit etiam vestis. Assyria tamen Bombyce adhuc faminis cedimus.*

Another Sort of Silk, which was made by the *Seres*, a People in the North of *China*, was also known to the *Romans* in the Time of *Virgil*, who expressly mentions it in his 2d *Georgic*.

*Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres.*

By which Verse it appears, that the Poet was ignorant of the Origin of Silk, as well as the rest of the *Latins*. Neither did *Pliny the Naturalist* know more of this Matter than *Virgil*, but adopted, like him, the vulgar Opinion. These two famous Authors thought that the *Seres* gathered a Sort of Down upon Trees where it naturally grew, and by soaking it in Water, made it more soft and manageable; and then winding it off, made their Silk of it. This they thought, was the Matter of that rich Stuff which was called *Serica*, from the People who had the Art of making it. And *Procopius* and *Zonaras* say, That this Opinion prevailed for many Years after, even to the Time of the Emperor *Justinian*. Then, say these two Historians, it was first known that the Silk which was brought into *Greece*, from the extream Parts of *Asia*, was the Work of those little Worms, which were grown numerous in many Parts of *Europe*, especially in *Italy*. *Pausanias*, who wrote in the Time of the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus Verus*, had, in his sixth Book, already made that Remark. Indeed *Pliny* ascribes to Worms the Silk that was brought to *Rome* from *Affyria*, and the Islands of *Cos*, and *Cea*. But the Worms he calls *Bombyces*, warped their Silk themselves in strait Lines as Spiders do; instead of rolling it up in Balls, as our Silk-Worms do.



vinces. Rome had nothing to fear but herself; and would have been now raised to a higher Pitch of Glory than ever, if she could have suppressed the Vices that infected her, and kept her vitious Citizens in Subjection to her Laws.

§. II. Marius canvassed for a sixth Consulship, and scrupled nothing in order to obtain it. He was no longer wanted to repulse Barbarians, or compleat an unfinished Conquest; and therefore, if he had been a good Citizen, or a Man of any Moderation, he would have been content, with having had the Laws four Times violated, in his Favour. He had indeed an Excuse for this, in the Necessities of the publick, and the earnest Desires his very Enemies had shewn, to continue him so long in that Office. But he had no other Pretence for appearing a sixth Time for the Consulship than Ambition. Nevertheless, he solicited it with all the Ardour of a young Candidate, at his first Appearance for a publick Station. Though naturally fierce and rough, he became mild and affable. He laid aside the Dignity he had so well preserved in Arms, caressed the meanest of the People, and was very little scrupulous of dishonest Practices, in order to gain his Point. His Competitor was the great Metellus surnamed Numidicus. But by the Help of large Sums among the common People, he got Metellus set aside, was himself chosen, and procured for his Colleague, one L. Valerius Flaccus, a very weak Man, whom he managed as he pleased.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLII.  
C. MARIUS,  
& MANIUS  
AQUILIUS,  
Consuls.  
Plut. in Mario.  
Epit. Liv. 69.  
Val. Max. L.  
9. c. 7.  
Flor. L. 3. c.  
16.  
App. Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.  
Oros. L. 5.

The first Step Marius took, after his Election, was to unite himself in Interest with that L. Apuleius Saturninus, who had been his Agent in procuring him his fourth Consulship: And we shall find great Reason to lament the Condition of Rome in this fatal Year, when we shall see all her Authority devolved into the Hands of three Men, who were given up to all Iniquity. The first was Marius, who lost in Peace all the Glory he had acquired in War. This pernicious Consul, though unwilling to appear such, was really the Author of all the Evils that befel his Country. But being artful, and Master of some Dissimulation, he concealed his Violences, and made Use of others, as his Agents, to put them in Execution. The second was Apuleius, who had long been devoted to the Consul, who found no Difficulty in bringing him into any Measures. And the third was, Servilius Glaucia, the Prætor, to whom the Cognizance of civil Causes belonged, and who was naturally factious and furious. Marius thought him a necessary Man for his Purposes; and being yet utterly unacquainted with him, resolved to procure his Friendship by the Interposition of Apuleius.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLIII.  
C. MARIUS,  
& L. VALE-  
RIUS FLAC-  
CUS, Consuls.

But the most essential Point at present was to get Apuleius elected Tribune a second Time, and this therefore he attempted as soon as he was Consul elect. Before he entered upon his sixth Consulship, the usual Assembly was held for electing the ten Tribunes; and Marius used all possible Endeavours to procure one of those Places for that fiery Man. But all was vain, both his Intrigues and Sollicitations were ineffectual. The People would not give the Consul more Strength, by electing a Tribune who was entirely under his Command. Nine Tribunes were proclaimed, and no Apuleius Saturninus among them. Yet still Marius conceived Hopes that the tenth Place would fall to his Friend. But he had the Misfortune to have <sup>4</sup> A. Nonnius, a wise Man, in great Esteem, and of a noble Family, for his Competitor; and all the Voices were for him. And then, Apuleius giving himself wholly up to the Dictates of his Fury and his Friend Marius, resolved to stick at nothing. As soon as Nonnius was nominated, Apuleius resolved to murder him; and the Villain hired some of the meanest of the People, and some of Marius's Soldiers, to execute the execrable Work. The Assassins surrounded the new Tribune, as soon as he was got out of the Assembly; and he retired to a neighbouring Inn for Refuge; but they dragged him out thence, and stabbed him. By his Death, there was a Vacancy in the Tribunate; and Apuleius got Possession of it, the next Morning, by Artifice. His Clients assembled together very early in a tumultuous Manner, and proclaimed him Tribune of the People; the Consul confirmed the Election; and after this, nothing more was said of the Assassination of Nonnius. They, who had been the Authors of it, took Care to bury it in Oblivion.

<sup>3</sup> Velleius differs much in Opinion from Plutarch and the other Historians, as to the sixth Consulship of Marius. He pretends, that the General did not owe it so much to Canvassing and Intrigue, as to the Equity of the People, who gave it him as a Reward for his Merit and Victories.

<sup>4</sup> We find the Name of Nonnius, surnamed Suffenas, strangely disfigured, in Val. Maximus, Florus, and Orosius. But Plutarch and Appian always call him Nonnius; and the Medals agree with these two Historians.



Year of  
R O M E  
D C L I I I.  
C. MARIUS,  
& L. VALE-  
RIUS FLAC-  
CUS, Consuls.

Thus had *Rome* just Cause to be under the greatest Apprehensions from the Union of a *Consul* and a *Tribune* who began their Year with committing Murder with Impunity; but the two Incendiaries did not think themselves yet sufficiently strengthened, without the Addition of a third. They were indeed Masters of State Affairs, of all Things relating to War and Peace, by the *Consul's* Means; and they could command the Laws, by the *Tribune of the People*: But they wanted likewise to have the Direction of the *Prætor's* Tribunal, who was the Judge of all Disputes between the Citizens. In order to this, it was necessary to associate with them *Servilius Glaucia*, who was invested with this important Office; and though the Character of *Glaucia* was at bottom pretty suitable to their own, yet he had his Oddities, and was not easily to be managed. They therefore thought the best Way to bring him into their Measures would be to intimidate him. One Day, whilst the *Tribune* was haranguing the People, the *Prætor* held his Sessions as usual; and whilst he was administering Justice, he saw *Apuleius* advancing towards him with a Guard. When he came up, he pretended that *Glaucia* had drawn off the Audience from attending to the *Tribune's* Harangue; upon this Pretence, threw every Thing about the Court, and broke the *Prætor's* Curule Chair; and this Insult, which should naturally have made them Enemies, united them. They knew one another by their Divisions, and joined together to put in Execution the bad Designs which *Marius* should dictate to them. In short, they all agreed to make it their common Interest, mutually to advance each other to the highest Honours; and as they were all endowed by Nature with the like Passions and Inclinations, they were the more easily brought to concur in the same pernicious Designs. So that *Marius*, *Apuleius*, and *Glaucia*, formed a Kind of *Triumvirate*, whose whole Aim and Design was to procure all Power to themselves, by humbling the Senate, and magnifying the Authority of the People.

Author. de Vir.  
Illustr.

Diod. Sic. ap.  
Fulv. Ursin.

§. III. As to Method in their Proceedings the new Cabal followed none; but acted, as the present Occurrences moved them. There came to *Rome* Ambassadors from *Mithridates*, the King of *Pontus*, who will be very often mentioned hereafter; and who having had some Misunderstanding with the Republick, was desirous of a Reconciliation, and to that End sent considerable Presents to the *Roman* People. But *Apuleius* received the Ambassadors brutally, and loaded them with Reproaches; in which, if we may be allowed to offer our Conjecture, the *Tribune* was only the *Consul's* Tool. *Marius* was already weary of his Repose, and wanted to stir up a War, that he might be in Action, and acquire new Glory. But be that as it will, The Ambassadors had Recourse to the Senate for Satisfaction for their cruel Treatment, and laid their Complaints before them. The *Conscript Fathers* could not but rejoice at an Opportunity of avenging themselves on a factious *Tribune*, and punishing him for his Breach of the Law of Nations, and the Dishonour he had done the Republick; and they ordered him to be prosecuted at their Bar, who were his proper Judges, and who were ready to have executed Justice upon him. But he had Recourse to the People, put on a negligent Dress, let his Beard grow, and by his Intreaties moved their Pity. So that on the Day when Sentence was to be pronounced, the Crowds of People about the Hall where the Senate met were so very great, that they terrified the Judges. *Apuleius* was acquitted by a Majority of Votes, and the three confederated Magistrates triumphed to see the Senate tremble, and made sensible of their Weakness.

After this Victory over the *Conscript Fathers* through the Assistance of the People, *Apuleius* made it his whole Business to shew his Resentment to the former, and his Gratitude to the latter. He passed several Laws in favour of the meanest of the Populace, and for the Advantage of *Marius*. In order to reward the Soldiers who had procured him his Victories in *Transalpine Gaul*, the *Tribune* passed a Decree which was founded on the highest Injustice. He enacted, That all the Country which the *Cimbri* had seized beyond the *Alpes*, should not be restored to its true Owners, but be divided among these Soldiers. Nothing could be more contrary to Equity and Reason; but what else was to be expected from a factious Cabal, who aimed at nothing but tyrannizing over the whole *Roman* State? They began with first oppressing the distant Provinces, in order to establish their Dominion at last in the Capital itself. The same Law was likewise extended, to *Africa*; to all the Lands conquered in *Thrace*; by the *Prætor of Macedon*; and to those which had been recovered from the rebellious Slaves in *Sicily*. Their first and true Owners were deprived of them, and they were given to Soldiers. It was also enacted, at the Request of *Apuleius*,

App. Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.  
Auth. de Vir.  
Illustr.



That *Roman Colonies* <sup>5</sup> should be settled in all these Places; and That *Marius* should nominate three Inhabitants of each *Colony* who should enjoy all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. But this last Article appeared to be of such Consequence, that it was rejected, at least after the Death of *Apuleius*. The rest of his Laws aimed at nothing more than gaining him Credit and Esteem among the People. *C. Gracchus*, as much devoted as he was to the Populace, had been content with getting it enacted, That the poorer Inhabitants of *Rome* should pay only a very small Sum *per Bushel*, for the Corn which should be given them out of the publick Granaries. But *Apuleius* proposed, That the *Plebeian Families*, should have as much Corn <sup>6</sup> as they wanted for their Subsistence, *gratis*. However, a Law so burdensome to the publick Treasury, could not pass without some Opposition; the other *Tribunes* remonstrated against it. But the People were too much interested in the Success of it, to hearken to the Representations of wise Men; and the *Tribes* assembled in great haste to vote in Favour of it. Upon which, *Cæpio*, a Man zealous for the publick Good, tho' we don't find his Name <sup>7</sup> among the Magistrates of the Year, thought it his Duty to resist with Force the Encroachments of a single *Tribune*, who was going to prevail over his Collegues by Violence. He got together a Company of People well affected to the Interests of the Republick, overturned the Bridges raised for passing into the Inclosure, took away the Baskets placed for holding the Billets, and by these Means, brought to nought the Project of the rash *Apuleius*. From this Time, no more mention was made of this mad Bounty, of as much Corn as the People of *Rome* could consume.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLIII.  
C. MARIUS,  
& L. VALE-  
RIUS FLAC-  
CUS, Consuls.

*Auth. L. ad  
Heren.  
Cic. pro Balbo.*

§. IV. Nevertheless, this Disappointment did not at all abate the Audaciousness of the *Tribune*. In conjunction with *Marius* and *Glaucia*, he insisted on the Law for distributing among *Marius's* Soldiers all the Lands taken from the *Cimbri* in *Gaul*, and added these new Clauses to it. *That all Plebiscita should be registred in the Senate within five Days; That the Senators should all swear to observe them; and That if any Senator refused it, he should be expelled the House, fined 500 great <sup>8</sup> Sesterces, and in default of Payment, banished out of all the Lands of the Roman State.* An Edict, indeed, apparently very <sup>9</sup> violent, but big with greater Mischiefs than were foreseen, till they appeared by its Effects; and this new Project was likewise opposed. The *City-Tribes* would be little the better for it; since they would not willingly leave their Habitations in *Rome*, to go and cultivate Lands beyond the *Alpes*. And as then it would only be of Advantage to the poor *Allies*, or at most, to the Mob of the *Country-Tribes*; the Inhabitants of the Capital gave themselves little Concern about it. Besides, many Men of Weight mounted the *Rostra*, to dissuade the People from passing the Law and Clauses. But *Apuleius*, on the Day of the *Comitia*, brought all the Mob of the *Country-Tribes* into the City; and whenever an Orator ascended the *Rostra* to speak against the Law, they pulled him down by force. These base Proceedings enraged the *City-Tribes* against those of the Country; and the former pretending they heard a Clap of Thunder, would have dissolved the Assembly on that Account. It is well known, that it was unlawful among the *Romans*, to go on with Business, when, as they expressed themselves, *Jupiter thundered*: But, *Apuleius* cried out, *Well! if it thunders now, we shall have a Shower presently.* In short, tho' the People of *Rome* took up Stones, and drove the *Country-Tribes* who tarried to vote, out of the *Comitium*, yet even this did not discourage the *Tribune*. He rallied them, armed them with Clubs, and with his Robes tucked about him, brought them back to the Battle: And being superiour in Strength, he became Master of the Inclosure and Suffrages, and got his Law passed, after the Shower of Blows had ensued, which he had foretold.

*App. de Bell.  
Civil. L. 1.  
Plut. in Mario.*

<sup>5</sup> It was probably in consequence of this Law of the *Tribune Apuleius*, That the Republick sent a Colony to *Turea*, a City in *Piedmont*. *Velleius* places their Transmigration in the sixth Consulship of *Marius*.

<sup>6</sup> *Aurelius Victor* adds, That *Apuleius* appropriated to the buying of this Corn, all the Gold of *Toulouse*, which *Rome* could recover from *Cæpio*, who had carried it away.

<sup>7</sup> The Author of the Books *De Rhetorica*, addressed to *Herennius*, tells us, That *Cæpio* was then *Quæstor* at *Rome*; and consequently had the Care of the publick Treasury. So that, it being his Business to furnish the Sums required for the Expences of the Publick,

the zealous *Quæstor*, adds our Author, represented to the Senate, That there was not Money enough in the Treasury to buy the Corn which the *Tribune Apuleius* had resolved to distribute among the People *gratis*.

<sup>8</sup> Five hundred Great *Sesterces* \*, were equal to 500000 Little *Sesterces*, as we have already observed Vol. 2: And these, at the Rate of 2 *Sols* six *Deniers* each, make 62500 *Livres*. *Appian* says, The Fine was 20 *Talents*\*, That is, 20000 *Crowns*.

<sup>9</sup> A more unjust Law could not have been made; since it absolutely subjected the Senate to the Will of the People.

l. s. d.  
4036. 9. 2.  
Sterl.  
1.  
3875. Sterl.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLIII.

C. MARIUS,  
& L. VALE-  
RIUS FLAC-  
CUS, Consuls.

The next Day, the new *Plebiscitum* was brought to the Senate to be registered, and to be sworn to by the Senators; and then it appeared, with what Views the three furious Magistrates had caused this Tumult. *Marius* had hated *Metellus*, ever since their Quarrels in *Numidia*. *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* could never forgive him the Affront he had offered them, by having expelled them the Senate as dangerous *Citizens*, in his *Censorship*. And their chief Design in all this, was to lay an artful Plot for that great Man. They knew the Probity of this Hero; and were persuaded, that he would never swear to the Observance of a Law, which had been extorted by Violence, tho' the Refusal were attended with certain Ruin. And their Scheme was to reduce him to this terrible Dilemma, that he must either bring Dishonour upon himself if he complied, or incur the Displeasure of the People and be banished, if he refused. The last was what they most desired: And in order to bring him to it with some sort of Dignity, *Marius* made use of a Deceit unworthy of a Man of his Rank. He, as *Consul*, made a Report to the Senate of the Law in question; and in order to impose upon *Metellus*, and the rest of the *Conscript Fathers*, inveighed against the Violences of *Apuleius*. He assured them, That he would never take the Oath, required by the Clause of this Law; emboldened them by his Example to reject a *Plebiscitum* which was so unjust in itself, and so prejudicial in its Consequences to the Senate; and *Metellus* fell a Sacrifice to these feigned Protestations. On the last of the five Days allowed for the Acceptance of the Law, the *Consul* assembled the Senate in haste, about four in the Afternoon, that they might not have too much Time to deliberate; and then declared he had altered his Sentiments. *Second Thoughts*, said he, *are often best*. Upon considering all Things I am now of Opinion, that we ought to accept the Law, and take the Oath prescribed. It is, after all, a true *Plebiscitum*, and passed in due Form. The only Objection against it, is taken from Religion; That it thundered, or at least, that it was so said, during the Assembly. But if the City Tribes say this, the Country-ones deny it; and the latter still continue in the City, and will renew the Tumult. I am therefore for receiving the Law, till we are better informed, and for taking the Oath. We may, by this little Condescension, get rid of a Company of mutinous Countrymen, who disturb the publick Peace.

Cicero pro Sex-  
tio.

Plut. in Mario.

Auth. de Vir.  
Illustr.  
Plut. Ibid.

*Marius* was formidable; and after he had said this with his natural Fierceness, all the Senators held their Peace. The *Consul* took their Silence for Consent, and immediately dismissed the Assembly, resolving to compleat the Affair without delay. It was an ancient Custom in *Rome*, whenever any Oath was required of the Magistrates, to begin with the *Quæstors*, who kept the publick Treasury: And the *Consul* went directly to the Temple of *Saturn*, where the *Quæstors* kept their Office. A Croud of People followed him; and the weak *Quæstor*, submitting to the Authority of the *Consul*, took the Oath, amidst the Acclamations of the *Country-Tribes*. The rest of the Senators, whether out of Fear, or Inclination, followed this bad Example; but *Metellus* alone still persisted in his former Opinion. He chose rather to serve *Rome*, than live there; and preferred the true Interest of his Country, to the innocent Pleasures he enjoyed in it. This great Man was condemned to a Banishment; which in so glorious a Cause, did him greater Honour, than his Victories, or *Triumphs*, or even the Appellation of *Numidicus*. Notwithstanding the Representations of his Friends, he suffered himself to be interdicted *Fire and Water*, by his ungrateful Fellow-Citizens; whose Insolence he could easily have suppressed, if he had shewn the least Inclination to raise the *City-Tribes*. But, when his Friends pressed him to resist a Faction which he might easily have destroyed, he returned this Answer. To commit Crimes deliberately and designedly is the Property of Villains. To do well when no Danger attends it, is no uncommon Degree of Virtue. But for a Man to maintain his Probity in the midst of Dangers and Persecution, is Heroic. The illustrious Exile went to reside, some say at *Rhodes*, others at *Smyrna*, where he enjoyed Tranquillity, and was wholly employed in perfecting his Heart by the Study of Philosophy. And if his Departure was Matter of Grief to the few Men of Honour that were left in the Republick; we shall soon see him return with Circumstances full of Comfort to Himself, his Family, and his Friends.

§. V. The three confederated Magistrates congratulated one another on having at last ruined their common Enemy. And they had indeed with him, taken away all the Strength and Vigour of the Senate. But nevertheless they profitted little by their Advantage. The Point *Apuleius* had in view, was to continue himself in the *Tribunate*, the third Time. *Glaucia* was desirous of getting himself nominated *Consul* for the next Year, tho' the Laws forbade the Promotion of any *Prætor* to the *Consulate*, till three

Years



Years after his *Prætorship*. And *Marius* wanted to continue himself in the same Post another Year, and govern the Republick, as chief Magistrate, the seventh Time. They knew these exorbitant Claims could not be supported without offering Violence to the Laws, the Senate, and all those who retained any Regard for the publick Welfare. But the *Tribune* and *Prætor* made no difficulty of raising Tumults. They loved Faction, and scrupled nothing; being under no Restraints from the Horror of Guilt, or the Respect due to the Laws, or any Esteem for particular Persons, or any Regard even for the People themselves, who were ready to shed their Blood for them. *Marius* indeed kept himself more within Bounds. Tho' he was the Soul of the Plot, he kept out of fight when Violences were to be committed; and left it to the other two, to put in Execution the wicked Schemes which he advised. He pretended to hold the Balance even, between the popular Faction and the Senate. But it was not easy to conceal this doubling long, from those who narrowly watched his Conduct. On one hand, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* began to take Umbrage, at his too mean Complaisance for the *Patricians*. On the other, the Nobility had always suspected his invariable Attachment to the *Plebeians*, and were jealous of his great Intimacies with *Glaucia* and *Apuleius*. Nevertheless, each Party wanted him for themselves; and his Reputation and Merit made both Sides court him. He found his Account in keeping *Rome* in a kind of *Equilibrium* between the two Parties. The Disturbances he underhand raised by *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* made him necessary, and paved the Way for a new *Consulship*. Whilst on the other hand, it was necessary in order to secure it, that he should not exasperate, but rather pay court to the Senate. He therefore kept his Eye fixed on both these Points. He fomented Divisions, in order thereby to facilitate his acquiring Dominion; pretended a great Desire to compose them, in order to please the Senate; and would have gained his Point by this artful Conduct, if an Accident had not pulled off the Mask.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLIII.  
C. MARIUS,  
& L. VALER-  
IUS FLAC-  
CUS, Consuls.

Some Senators, who wished well to the Publick, went one Evening to wait on the *Consul*; to represent to him the terrible Disorders *Apuleius* caused, and to intreat him to make use of his Power to preserve the Republick, which was ready to sink under the Attempts of the seditious *Tribune*. *Marius* received them graciously, and gave them Audience; and the Conversation lasted, till the Night was far advanced. At length, the Hour came, when *Apuleius* used to have his nocturnal Conferences with the *Consul*; and when it was whispered to *Marius* that the *Tribune* was come, he ordered him to be carried into another Apartment. Then, it being uncivil, either to dismiss these Illustrious *Patricians*, or to suffer the *Tribune* to wait long by himself; *Marius*, in this Dilemma, pretended to have the Cholic, and under this Pretence, was continually moving backwards and forwards, from one Apartment to the other. But his Compliments were in vain in both Places; he neither deceived the Senators, nor the *Tribune*. After this Accident, the old Quarrels were revived; and *Marius* was equally suspected, on all Sides. So that this lessened his Hope of a seventh *Consulate*. But it being now too late, to alter his Measures, he continued in the same neutral Conduct, between the true Lovers of the Republick, and the seditious Citizens, to the End of his Year.

Plut. in Marius.

§. VI. In the mean time, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* continued their Canvass, independently of the *Consul*, one for a third *Tribunate*, and the other for the *Consulship*. Nay, *Apuleius*, after the Banishment of *Metellus*, obstinately set up the contemptible *Equitius*, the Son of a vile Slave, and who had justly been denied the Privilege of being enrolled among the *Citizens*, for *Tribune of the People*; and persisted in his being chosen. This was an odious stretch of Interest; but nothing seemed difficult to an Incendiary who despised the Law, and all Regard even to common Decency. *Marius* himself therefore was forced to punish the Rashness of the Pretender *Equitius*, whom he sent to Prison; and ordered him to be kept there, till the Election of *Tribunes* was over. But when the Time for that, and the Election of *Consuls*, drew nigh, *Apuleius* set to work the turbulent Populace, who were blindly devoted to him. To gratify him, they assembled, broke open the Prison, took out *Equitius*, carried him in Triumph upon their Shoulders, and proclaimed him *Tribune of the People*. However, the Wretch did not enjoy his Happiness long. He died before he entered upon his Office.

App. L. 1. De  
Bell. Civ.  
Flor. L. 3.  
c. 16.  
Cicero pro Sex-  
tio.

At the same time *Glaucia*, in conjunction with *Apuleius*, carried his furious Attempts to get the *Consulship* contrary to Law, to such excess, that his Faction became insupportable. When the *Comitia* for the Election of *Consuls* were assembled in the Field



Year of  
ROME  
DCLIII.

C. MARIUS,  
& L. VALE-  
RIUS FLAC-  
CUS, Consuls.

of Mars, Marius was set aside, and the famous Orator Marcus Antonius, chosen into the first Place; and Glaucia expected at least to have the second. But he had a Competitor, Memmius, who was infinitely superiour to him, both in Birth and Probity. Had Rome been in Tranquillity, and the People in their Senses, they would never have hesitated between two Men of so very unequal Merit. But in this tempestuous Season, Memmius was afraid of Glaucia; and Glaucia vented all his Rage on Memmius. The cruel Prætor, knowing that Rome had been accustomed to suffer Assassinations to escape unpunished, made no scruple of sending one of his Attendants to kill his Competitor; and Memmius, after he had received several Blows, fell down dead in the Forum, in the Sight of all that passed by.

A Murder so publick and daring, that it appeared unpardonable, even to the associated Prætor and Tribune, who had been the Authors of it; and in order to escape Punishment for it, they desperately attempted to destroy the Republick itself, and usurp a Monarchy in Rome. Apuleius took home with him, a Multitude of desperate Men who had nothing to lose, and addressed them thus. *If you have any Appearance of Liberty left, you wholly owe it to Glaucia's Zeal, and to my Warmth in supporting him. You have not found us to be any of those mean-spirited Creatures, who measure the publick Good by their own private Interest. Such Men attempt nothing, but with a View to aggrandizing themselves. They are very weak and timorous Defenders of a Party, advance very slowly, and consult their Ambition every Step they take. Hence their great Circumspection and Care, not to offend the Party they pretend to oppose. But what would become of the People of Rome, under the Care of such fearful Protectors? These timorous Men will be so cautious, that our Divisions will never be at an End. The People will always labour under the same Oppressions, and never be freed from the Tyranny of the Senate. If you would procure Rome her Liberty, you must make greater Efforts, and place such Men at the Head of the Plebeians, as are able to support them. Judge of Glaucia and me, by what is past.* This said, he was interrupted by the Clamours of the Assembly, and some cried out, Be you our General. Others are said to have dropped the Word King; and we are told, That Apuleius thankfully accepted the Title. But be that as it will, it was now a settled Conspiracy; and it was not long ere a stop was put to these open and violent Proceedings.

§. VII. This Assembly was too publick, to be kept a Secret; and the next Day, the Roman Knights, and all the Men of Honour that were left in the City, went to the Senate, and called out for Vengeance on the wicked Attempts of the Tribune Apuleius, and the Prætor Glaucia. These Complaints from the soundest Part of the Republick were heard; and the Conscript Fathers were sensible, that Rome would be plundered, if Glaucia was suffered to enter upon the Consulate, and Apuleius to mount the Rostra, as Tribune of the People, a third Time. They therefore immediately passed one of those Decrees, which were never made, but in Times of the utmost Difficulty, and Danger; and ordered the two Consuls, C. Marius and L. Valerius Flaccus, to provide for the publick Welfare, in any manner, which they should judge proper. This was ordering them to Arms, and empowering them to revenge with the Sword, the Disturbances which the Populace and their Leaders were raising in the Republick. Marius, now angry with his old Friends, accepted of the Commission without Reluctance, and was pleased to be honoured with a kind of Dictatorship; and no Time was to be lost. The seditious had already seized the Capitol; and the Citizens were assembled in Crouds round that Citadel, to be Witnesses of a Battle, or rather, Siege. Marius therefore came up; commanded the assembled Multitude to join in avenging the common Cause; and this was sufficient to make these volatile People forget the Interests of their Glaucia, whom they had so much loved. Marius's Change brought all those with it, who had not been of the Number of the first Conspirators. By Order of the Consuls, the Magazines were opened; Marius himself delivered out Arms to all who declared for the Senate; and all the Prætors except Glaucia, all the Tribunes except Apuleius, all the Senate, all the Roman Knights, the old Consulares, the triumphant Victors, in a Word, all the chief Members of the Republick, armed themselves against the two Rebels. On this important Occasion, M. Æmilius Scaurus, who had been so long Prince of the Senate, and who could scarce support his old decrepid Body, was seen dragging his Legs after him towards the Enemy, and rejoicing that they were too weak to enable him to flee. One Q. Scævola, who was grown so weak with Age and old Wounds, that he could not walk without staggering, appeared in the middle of the Comitium leaning

App. l. 1. De  
Bell. Civ.  
Plut. in Mario,  
Cic. pro Ra-  
birio, & in  
Catilin. l. 1.  
Val. Max. l. 1.  
3. c. 2.

Cic. l. 1. de  
Clat.



leaning on a Javelin, and supplying his Weakness of Body, with the Strength of his Courage. And all the Nobility, following these illustrious Examples, marched after the Consuls.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLIII.

In the mean time, *Apuleius* and *Glaucia*, accompanied with one *Saufseius* then *Quæstor*, the false *Gracchus*, and *Q. Labienus*, their only Officers, prepared to stand a Siege in the *Capitol*. By way of Reinforcements, they had brought from the Country, a great number of *Citizens*, of the *Country-Tribes*; and these Succours were obliged to fight a Battle in the *Forum*, before they could reach the Citadel. But when the Rebels were hard pressed, *Apuleius* made a Sally, covered his Friends, and facilitated their Retreat to the *Capitol*. During this Battle, the seditious *Tribune* hoisted up a Cap on the top of a Lance, to invite the Slaves to take up Arms in his Favour, in hopes of their Freedom; and then, nothing remained, but to besiege the Citadel. *Marius* did so, and conducted it like a great General, and a faithful Citizen. He had first blown up the Fire, without foreseeing the Consequences of it; and he now extinguished it, by his Prudence and Courage. He posted *Marcus Antonius*, the only *Consul* elect for the next Year, with a Body of *Citizens* without the Gates of *Rome*, to intercept all Convoys and Succours; whilst himself, and his Colleague closely blocked up the *Capitol*: And by cutting off the Pipes, or Channels, that conveyed Water from the Springs to this dry Mount on which were neither Wells nor Cisterns, he saved *Rome*. The Rebels were so oppressed with Thirst, that *Saufseius*, the most furious of their Leaders, advised the burning of the Temple of *Jupiter*, and leaving its Ruins as a noble Monument of their Revolt and Ruin. But *Apuleius* and *Glaucia* were wiser. They still entertained some Hopes of *Marius*, which kept them from Despair. They believed him to be too much their Friend, to carry his Revenge to the utmost Extremity. And therefore, tho' *Saufseius* persisted in his mad Scheme, they sent a Deputation to the *Consul*, with Protestations of a sincere Repentance; and found him not inexorable. It was, after all, at his Instigation, that the Confederacy had been formed; and he was under Obligations to *Glaucia*. His Friendship revived, and he not only promised them, upon the publick Faith, to save their Lives, but sincerely endeavoured to perform his Promise. The Treaty was indeed in itself unlawful and null; since the *Consul* had not Authority to soften the Sentence which had been pronounced against the guilty, by the Senate. But *Marius* was resolved to preserve his Friends, and save the Lives of a Body of desperate Men, whose Fury might be of Use to him on some other Occasion. To this end, he gave them leave to march out of the *Capitol*, and *Glaucia* retired to the House of *Claudius* for Refuge. But the People soon dragged him out, and cut off his Head; and his Brother *Dolabella* and one *L. Geganius*, who retired to the Herb-market, were murdered there. Then *Marius* shut up the rest, with *Apuleius* their Chief, in the old Palace of *Tullus Hostilius*, in order to preserve them from Insults; but this likewise proved a vain Precaution against the Rage of the People, who were bent on punishing the Criminals whom he would have spared. Notwithstanding all the *Consul's* Assurances, That he only confined them there, in order to bring them to condign Punishment; they saw through the Design, and resolved to do themselves Justice. The *Roman Knights* assembled in Companies, the People followed, and all together with their Levers, broke open the Gates of the Palace; and then threw such a Shower of Stones and Tiles on the Rebels who were shut up in a narrow Compass, as proved fatal to many of them. They killed *Saufseius*, *Labienus*, *Equitius*, and in short, *Apuleius* himself, and all the Chief of his Accomplices. Nor were they satisfied with his Death only; they tore his Body into a thousand Pieces; and *C. Rabirius* seized his Head, and carried it from House to House, for the Diversion of the Spectators at their Meals. This Slaughter was made on *The Nones of December*, when the *Consuls* were almost ready to lay down their Office.

C. MARIUS,  
& L. VALE-  
RIUS FLAC-  
CUS, Consuls.  
*Florus* L. 3.  
c. 16.

§. VIII. The next Day, the *Comitia* were assembled, and began again to be held with Tranquillity and Silence. *Apuleius* had raised the late Storms in them; and at his Death, they ceased. The Orators were heard with Patience; and the Suffrages given, without Confusion or Violence. The first Thing done, was to give Freedom to a Slave, named *Scæva*, who had split the Scull of the seditious *Apuleius*. After this, all the Acts of the preceding *Tribunate* were cancelled, and declared absolutely null and of no Force, for want of Liberty in the Suffrages; and this was thought a very favourable Opportunity, for procuring the Return of *Metellus*, who had been unjustly banished. Two of the *Tribunes of the People*, *Pompeius Rufus* and *Porcius Cato*, moved for



Year of ROME DCLIII. *C. MARIUS, & L. VALE- RIUS FLAC- CUS, Consuls. Orsius. L. 5. c. 17. App. Bell. Civ. L. 1. Cic. pro Rabi- rio.*

for it, and made Panegyrics on the Exile. But there happened unfortunately to be one *P. Furius*, in the College of *Tribunes*, who had been personally disoblged by *Me- tellus*. The rigid *Censor* had formerly degraded him from being a *Roman Knight*, and the Affront sunk deep in his Heart. Though the Son of *Metellus Numidicus* ap- peared in deep Mourning, with his Beard and Hair in disorder, fell prostrate before the *Tribes*, and did all for the recalling his Father, which Persons accused of capital Crimes used to do, to save their own Lives; the insolent *Furius* rejected him with Scorn. This *Tribune*, who was the Son of a *Freed-man*, a Child of Fortune, and blindly devoted to *Marius*, had Interest enough to render the Attempt of young *Me- tellus* fruitless. The Republick, though not so tempestuous as before, still felt some Shocks of the late Storm, and was not yet composed enough to administer strict and impartial Justice.

Year of ROME DCLIV. *M. ANTO- NIUS, & A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS, Consuls. Euseb. in Chron.*

In the mean while, the Time came for assembling the *Tribes* to chose a Collegue for *Marcus*<sup>10</sup> *Antonius* in the *Consulate*; and they gave him *A. Posthumius Albinus*: And it may be observed, That *Rome* was no longer at rest, than while *Marius* was out of Office. This Hero in War, was a Fury in Time of Peace. He raised up En- mies against *Rome* in her own Bosom, and sowed Divisions among her own *Citizens*, as if they had been *Cimbri* and *Teutones*. But the Administration of *M. Antonius* and *Postumius Albinus*, was of a very different Kind. The former continued in *Rome*, to appease the Commotions which the late Government had raised; and one Author tells us, That the latter set out for *Macedon*, to finish an expiring War with those trouble- some Neighbours, the *Thracians*; though he does not inform us what Success attended his Arms.

*Jul. Obs. c. 106.*

§. IX. The new *Consular Year* was begun with purifying the City, which had been polluted with so much Blood in the late Troubles. Besides, *Rome* was terrified with the Accounts given of the many late Prodigies. An Owl was said to have perched on one of the Houses in the City. Lightning had often fallen upon it. At *Lanuvium*, the Temple of *Jupiter Sospita* had appeared stained with Blood. A Temple had been thrown down at *Nursia*, by an Earthquake. All these terrible Prognosticks considered to- gether, it was thought proper to avert the ill Effects of them, by one religious Cere- mony. Every Citizen made his Offering to the Gods. The Ladies gave some of their Jewels, and the young Women made Presents to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*. An Hymn was composed in Honour to the Tutelary Divinities, and sung in different Choirs, by twenty-seven young Girls, of the first Nobility. And lastly, two Statues of Cypress, which was thought an unperishable Wood, were erected, at the Expence of the pub-

<sup>10</sup> *Marcus Antonius*, the Grandfather of the *Trium- vir*, was even more famous for his extraordinary Elo- quence, than for his great military Virtues. *Rome* had never produced a greater Orator, since the Birth of the Republick. *Cicero* himself was of opinion, that *Italy* was indebted to this great Man for hav- ing equalled old *Greece*, in the Art of Speaking. In a Word, the Beauties of his Speeches and the Noble- nels of his Manner, were such, that he charmed all his Hearers, and could command the Suffrages of both Magistrates and People. We have several very remarkable Proofs of both, dispersed about in *Cicero's* Works: And we are there told, what *Val. Maximus* confirms, that *Marc. Antonius* made it a Rule never to publish any of his Speeches; that it might not ap- pear, that he had advanced any Thing in one Cause, which might be turned against him in another. He thought that an Orator ought to reserve to himself, the Liberty of contradicting himself, when the Interests of his Clients required it. *Cicero* says, He was so far from making a Show of Learning, that he took Pains not to pass for a Scholar. But this was perhaps more Policy than Modesty. It was to his Advantage to have it thought, that his Eloquence was not so much the Fruit of great Study, as the Gift of Na- ture, and the Effect of Genius. Nevertheless *Cicero* agrees, that *Anthony* dedicated his leisure Hours to the Study of the *Greek* Authors, especially the *Histo- rians* and *Orators*. He had no relish for Philosophy: And he looked on the Poets as a Set of Men, whose

Language was so much above Mortals, as to be in- telligible only to the Gods; and therefore thought Poetry of no Use to an Orator, who was to speak to Men. His Voyage to *Cilicia* led him to *Rhodes* and *Athens*; and in these two famous *Greek* Universities, he perfected his excellent Taste for Eloquence, under the Direction of the greatest Masters. And *Cicero* laments his having left only one very short Book, in the Oratorical Way, to Posterity.

The *Antonian* Family, of which *Marcus Antonius* the Orator, was one of the greatest Ornaments, was divided into two Branches. One was *Patrician*; and of this were *Titus Antonius Merenda*, one of the *Decemviri* in the Year 304; and *Quintus Antonius Me- renda*, who was *Military Tribune* in the Year 333. The other, tho' *Plebeian*, was famous for the many Offices and *Triumphs*, that the Descendants from it enjoyed. We shall, hereafter, see *The Anthony's*, reckoning from the Orator, filling the greatest Offices, and raised to so high a Pitch of Power, as to restore the Monarchical Government in *Rome*. *Plutarch*, to do the more Honour to the *Antonian* Family, carries up its Origin, upon the Credit of a fabulous Tradi- tion, to one *Anto*, one of those imaginary Heroes, who passed for the Sons of *Hercules*.

<sup>11</sup> *Nursia*, now *Norsia*, was formerly a City of the *Sabines*. It is now in the *Dutchy of Spoleto*. *Vir- gil* calls it *Frigida*, because being near the *Apennines*, it felt the chill of the Snows that cover the Tops of those Mountains.



lick. It was not then known, that in this Year, when these Prodigies happened, the Effects of which the Romans endeavoured to avert with so much Care, a Child was born in Rome, who would, one Day, overturn the Republick. *Julius Cæsar* came into the World, on the twelfth Day of the Month *Quintilis*, in the sixth Consulate of *Marius*; and for this Reason, this fifth Month of the old Roman Year was afterwards, from his Name, called *July*. And according to the prevailing Prejudices of that Time, the Day of his Birth would have been thought an unlucky Day, as distinguished by the Birth of a Monster. But he was in Truth an Hero, and a necessary Instrument in the Hands of Providence to restore Tranquillity to Rome. If we judge only by the Troubles that preceded his Birth, it will be very evident, that the Republick could not subsist long. It was grown too mighty a Body to be well governed by a Multitude of Heads, and already suffered strange Convulsions. So great a State was only to be kept in Order by one Man; and Providence raised up one, adapted to its own Designs, in the Person of *Julius Cæsar*. So that, if Things are rightly considered, he ought rather to be esteemed the Reformer of the Roman Government, than the Tyrant of Rome. The Truth of these Reflexions will appear hereafter. The Diffensions among these Republicans, will convince us of the Necessity they were under, of being governed by a Monarch.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLIV.  
M. ANTONI-  
US & A. POST-  
UMIUS ALBI-  
NUS, Consuls.

The Consul *M. Antonius*, did all he could, to calm the Minds of the People after the late Troubles, and he in Part succeeded. The first Instance of the Restoration of the Publick Tranquillity he saw with Pleasure at the Publick Shows. *Caius Claudius Pulcher* was *Ædile*; and the Shows he gave were more splendid than usual. Hitherto Elephants had only been shewn in the Roman Games, as uncommon Animals, and of a surprizing Address. But now they were, for the first Time, made to fight with one another, and with armed Gladiators. The Scenes on the Stage had hitherto had no other Decorations than plain Curtains; But *Claudius Pulcher* had them painted with Palaces in a Forum, so artfully, that the Birds were deceived by it. They scraped the Cloth on which the Tops of the Houses were painted, and stopped, as if they were to perch upon them. Nor was the producing new Sights in the Arena, and the decorating the Theatres, the only Works for which the *Ædileship* of *Pulcher* is famous. He adorned all the Forum Romanum, with a Magnificence, beyond any Thing that had yet been seen; and to grace his Feast as much as possible, he borrowed of foreign Countries, where his Family had Interest, all those Master-pieces of Art, which some travelled far to see. Among others, he borrowed of a *Messanian*, the famous Statue of *Cupid*, the inimitable Workmanship of *Praxiteles*<sup>12</sup>; and after the Ceremony, he faithfully restored both to Cities and private Persons, all the Rarities they had lent him. The Romans having much improved their Taste, since their Conquests in Greece, had learnt to admire the Wonders of Art; and the *Ædile's* Liberality did not pass unrewarded. In a few Years, we shall see him promoted to the *Consulship*.

Plin. L. 8.  
c. 7.  
Val. Max. L.  
2. c. 1.  
Plin. L. 35.  
c. 7.

Cicero de Signis  
contra Verrem.

§. X. Thus were the first Months of *Antonius's* Government quietly spent in religious Ceremonies, and in Shows; but *Marius* had left the Leaven of Sedition among the Tribunes, and it was not long before it shewed itself. *Sextus Titius*, who was one of them, attempted to revive the *Gracchian Law*, for the Distributions of Lands. This was the common Game of the seditious Tribunes, when they wanted to make their court to the People, and stir them up to Tumults by their Avarice. *Titius* could talk

Jul. Obs. c.  
106.  
Cic. de Orat.  
L. 2.

<sup>12</sup> *Praxiteles*, one of the most skilful, and most eminent Sculptors of Greece, flourished about the 104th Olympiad, some Years before the Conquests of Alexander the Great. Among the other Statutes that came from the Hands of this great Master, the Ancients boast of the *Venus of Cnidus*, which *Lucian* mentions as a Master-piece; and which the *Cnidians* refused to part with to King *Nicomedes*, who, according to *Pliny*, B. 7, offered to forgive them all their Taxes for it. *Pausanias* celebrates the Memory and Works of this famous Statuary, in his *Atticks*.

<sup>13</sup> *Festus* ascribes to *Caius Claudius* the *Ædile*, the Art of imitating Thunder, in Theatrical Performances, as if it had been an important Discovery; and says, that from thence the Terms *Claudianæ Tonitruæ* became proverbial, to express any great Noise.

<sup>14</sup> *Caius* had for his Collegue in the *Curule Æ-*

*dileship*, one *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, who was cited to appear before the *Comitia* by *Caius Decianus*, one of the Tribunes of the People in the Consulate of *Marcus Antonius*; but it is not known what was laid to his Charge. All that appears is, that the accused having been very honourably acquitted, triumphed over his Accuser, and was afterwards promoted to the first Dignities in the Republick. This *Decianus* was the Father of another *Decianus*, who accused the Son of the *Ædile Valerius* of publick Oppressions. *Cicero* undertook the Defence of the accused, and forgot nothing that could be said in his Justification, in the fine Oration he made for him, which we still have, and from which we have taken this Fact. The Sons of the two Families seem to have inherited the Prejudices and Hatred of their Fathers.



Year of *ROME* they applauded him, his Success made him enterprising. But the Senate set up against him a dangerous Rival, whose Office gave him a right to mount the *DGLIV.* *Tribunal*, and harangue the People with Authority. This was the *Consul* himself, the celebrated Orator *M. Antonius*, who was famous both for his Eloquence, and his Integrity; and he often made Speeches to the assembled People, and shewed them the Difference between a trifling Declaimer and a true Orator. By this means the Attacks of *Titius* on the Senate proved very weak, whilst *Antonius* diverted them with his great Address. The latter only was heard with Attention, and all the Reflections of the former proved fruitless. The *Tribune* was mad enough to complain of this himself to the People, and formally to address himself to them in this manner: *Where is the Regard you formerly shewed your Tribunes in your Comitia? You will scarce give me a Hearing, when I tell you wholesome Truths. I am reduced to the Fate of Cassandra, the famous Daughter of Priam, the Prophetess, who always truly foretold Misfortunes, but could never be believed! To which Antonius immediately replied, The Comparison is just. Titius is a true Cassandra, in this Particular; that one Ajax has not sufficed him.* Which was reprimanding his Adversary with the most infamous Practices of which he could be guilty.

*Cic. pro Raberio.*  
*Val. Max. L. 8. c. 1.*  
*Cic. in Bruto.*

But, notwithstanding the decline of his Reputation, and the severe Jests he was forced to stand, *Titius* still persisted in proposing his Law, for the Distribution of the Lands. The People were too nearly concerned in it, absolutely to reject it, and all that *Antonius* could do, by the force of his Rhetorick, was to moderate their Passions, and prevent their breaking out into Tumults, till at length, their Superstition came in aid to his Eloquence. As he was one Day haranguing the People against the Law, two Ravens flew over the *Comitium*, fighting. The People were alarmed at the Omen; and the *Augurs* being instantly consulted, they answered, That the Gods disapproved of the Law. And then, *Titius* lost all Hopes of Success, and at the same Time, all Credit, among the People. As soon as he was out of his Office, they shewed him no manner of Regard. He was accused before the *Tribunal* of the *Roman Knights*, of having kept in his House the Picture of the seditious *Apuleius*; and being convicted of numberless Bestialities, was condemned to be banished. The only Memorial he left behind him at *Rome*, was a Dance, which, being a fine Dancer, he had invented, and called after his own Name. Thus *Antonius* by degrees purged the City of the Remains of the Faction which *Marius* had raised. It was literally true of this wise *Consul*, That in his Hands Eloquence was more powerful than Arms; and That, by his Discourses, and Authority, he got the better of a Conqueror, and a triumphant Victor. Tho' *Marius* was out of Office, he still endeavoured to keep up his Authority over the People, by some of the *Tribunes* who were his Agents. But *Antonius* made Head against him; and prevented all the Troubles which he would have raised. It was likewise, at the Instigation of this *Consul*, that *P. Furius*, who in his *Tribuneship* the last Year had so violently opposed the recalling of *Metellus*, and so haughtily rejected the Supplications of his Son, was now in his turn accused before the People. *C. Canuleius*, his Accuser, charged him with so many Crimes, and represented to the Assembly the Insults he had offered to young *Metellus*, in so strong a Light, that before he could make his Defence, he was torn in Pieces by the Rabble.

§. XI. Thus were *Marius* and his Cabal disappointed. And as this was the finest Opportunity that had offered for recalling *Metellus Numidicus*, and disannulling the Decree of his Banishment; all the *Cæcilian* Family, of which the *Metelli* were a Branch, interested themselves in the Cause of their Relation. The Exile's Son shed Floods of Tears, fell prostrate at the Feet of the People assembled, and before many particular *Citizens*, as they entered the *Comitium*; and by this affectionate Conduct towards his Father merited the Surname of *Pius*, which he bore all the rest of his Life.

*Plut. in Mario.*

15. The *Tribune Caius Decianus*, mentioned in the foregoing Note, joined with his Collegue *Canuleius*, in restraining the Audaciousness of *Publius Furius*, and in accusing him. But *Decianus* imprudently dropped some Terms of Compassion, with Respect to the tragical Death of the seditious *Apuleius*; and his unseasonable Expressions cost him dear. It was charged upon him as a high Crime to lament the Fate of a Villain, whose Memory was execrable among

the People; and it was in vain for him to declare the Uprightness of his Intentions. The *Comitia* were all against him, and without any further Hearing, they immediately condemned him to be banished. This we find in *Val. Maximus, L. 8. c. 1*; who at the same Time confesses, that *Decianus* was a Man of known Probity, and blameless in his Conduct as a Magistrate.



to his great Honour. *Q. Calidius*, a *Tribune of the People*, had Courage enough to represent to them, the unjust Steps taken, in order to extort from them the Condemnation of an Hero, whose Absence was a great Injury to his Country. All Men were moved at the Recital of the ill Usage that great Man had met with in those Times of Confusion; and when her Eyes were opened, *Rome* acknowledged her Injustice. Nevertheless, *Marius* made new Efforts to prevent the Return of a *Patrician*, who was the Support of the Senate, a Pattern of the old *Roman* Probity, and the Dread of the seditious. So that the Repeal did not pass without Contradiction. Some were afraid of the Consequences of such a Step, and did not care to make a Precedent of recalling an Exile. But at last Equity prevailed. By a second *Plebiscitum*, the former one was disannulled, and the Return of *Metellus* was carried by a Majority of Suffrages.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLIV.  
M. ANTONI-  
US, & A. POST-  
UMIUS ALBI-  
NUS, Consuls.  
Cic. ad Quirit.  
post redit. Et  
De Fimb. L. 5.  
Vell. Pat. L. 2.

Whilst all *Rome* was declaring in his Favour, he was living in Tranquillity in *Asia*. There he made the Loss of his Country sit easy, by the Study of Wisdom; and was, by Reflexion, grown so moderate in his Desires, that he was indifferent whether he returned or not. He was at a publick Show, at <sup>16</sup> *Trallis* in *Lydia*, when he received Advice of what had been done; and the Messenger, when he gave him the Letter, whispered him that it contained joyful News. Nevertheless, the Philosopher received it coldly. He continued his Attention to the Show, without any Change of Countenance, and did not open the Packet, till the *Games* were ended. Thus the wise *Roman* preserved his Gravity, even in this sudden and unexpected Change. The same Constancy which had kept him from Dejection in his Disgrace, guarded him against any extraordinary Exultations, at his Prosperity. His Equanimity was great in both Situations. He returned to *Rome* with the same composure of Mind with which he had left it; and was so ready to have continued still in *Asia*, that he would not himself have taken any Steps towards that Return. A Greatness of Soul which is much extolled by all the Ancients, and which reflected great Dishonour upon his Enemies, and filled *Marius* with dread. At his Return, *Metellus* was received at the Gate of the City, with the Acclamations of all the People. His House was crowded from Morning till Night, with those who came to see and congratulate him. And in short, his Banishment and Return, as one of the Ancients has observed, did him more Honour, than he could have received from the most glorious Victory, or the most pompous *Triumph*. *Marius* burned with Jealousy at it, and condemned himself to a voluntary Banishment, to avoid the Mortification of seeing a triumphant Enemy. He left *Rome* under Pretence of having made a Vow, during the War with the *Cimbri*, to go, and pay his Homage to *The Mother of the Gods*, in her Temple at *Pessinuntus*, in *Asia*. But the Sequel will shew that he had other Designs in View.

Cicer. Orat.  
post redit.

§. XII. Immediately after his Return to *Rome*, the great *Metellus* had a sensible Proof of the Regard the Republick had for him; for upon his presenting to the assembled *Tribes*, a Relation of his own Name, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the Son of that *Metellus*, who from having subdued the *Baleares* Islands, was called *Balearicus*, the People very readily chose him *Consul*. The Collegue given him was *T. Didius*, who had signalized himself in his *Prætorship* by the Defeat of the *Scordisci*, and a *Triumph*; though he had not been able to obtain the *Consulate* for 14 Years. Such was then the Prevalence of Faction! But the Spirit of Equity seemed to be returned to *Rome* with *Metellus Numidicus*; and the *Consuls* concurred in making two Laws before they drew Lots for their Province, which wholly tended to promote Justice, and the publick Peace. The first, revived an old Custom, which the late *Tribunes* had caused to be neglected, by their Intrigues; which was, That any Edict which was designed to be passed, should be proclaimed to the People, three successive Market-days, before the Time of passing it. By this means the Publick were informed of the Nature of the Thing proposed, and were not forced to come into any sudden Resolutions, before they knew the Thing for which they voted. And by the second Law, the seditious *Tribunes* were deprived of another Artifice, they took to get many Things passed which were prejudicial to the Publick; which was, to blend together in the same Edict several Articles, some of which were advantageous to the Publick, and others calculated only to promote the Interest of their Faction. The *Consuls* got it enacted, That for the future, the People should have a Right to separate the different Articles, and reject or accept such only, as

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLV.  
P. CÆCILIVS  
METELLVS,  
& T. DIDIVS,  
Consuls.

<sup>16</sup> The ancient Geographers place the City of *Trallis* in *Lydia*, between the Rivers *Caister* and *Mander*. See Vol. 4. p. 218. Note 47.



Year of they disliked, or approved: And these Beginnings greatly raised the Expectations of ROME the People, from the wise Administration of *Metellus* and *Didius*.

DCIV. In the mean time, *Marius* was not gone on his pretended Pilgrimage to *Pessinuntus*. Before his Departure, he was chosen one of the Judges, in the Cause brought on against P. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, & T. DIDIVS, that *Manius Aquilius*, who had subdued the revolted Slaves in *Sicily*. The Crime laid to his Charge, by *Fufius Calenus*, his Accuser, was but too justly founded. *Aquilius* had turned his Victory to his own private Interest, and had compleated the Ruin of *Sicily*, by his Oppressions. He had been *Marius's* Collegue in his fifth *Consulate*, but was a *Patrician*, and of a Family in a different Interest. *Marius* therefore did not incline to favour him; but his Credit was not the same as formerly. Besides, *Aquilius* had chosen the famous Orator *M. Antonius*, the late *Consul*, to defend him; and this great Man, knowing that the Rapines of his Client were notorious, did not attempt to defend him by an Appeal to the Understanding of his Judges, but applied himself to their Passions, in so effectual a manner, that he drew Tears from *Marius* himself. *Aquilius* had, out of mere Pride, affected not to change his Habit, or let his Beard grow, or shew any Mark of Fear; and the Orator brought him before his Judges, in his usual Dress, and addressed himself to him in this manner. *At least, Aquilius, vouchsafe to supplicate your Judges! It does not misbecome the bravest of Men to humble himself before the Gods. Alas! he is silent and unmoved! A Warriour, accustomed to make himself obeyed, knows not how to implore. Shall then this martial Spirit help to condemn him? Oh that he had been a little more afraid of Danger! But he knows not what Fear is. The View of immediate Death could not extort one Sigh from him. He can more easily spill his Blood, than drop a Tear. Be not therefore surprized Romans, either at his Steadiness, or his Silence. And since he will not speak for himself, let his Wounds speak for him.* Which said, *Antonius* tore off the Tunic the grave Roman had on, and shewing the Assembly the Scars of the Wounds with which his Body was covered, added; *Judge ye, Romans, whether it be for the Interest of the Republick, to deprive her self of such Citizens, as have been the Defence and the Support of their Country.* And this Sight, and these Words in effect made the Decree. *Aquilius* was acquitted, and *Marius* immediately set out for *Asia*.

§. XIII. Then the *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces. The Government of Italy and the City of *Rome* fell to *Metellus*; and *Didius* set out for *Spain*, where new Troubles had been raised. After the *Cimbri* had put a stop to their Ravages in *Celtiberia*, *Rome* had been too negligent in sending Troops and Generals thither, to keep it in subjection. The People of *Spain*, who were naturally mutinous, as soon as they found themselves strongest, had revolted; and the Affair was now come to be of such Importance, that it was necessary to send a *Consular Army* thither. *Didius* commanded it, and carried with him *Sertorius*, a young Roman Citizen, a Native of *Nursia*, in the Country of the *Sabines*. His first Exploits in the War with the *Cimbri*, in the *Consulate* of *Cæpio*, had made him resolve to leave the Bar, where he had first appeared with some Success; and he now devoted himself wholly to Arms. But as he was not a Man of Family, he could advance but gradually to the Generalship; and tho' he had already given many Proofs of his Valour, he attended *Didius* into *Spain*, only as a Subaltern, in Quality of *Legionary Tribune*, with the Command of 1000 Foot. However, the Success of the first Battle the *Consul* fought in *Hither Spain*, was probably owing to him; and as he afterwards, greatly increased his Reputation under *Didius*, who continued in *Celtiberia* several Years, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, we will give the Reader a View of the Exploits of both together, lest we should lose sight of them, by relating them in Parts, under the different Times when they were performed.

*Sertorius* led his Men into Winter-Quarters to <sup>17</sup> *Castulo*, a City of the <sup>18</sup> *Oretani*; and being very young, had not Authority enough to keep them to strict Discipline. They gave themselves up to Debauchery, and became both odious and contemptible to the *Castulonians*. They entered into a Conspiracy with the <sup>19</sup> *Gyrifoeni*, their Neighbours, to extirpate this Body of Roman Troops which was now become insupportable; and the *Gyrifoeni* entered *Castulo* by Night, through a Gate which was opened for

<sup>17</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 238. Note 57.

<sup>18</sup> The *Oretani* inhabited a Part of those two Cantons of *New Castille*, one of which is called *La Manche*, and the other *Sierra*. See the preceding Volumes.

<sup>19</sup> The Territory of the *Gyrifoeni*, is made by *Mariana* and *Ambrose Novales* the same with that of *Jalén*.



them, and cut in pieces all the *Romans* they found asleep. However, *Sertorius* escaped with as many of his Men as he could get together, rallied them, and after he had marched round the Town, returned into it through the Gate left open for the *Gyrifænni*, made himself Master of it, and put all he could find to the Sword, whether Inhabitants or Strangers. Nor did this content him. He ordered his *Romans* to put on the Cloaths of the *Gyrifænni* and *Castulones*, that were slain in the Battle, and marched them directly to *Gyrifænnium*. In this Disguise, the *Gyrifænni* took them for their Countrymen and Neighbours, and they entered the City amidst the Acclamations of the People. But the Scene was soon changed. The *Romans* made themselves known by their Blows. Such of the unfortunate Burghers as resisted them were killed upon the Spot. The rest who surrendered at Discretion, were sold to the best Bidder, and reduced to Slavery. And from this first piece of Conduct, it was readily concluded, that *Sertorius* would soon become one of the greatest Generals in his Republick.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLV.  
P. CÆCILIUS  
METELLUS,  
& T. DIDIUS,  
Consuls.

After some time, *Didius*, assisted by the Advice of this brave Tribune, forced the *Spanish* Rebels to be quiet. After he had slain above 20000 <sup>20</sup> *Vaccæi* in a pitched Battle, he obliged the Inhabitants of <sup>21</sup> *Termantia* to quit their City which he razed, and settle in the Plain, in a great Village without Walls or Fortifications. From thence he went to the City of <sup>22</sup> *Colenda*, a strong Place, which stood a Siege of near nine Months; and at last, when he had forced the Inhabitants to surrender, he reduced them to Slavery. By these Conquests the Peace was far advanced; but *Didius* made an ill Use of his Victory. There was near *Colenda*, a Colony of *Spaniards*, which one of the *Roman* Generals had settled there five Years before, and assigned them Lands to cultivate. They had been obliged to change their first Habitations, in order to prevent the Robberies they committed in all Parts of *Spain* without distinction; and *Didius* now suspecting them of ill Designs, this was Motive enough for him utterly to destroy them. He made them quit the Lands they were possessed of, and promised them those of *Colenda* which he had just conquered; and the poor People, depending on the General's Promises, came with their Wives and Children to the *Roman* Camp. But the *Romans*, under Pretence of accommodating them the better, brought them within their Entrenchments which the *Legionaries* left; then divided them into Companies, the Men by themselves, and the Women on one side, and the Children on the other; and then by *Didius's* Orders fell upon them, and put them all to the Sword. Not one escaped, because they were all shut in. A detestable Artifice, and a most horrible Cruelty! But nevertheless it was approved of at *Rome*. So small were the Remains now left, of her ancient Probity!

App. in Iberie.  
Strabo L. 3.

This Massacre exasperated the *Celtiberians*, and the War was renewed. Rage inspired the Rebels with new Courage. They fought a Battle like Men desperate, till Night separated the two Armies; and made the Loss of the *Romans* equal to their own. So that not to have suffered more in an Action than the *Romans*, was a kind of Victory for them; and had they been sensible of this Equality, it would have encouraged them to continue the Rebellion. But *Didius* made use of a Stratagem to make them believe that they had been worsted. He ordered most of the Bodies of the *Romans* that had been slain, to be carried off from the Field of Battle in the Night; and when the *Spaniards* came early the next Morning to bury their Dead, they were greatly terrified at seeing so many *Celtiberians* slain, and so few *Romans*. This Terrour discouraged them, and they submitted to *Didius* upon his own Terms. Thus partly by Force, and partly by Artifice, the *Roman* General settled *Hither Spain* in Peace; and returned to *Rome* to triumph, five Years after his Consulship. It appears likewise, that *Cornelius Dolabella*, gained sufficient Advantages in *Further Spain*, to deserve a *Triumph*; tho' the Historians have not given us a particular Account of his Exploits. We find his Name in the *Triumphal* Tables, under this present Year.

Frontin. Strat.  
L. 5. c. 11.

<sup>20</sup> A Part of the Kingdom of *Leon*, and of Old *Castile* belonged to the *Vaccæi*; whom we have already mentioned, in the preceding Volumes.

<sup>21</sup> According to the Conjecture of *Morales*, *Termantia* formerly stood near the River *Duero*, in the Country of the *Arevacæ*, not far from the Place where *Notre Dame de Tiermes* now stands: Which is in the

Neighbourhood of *Osma*. These People took their Name from the little City of *Arevæ*, which the Natives now call *Arjange*.

<sup>22</sup> As far as we can judge by *Didius's* Expedition, *Colenda* could not be far from *Termantia*; but its Situation is not known by the Geographers.



Year of §. XIV. Whilst one of the *Consuls* was thus acquiring Fame by his Victories abroad, *R O M E* the other was maintaining Peace at Home. The Presence of *Metellus* and the Absence of *DCLV.* *Marius*, equally contributed to promote Tranquillity. Seditious Harangues made to the People, were no longer suffered to escape with Impunity. *C. Plautius Decianus*, a *P. CÆCILIVS* *Prætor*, who otherwise acted peaceably, and whose Probity was untainted, having in a publick Speech, dropped some Expressions in favour of *Apuleius Saturninus*, the furious *& T. DIDIVS* *Tribune* who had been killed; he was accused of Treason, and condemned to be banished. The *Tribunes of the People* themselves, durst no longer propose seditious Laws, in order to gain the Good-will of the Populace. Indeed one of them, named *Plautius Sylvanus*, brought before the People the Affair so often agitated, about the Distribution of Lands; but with such Moderation, that it gave Offence to nobody. He only desired, That either the Rich should be paid out of the publick Treasury, for the Lands taken from them in order to be given to the poor *Citizens*, or, That Lands should be bought elsewhere for those that were indigent, and the Purchase of them be paid out of the Tributes of the Provinces. This was a Method of Accommodation, which tended towards healing all Breaches.

Another *Tribune of the People*, named *Marcus Duronius*, used more Freedom in his Speeches, but said nothing that could endanger the Peace of the Publick. He loved Feasting and Mirth<sup>23</sup>; and was therefore surnamed *Nepos*, that is, *The Prodigal*, or *The Squanderer*. And as he thought it would be making his Court to the People, at least the Men of Pleasure who promoted him, as well as taking off Restraints from himself, if he could get the Law disannulled, which forbad expensive Entertainments; he made an uncommon Speech in the *Comitium*, with the Sprightliness and Pleasantry of a free Liver. *I leave it to the Tribunes, my Colleagues*, said he, *to take care to correct the Abuses of the Government, and enquire into the Causes, of our intestine Divisions, and foreign Wars; and for my own part, I turn my Thoughts on what more nearly concerns me, my self. I confess, I am more concerned for the Happiness of Particulars, than for the Interest of the Publick; and therefore think we have had some strange Laws introduced amongst us! Our Reformers have extended their Censures even to our Tables. Rome has always pretended to abhor Tyrants; and yet these rigid Legislators have made the most violent Encroachments on the publick Liberty! They have usurped a Dominion even over our Palates; and would make us temperate, in spite of our selves. What signifies it to the Publick, whether the Wine we drink be exquisite, and our Meats far fetched, or not? Are not we Masters of our own Estates? By what Right then have they pretended to regulate our Expences? If a Man has a Mind to kill himself with good eating, Let him. Every Roman is born free.* This was a new Way of talking, and it diverted the Assembly; but wise Men were offended at it: And as soon as *Duronius's* *Tribunate* was expired, the *Censors* branded him with Infamy, and struck him out of the Number of the Senators. As for the Law which regulated the Expence of Entertainments, it continued in Force; tho' through the Licentiousness of the Times, the non-observance of it was connived at.

§. XV. However, the Dissoluteness of the People of *Rome* was not universal. There were still some Magistrates of Integrity left, who were Patterns for the vicious, and to whose Virtue the Republick was indebted, for being able to subsist so long, in the midst of Storms. About this time, *Q. Mucius Scævola* set out for *Asia*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, resolving to put an End to the Disorders among the *Romans*, that were transplanted into this rich and delicious Country. To this end, he took with him *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a Man of ancient Probity, for his Advice; and the Condition in which he found his

<sup>23</sup> For near a Century, the Luxury of the *Romans* had got Ground of the old severe Laws. In the Time of *Duronius*, one *Sergius*, who had the two Surnames of *Silus*, and *Orata*, had surprized the *Romans*, with the Magnificence of one of his Country-Houses near *Baiæ*, where Art seemed to triumph over Nature. He had let the Sea into several very large Basons, through Mountains; had turned the Course of Rivers to supply his Fish-Ponds; and had adorned his Seat with stately Baths, and spacious Portico's, and Gardens finely watered by several Canals. One *Lucius Confidius* charged him with this Profuseness and Delicacy as a great Crime; *Lucius Crassus* accused him,

and said merrily, That tho' *Orata* had not the *Lake Lucrinus* at his House, he could find Oysters at the top of it: Alluding to the excessive Expences he had been at, in raising the Sea-Water to a considerable height. Nevertheless, *Cicero* says, *De Offic. L. 3.* and *De Orat. L. 1.* That *Lucius Crassus* had a Friendship with this Man, who was so famous for his Prodigality. Whilst *Pliny*, on the other hand, represents *Sergius* as a covetous Wretch, who by a base kind of Traffick bought old Houses at a low Price, slightly fitted them up to deceive the Eye, and then sold them again for double what they had cost him.



Province, struck him with Horrour. The *Roman Knights* had corrupted it by the Year of  
Diffoluteness of their Manners, and ruined it by their Exactions. This second Order *ROME*  
of Men in the Republick, were in high Credit at *Rome*, and very powerful in the Pro- *DCLV:*  
vinces. Justice was administred by them in the Capital; and all the Finances of the *P. CÆCILIUS*  
Republick were raised and managed by them throughout the whole *Roman State*. *METELLUS,*  
Hence the Impunity of the *Publicans*, who were supported by Men of their own Body, *& T. DIDIVS,*  
to which the Judgment of all Causes was assigned; infomuch, that no *Pro-Consul*, or *Consuls.*  
*Prætor*, or Deputy of the Republick, had hitherto dared to suppress this Licentious-  
ness, and oppose the Usurpation of so formidable a Body. But *Scævola* undertook it,  
and succeeded. In the first Place, he declined the Succours his Predecessors had drawn  
from the Nations subject to their Government; and neither required the usual Guards or  
Officers to attend him, nor the usual Sums for the Support of his Household. On the  
contrary, he bore all his own Expences, which he managed with exceeding great Fru-  
gality; and administred Justice with great Impartiality. All the *Knights* whom he  
found guilty of any Misdemeanours, were punished with Severity; and as he required  
the Receivers of the publick Money, to perform all the Contracts they had with the  
People of their respective Provinces, he took Care to see his Orders executed with Ri-  
gour. He appointed Men of Integrity and well versed in Money-Affairs to be the Judges,  
to examine the Books of the Accomptants: He crucified a Slave, who was the Agent of  
an oppressive *Publican*, for having been an Accomplice in his Master's Knavery. Had  
the *Pro-Consul* delayed Sentence but a little while, the Slave would have been enfranchi-  
sed, and thereby escaped Punishment; and therefore he hastened his Execution, for  
Example sake. In short, nothing was now more common than to see *Roman Knights*  
carried to Prison, upon the Accusations of the *Asiaticks*. *Scævola* did them strict Ju-  
stice, and thereby reformed his Province, in less than nine Months; and at his Depar-  
ture, *Asia* instituted a Festival to his Glory, under the Name of *Mucia*, which did him  
more Honour than a *Triumph*.

And now, many of the Governours of Provinces followed the Example of *Mucius* *Cic. in Verr.*  
*Scævola*; and the Senate strongly recommended it to the *Consuls* and *Prætors*, to do *Action. 7.*  
so. Among others, *L. Domitius* did himself the Honour to imitate him, in his Pro-  
vince of *Sicily*, which he found in great Confusion. The Rapines of the *Publicans*  
there, had caused an Insurrection among the Slaves, and the War had caused new Dis-  
orders. But *Domitius* put a stop to these Evils, with a Steadiness equal to that of *Scæ-*  
*vola*. After he had associated with him all the *Romans* of Reputation and Honour that  
he found there, he assumed to himself alone the Guardianship of Widows and Orphans,  
and underwent all the Labour and Fatigue of that painful and extensive Charge. At the  
same time, he was very watchful over the Crimes and Misdemeanours that were com-  
mitted in his Island; and made it his first Care to establish Peace. To this End he pub-  
lished a Declaration, forbidding all Slaves to bear Arms, upon Pain of Crucifixion; and  
having been informed, That a Boar which was presented to him, had been killed by a  
Shepherd, who minded Hunting more than the Care of his Flock, he would not suffer  
him to escape unpunished. The *Prætor* saw that the Beast had been wounded with a  
Spear; and thought this sufficient Grounds for having the Slave tried, and hanged on a  
Cross. Thus was the *Roman State* preserved in Tranquillity, both in the City and *Id. in Pison.*  
the Provinces, by a strict Severity. The only War that remained was in *Macedon*  
with the *Thracians*, whose Attacks were easily repulsed by *Caius Sextius Calvinus*, with  
only a *Prætorian Army*.

§. XVI. The succeeding *Consulate* was likewise as peaceable as the preceding. *Cn.* Year of  
*Cornelius Lentulus*, and *P. Licinius Crassus* the new *Consuls*, maintained good Order *ROME*  
and Peace in the Republick; tho' *Marius* was now returned from his Travels in *Asia*, *DCLVI.*  
where he had been using his utmost Endeavours to kindle a War. He lived by Trou- *CN. CORNE-*  
bles; Discord was his Element. He owed his Grandeur wholly to Arms, and could *LIUS LENTU-*  
no longer maintain it, than while he was fighting. For this Reason, he had en- *LUS, & P. LI-*  
deavoured to provoke the King of *Pontus*, who received him with all the Honour due *CINIUS CRAS-*  
to his Reputation; He caressed him in the most obliging manner, and laboured *SUS, Consuls.*  
to gain over to his Interest a Man of so much Weight in his Republick. But he  
could draw nothing from him but insolent Treatment, and Marks of Contempt. The

<sup>24</sup> *Diodorus Siculus* ascribes to one *Publius Asellio*, *mitius Enobarbus*; but the two latter seem to be the  
what *Cicero* and *Valerius Maximus* say of *Lucius Do-* best Authority.



Year of ROME DCLVI. *CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, & P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, Consuls. Plut. in Mario.* proud Roman was very haughty in all his Deportment to a young, brave, and powerful King; in order thereby to provoke him to take up Arms, that he might afterwards overcome him, and enrich himself with the Spoils of his Dominions. One Day, he addressed himself to *Mithridates* with a very fierce Tone of Voice, in these shocking Terms. *Prince, there is no Medium. You must either be subject to the Will of Rome, or maintain a War with her.* And it was these Expressions and this Behaviour, that first alienated the King's Heart, and afterwards made him an irreconcilable Enemy to Rome. Indeed he did not think this a proper Time to declare his Resentments; and he therefore suffered *Marius* to depart. But he judged of all the Romans, by this fierce General, whose Exploits were celebrated even to the Banks of the *Euxine* Sea. As soon as he returned to the Capital, *Marius* built him an House in the *Forum*; that he might have the Pleasure of a larger Court there, than he had had in a more distant Part of the Town: but he found that his rough Behaviour kept People from him, wherever he lodged. Besides, the Regards the People had for him were much abated; as appeared at the ensuing Election of *Censors*.

He seemed to want nothing to compleat his Glory, but to have been thought worthy of the *Censorship*. This important Post was the last to which great Men were advanced, after they had enjoyed *Consulships*, and *Triumphs*. But scarce any body was ever promoted to it, except *Citizens* of a perfect Character, and esteemed both for their Probity, and their Attachment to the publick Good: Whereas *Marius* could pretend only to military Services, and the Publick were tired with seeing him continually at the Head of Factions. Nevertheless, he was long in suspense, whether he should appear as a Candidate; and at last, the little Inclination the People shewed for him, determined him. For fear of a Refusal, he chose to desist, and pretended to despise an Employment, which he thought he could not obtain. Every Censor, said he, is a Bugbear to the Publick; and I had rather gain the Love of the People than be their Reformer. Upon this, the Persons chosen were *L. Valerius Flaccus*, and the famous Orator, *M. Antonius*, who was as commendable for his Wisdom as his Eloquence; and they, as has been observed, would not suffer the *Tribune Duronius* to escape; but degraded him from the Rank of a Senator, for his Attempt to repeal the Law, that regulated the Expence of Entertainments. On the other hand, *Duronius* cited the *Censor Antonius* to appear before the People, upon an Accusation of having unlawfully canvassed for Offices; and his Enemies already said, that he would be obliged for the future, not to meddle with any body's Business but his own. But they were mistaken. The Accusation was adjudged groundless, and the accused *Censor* continued in his Office with his Colleague. They joined in making a new *Census* of the People, but we know not what the Number of the *Citizens* then appeared to be; and they concluded their *Censorship*, with a *Lustrum*, which is reckoned to have been the sixty fifth.

Year of ROME DCLVII. *CN. DOMITIUS AHENOBARBUS, & C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Consuls.* §. XVII. Under the new *Consuls*, the Tranquillity of the preceding Years was continued at Rome, and in the Provinces. *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *C. Cassius Longinus*, were chosen in *The Field of Mars*, rather to govern the Republick as chief Magistrates, than to defend or enlarge it, by Feats of Arms. By its ancient and late Conquests, it was now become very powerful, in all the three Parts of the known World. In *Europe*, from *Gallia Narbonensis*, *Provence*, and *Spain*, to the *Thracian Bosphorus*, all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* acknowledged her Dominion. In *Asia*, the Kingdom of *Pergamus* was subject to her, and all the rest of the Nations trembled at her Orders. And in *Africa*, the Conquest of the *Carthaginian State* and *Numidia*, had extended her Power from the *Numidian Gulph*, to *Cyrenaica*, which was the next Kingdom to *Egypt*, and at present a free State. It had long been Part of the Do-

25 Cicero observes, *De Orat. L. 2*, That *Marcus Antonius* adorned the *Rostra*, or *Tribune of Harangues*, with the richest Spoils the Roman Generals had brought from their Conquests.

26 This *Cneius Domitius* was the Son of him, who was raised to the *Consulate*, and honoured with a *Triumph*, after he had conquered the *Allobroges* and *Arverni*. *Cicero* says, That he had a popular Way of speaking in publick, and that tho' his Style was familiar, yet his Diction was pure: And adds, That he had as much Merit as was necessary to fill the highest Magistracies with Honour.

27 Caius Cassius was the Son of the famous *Lucius Cassius*, who was the Author of the Law about voting by *Tablets*, of which we have before given an Account.

28 The *Numidian Gulph* which *Mela* calls *Latus*, reaches along the western Coast of *Numidia*, as far as to the Mouth of the *Ampsaga*. Some now call it *The Gulph of Stora*, others *The Gulph of Colle*.

29 See our Account of *Cyrenaica*, which *Marmal* says is now the Province of *Mezrate*, in the State of *Tripoli*, Vol. 4.



minions of the *Egyptian* Kings; but *Ptolomy Philometor* had dismembered it from the Crown, to give it to his Brother *Physcon*, who afterwards succeeded him in all his Dominions. *Physcon*, after a Reign of 28 Years, left the Kingdom of *Egypt*, at his Death, to one of his two Sons *Ptolomy Lathurus* and *Alexander*, at the Choice of their Mother *Cleopatra*; and gave *Cyrenaica*, by Will, to *Ptolomy-Apion*, one of his natural Children, whom he had by a Concubine, named *Irene*.

*Apion* maintained Peace in his Territories, during all the Troubles that disturbed *Egypt* and *Syria*; and at length, after a Reign of 21 Years, in mere Compassion to his Subjects, and in order to secure them from the Miseries of the *Egyptian* Government, devised his Kingdom by Will, to the *Romans*. So that *Cyrenaica*, which among other Provinces, comprehended <sup>2</sup> *Pentapolis*, was thereby so far made Subject to the

Year of  
ROME  
DCLVII.

CN. DOMITI-  
US AHENO-  
BARBUS, & C.  
CASSIUS LON-  
GINUS, Con-  
suls.

*Justin*, L. 39.  
c. 5.

*Romans*,

<sup>30</sup> The ancient Chronologists, particularly *Eusebius of Cæsarea*, *St. Epiphanius*, *St. Jerome*, *Clemens of Alexandria*, *Beda*, and after them the Moderns, all agree, That *Ptolomy* surnamed *Euergetes* and *Physcon*, governed *Egypt* at least 28 Years. So that the last Year of his Reign coincides with the 636th Year of *Rome*, the 195th Year of the Empire of the *Greeks*, and the 4th Year of the 165th *Olympiad*. He was about 67, when he died; and was 4 or 5 Years Old, at the Death of his Father *Ptolomy Epiphanes*. His Brother *Ptolomy Philometor* reigned 34 Years. To which if we add the 28 Years Reign which the *Roman* Historians give him, he will be found to have been about 67.

<sup>31</sup> *Ptolomy Physcon*, as we have elsewhere observed, had divorced his Sister and Wife *Cleopatra*, in order to take for his second Wife his Niece, who was of the same Name. By this second Wife he had two Sons, *Ptolomy* and *Alexander*, and three Daughters, *Tryphena*, *Cleopatra*, and *Selena*. The Crown belonged, by Right of Inheritance, to the eldest Prince; but *Physcon*, either from an ill-judged Policy, or from an excessive Condescension to his Wife, gave her by his Will the absolute Disposal of the Throne. She, having the two Princes in her Power, excluded the eldest to whom she bore a mortal Hatred, and who was then, as it were, banished into the Island of *Cyprus*, and gave it to the Younger; and upon this unjust Preference, the People of *Alexandria* took up Arms, and forced the Queen Mother to give the Crown to *Ptolomy*. But the imperious Dame would not promise to give the Crown to the presumptive Heir, unless upon this Condition, That he should divorce *Cleopatra*, who was his Sister as well as Wife; and as he could not purchase the Kingdom at any other Price, he was forced to submit to the Caprice of an haughty Mother-in-Law, whose Fury he dreaded. Under this cruel Necessity, he durst not refuse marrying his youngest Sister, but complied; whilst his first Wife, highly exasperated at the Indignity put upon her, went from *Cyprus* into *Syria*, and there married young *Antiochus*. At the same time the too blind Obedience of the Son, did not at all soften the Mother's Heart, who still grieved to see him possess a Throne which she designed for his younger Brother; and at length, being able to dissemble no longer, she found Means by base Artifices, to gain over the People of *Alexandria* to *Alexander's* Interests. Then *Ptolomy*, being abandoned by his Subjects, was forced to save his Life, on board a Ship; and his Wife *Selena*, by whom he had now had two Sons, durst not accompany him in his Flight, for fear of displeasing *Cleopatra*.

The fugitive King landed in *Cyprus*, and was there waiting for an Opportunity to reascend the Throne of *Egypt*, when some Troops arrived from *Alexandria*, and forced him to leave that Retreat. And he was indebted for his Safety to the General of the *Egyptian* Army, who purely in Respect to Majesty, set him at Liberty after he had taken him Prisoner. But it cost the General his Life. *Cleopatra* charged it as a Crime upon him, That he had favoured the escape of a dethroned King, and condemned him for Treason, to be executed by

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the common Hangman. When the Prince had escaped out of the Hands of this cruel Mother, he had gone into *Syria*, hoping to find there a Retreat from his Misfortunes. But *Cleopatra* had raised up against him *Alexander Jannæus* the King of the *Jews*. However, *Ptolomy* did not wait for the Enemy. He marched, at the Head of a numerous Army, consisting of *Cypriots* and Auxiliaries, into *Judæa*, made himself Master of *Azotus*, fought *Jannæus* on the Banks of the *Jordan*, made a terrible Slaughter of the *Jewish* Troops, and struck Terror all over the Country. Nor did the Repentance and Submission of the *Jews* abate his Vengeance. He committed unheard-of Cruelties wherever he came. After this he marched his victorious Army to the Frontiers of *Egypt*; but the Attempts he made to re-enter his Dominions were fruitless. He had nothing more to do, but to return to the Island of *Cyprus*, which his Mother's Troops had abandoned; and there he spent several Years, till the Death of *Alexander*.

This Prince, who was at first too servilely obedient to the imperious *Cleopatra*, acted the base Part of a Slave, under the specious Appearance of a Sovereign. But at last, being tired out with the Indignities he was forced to suffer from this Fury, he stole away privately from *Alexandria*, to taste the Sweets of a Life of Tranquillity, far from the Court. His Flight alarmed the Queen-Mother. She had Reason to fear the utmost Danger from the Enterprizes of *Ptolomy*, and the Revolt of the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, when they should be no longer kept in awe, by the Presence of the Sovereign. And foreseeing the fatal Effects of Anarchy, she tried all Artifices to prevail on her Son to return to *Alexandria*; and he hearkened to the flattering Promises of his Mother. But, finding, upon his Return, that this restless Woman was entering into the most perfidious Plots against him; he, to secure his own Life, did not scruple taking away that of his own Mother. She was assassinated by his Orders, and the Enormity of the Crime led his Subjects into a Revolt. They would no longer obey a Parricide, but drove him out with Ignominy. He led a rambling Life for some Time, in the Island of *Co*, whilst his Brother returned triumphantly into his Dominions, amidst the Acclamations of his People. *Alexander* had no Asylum, but the Island of *Cyprus*, which *Ptolomy* had left, to return into *Egypt*. And he turned his Thoughts that Way. But when he was just ready to land in the Island, he was cruelly murdered, with his Wife and one of his Daughters, by a Traytor named *Choereas*, the Captain of the Ship that carried him. *Ptolomy*, now delivered from a formidable Competitor, governed peaceably after the Death of his Brother, seven Years and a half. He had already reigned ten, before his Banishment, which was about 19 Years. The generality of Chronologists prolong his Reign to the Year of *Rome* 672. To the Surname of *Soter* or Saviour, the Historians add that of *Lathurus*, which is said to have been taken, from his being marked with a Chick-Pea in his Face.

<sup>32</sup> The Cities of *Cyrene*, *Berenice*, *Arfinoe*, *Ptolemais*, and *Apollonia*, gave *Pentapolis* in *Africa* its Name.



Year of *Romans*, that *Egypt* durst not reclaim it; and when *Rome* had taken Possession of this only Part of *Lybia* that she wanted, all the Western and Northern Part of *Africa*, from *Mauritania* to the 33 Frontiers of *Egypt* received Law from her. But the Senate were at first very moderate in the Exercise of their Power over this devised Country. They did not reduce it to the State of a *Province*, under the Government of a *Prætor*, but declared the People a free Nation; and only obliged them to pay a Tribute of 34 *Lafer*, which is better, and in greater Quantities here, than in any other Part of the World. By this Means the five Cities of *Pentapolis*, *Cyrene*, *Berenice*, *Arfinoe*, *Ptolemais*, and *Apollonia*, enjoyed the Privileges of a perfect Freedom, and acknowledged no foreign Dominion. The Republick was content with having considerably lessened the Power of *Egypt*.

CN. DCMITIUS AHENOBARDUS & C. CASSIUS LONGINUS, Consuls.  
Euseb. in Chron.

Epit. Livian.

Year of §. XVIII. Thus *Rome* enjoyed all the Advantages of Prosperity and Plenty, as long as she was governed by pacifick Consuls; and she was so sensible of her Happiness, that without Regard to the many Warriors who appeared for the Consulate, she again gave it to Men who had been brought up in peaceful Employments. *L. Licinius Crassus* 35, the famous

L. LICINIUS CRASSUS, & Q. MUCIUS SCAEVOLA, Consuls.

Name. The first, which was the Capital of the Country, though built in a sandy Plain, was one of the wealthiest Cities in *Africa*. It is mentioned in the 9th Chapter of *Amos*, and the second Book of *Kings*, under the Name, of *Kir*. It is now called *Corene*, and *Cairan*. Near this City was the Fountain *Cyre*, according to the Poet *Callimachus*; and Mount *Cyra*, which *Justin* mentions, and in which the Fountain rose. *Aristippus*, the Founder of the Sect of the *Cyrenaicks*, *Eratosthenes* the Geographer, and *Carneades* the Philosopher, did great Honour to this City, which gave them Birth.

The second of the five Cities took its Name from *Berenice*, the Daughter of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, and Wife of *Ptolomy Euergetes*, the third King of *Egypt*. It is this Queen whom *Conon* the Astronomer has immortalized, by making her Hair one of the Constellations. This City, which stood but a little Way from *The Great Syrtis*, was at first called *Hesperis*, as *Pliny* and *Solinus* observe. There was a fabulous Tradition current, that in its Territory was the Garden of the *Hesperides*, which others have placed in *Magnesia*, a Province of *Macedon*, or in the Isles of *Cape Verd*, or near *The Streights of Gibraltar*. *Berenice*, is now only a miserable Village called *Bernichio* by the Moderns. It was watered by the *Lethon*, or *Lethe*, a famous River, which has furnished the ancient Poets with many Fictions.

*Arfinoe*, another considerable City of *Cyrenaica*, took its Name from the Wife of *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, whom the *Egyptians* equalled to the *Venus* of the Pagans: And, *Callimachus* tells us, that they paid divine Honours to her after her Death. *Ferrarius* gives this City the Name of *Sues*, and the *Saracens* call it *Barraru*.

*Ptolemais* was anciently called *Barca*, according to *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Stephen of Byzantium*. But *Ptolomy* makes it two different Cities. One of the Kings of *Egypt* repaired it, and changed its first Name. It still retains the ancient Name of *Barca*, which it has given to *Marmorica*, which was formerly contained in *Cyrenaica*. The Mariners now call this City *Tolméta*.

*Apollonia* was 170 *Stadia* North of the City of *Cyrene*, on the Shore of the *Mediterranean*. It is now the Place which the late Geographers call *Bonandré*, and *Bondaréa*.

33 That is, to *Catabathmos*; which is a long Valley, the Eastern Part of which borders upon *Egypt*, over-against the Temple dedicated to *Jupiter Hammon*. There ended *Marmorica*, or the Desert of *Barca*. This Province reached from the Province of *Mefraté* and *Cape Rexaltin*, called by *Ptolomy*, the Great *Chersonesus*, to the Territory of *Alexandria*. The best Geographers make it about 168 Miles long from East to West, and 30 broad, from North to

South. It is at present contained within the Kingdom of *Tripoli*.

34 The *Lafer* of *Africa*, which some Moderns by Mistake, think to be *Benjamin*, was a viscous and medicinal Juice, which was drawn by Incision from a Plant which the *Latins* called *Laserpitium*, and the *Greeks* *Σίλαφιον*. It grew in some Pastures in *Cyrenaica*; and the Liquor it produced was, according to *Pliny*, worth its weight in Silver. *Strabo* says, that in his Time, the Species was lost, after the Irruption of some *Nomades* into the Country, who tore up all the Roots of this Shrub. But *Pliny* ascribes the Loss of it, to the Avarice of the publick Farmers, who wasted the *Laserpitium*, by fattening their Cattle with it. Nevertheless, in *Nero's* Time, there was one Bud of it left, which the Natives sent as a Rarity, to the Emperor. *Pliny*, B. 9. c. 3. describes at length the Properties of the *Lafer*, and the Manner of preparing it. Formerly it was of great Use in Medicine, and the *Romans* thought it a sovereign Remedy against several Distempers. But above all, it was thought an excellent Purgative. The Stalks baked under Ashes, and eaten fasting, for forty Days together, purified the Blood, corrected the Humours, and was a great Restorative of the Strength and Constitution. And *Pliny* says, it had the same Effect in Cattle. This alone fattened Sheep and Oxen, according to him; and at the same time, gave their Flesh an exquisite Flavour. To which he adds, That in the Year 660, the Consulate of *Valerius* and *Herennius*, the first Quantity of it that ever came, was brought from *Cyrenaica* to *Rome*, which was 30 Pounds weight; and that, this Simple, or rather Gum, was much admired and sought for by all the Citizens. From that Time it became so valuable a Medicine, that the Care and Sale of it was committed to the *Quæstors*. At least, its certain, that *Julius Cæsar*, in the Beginning of the Civil War, took out of the publick Treasury, which he seized, 1500 Pounds of *Lafer*. Afterwards *Rome* was supplied with *Laserpitium* Plants, from *Persia*, *Syria*, and *Media*, but this had much less Virtue, than that of *Cyrenaica*. But by *Pliny's* Description of this famous Specifick, it is plain, we ought not to confound it, as some Botanists have done, with *Assa Fetida*; which is a close pliant Gum, that smells like Garlick, but is more offensive. But this stinking Drug is not the *Lafer* of the Ancients; and much less the *Benjamin*, a very valuable Sort of Rosin, which is brought from the Kingdom of *Lao*, and several Parts of the *East-Indies*. *Theophrastus*, in his *History*, B. 3. has given us a large Account, of the Properties, and Uses, of the Roots, Leaves, and Stalks, of *Laserpitium*, and of the Form of its Parts; and *Pliny* seems to have taken from this ancient Botanist, the Account which he has given us, in his 19th Book.

35 This is that *Lucius Licinius Crassus*, who is highly



mous Orator, and *Q. Mucius Scævola* <sup>36</sup>, a Civilian, of great Reputation, were preferred Year of  
to their Competitors; and War seemed to be banished from the Roman State, for *ROME*  
a long Season. *Spain* only, which was ever rebelling, still kept up some Sort of Inde- *DCLVIII.*  
pendence against the Arms of *Didius*, whose Exploits have been already related. But *L. LICINIUS*  
as strange as it may appear, even the pacifick *Licinius Crassus* and *Q. Scævola*, sowed *CRASSUS, &*  
the Seeds of one of the most cruel Wars that had ever broke out in the Neighbour- *Q. MUCIUS*  
hood of *Rome*. In the midst of Tranquillity and Concord itself, those Sparks were *SCÆVOLA,*  
kindled, which put all *Italy* in a Flame. Indeed the *Consuls* had nothing in view, but *Consuls.*  
to correct an Abuse in the Government, by the strictest Rules of Equity; and they  
did not foresee the Consequences of their Reformation, which put the *Colonies, Muni-*  
*cipia*, and at last almost all the *Italian Allies* in a ferment. The Inhabitants of the  
*Provinces* near the Capital, had long had nothing more at Heart than acquiring a Right  
of Voting at the Elections, and of being promoted to the highest Stations; and tho'  
some *Tribunes of the People*, who were excessively fond of Popularity, had at different  
Times, flattered them, with Hopes of being enrolled in the *Tribes* with the *Citizens* of  
*Rome*, yet hitherto, their hopes had been frustrated, and all Proposals of that Kind from  
the *Tribunes* rejected. But nevertheless, some of them had had the Address to get  
themselves enrolled in the *Censors's* List; whilst others had actually taken Lodgings at  
*Rome*, and usurped the Right of Suffrage; and the *Consuls* thought these Abuses called *Pædian. ad*  
for a Reformation. By the Help of these Intruders, some seditious *Tribunes of the Peo-* *Orat. pro C.*  
*ple* had sown Discord among the real *Citizens*; and it was indeed but just, to send *Cornelio.*  
these Strangers home to their own Countries. *Cic. in Orat.*  
*pro Balbo.*

To this End therefore, *Marcus* and *Licinius* made a Report to the Senate of the In-  
conveniencies that would arise, from suffering them to be any longer confounded with  
the native *Romans* in the *Comitia*; and no Regard on this Occasion was had to the Ser-  
vices these *Allies* had done the State. Though it was by their means that *Rome* was  
become Mistress of the World; yet *The Conscript Fathers* passed, and the People rati-  
fied, the following Law, which was drawn up by the *Consuls*. *That Informations should*  
*be given against those who pretended to be Roman Citizens, and were not; and That*  
*even those who had been born in Rome, and enjoyed the Rights of Citizens without a*  
*Title to them, should be sent to the Places from whence they originally came.* But not-  
withstanding, that this was very equitable in itself, it created great Uneasiness. The  
People of *Figure* in *Latium*, and elsewhere, thought themselves injured by it; and  
though they did not immediately break out into a Rupture, they harboured great Re-  
sentments in their own Breasts. These, after three Years Time, gave birth to *The*  
*War of the Allies*, of which much will be said hereafter. The Law called *Mucia-*  
*Licina* unhappily produced it; contrary to the Intentions or Inclinations of the two  
Law-givers, who were both wise and pacifick Men.

But all the *Tribunes* were not so moderate as the *Consuls*. *C. Junius Norbanus*  
brought an Accusation before the People against that *Servilius Cæpio*, who had some  
Years ago robbed the Temples of *Toulouse*, and suffered himself to be beaten by the  
*Cimbri*. This was the second Time that unfortunate General was tried, and *Norbanus*  
had no other Reason for reviving the publick Hatred against him, but the Dislike he  
had shewn to the wicked Attempts of the seditious *Apuleius*. However, he was again  
cited to appear before the People; and the *Consul Licinius Crassus*, who, out of a pure *Cicero. in Bru-*  
Regard to Equity, undertook his Defence, exerted all his Eloquence to demonstrate, *to.*  
that it was unjust to punish a Man twice, for the same Fault. All Men of Honour *Val. Max. L.*  
declared in favour of *Cæpio*, and *L. Aurelius Cotta*, and *L. Antistius*, two of the *Tri-*  
*bunes of the People* opposed the Prosecution. But *Norbanus* had formed a Plot against *3. c. 7.*

highly extolled in *Cicero's* Works, and was, for his  
Eloquence, the Wonder of his Age. He was the Son  
of *Publius Licinius Crassus Mucianus*, who was *Con-*  
*sul*, in the Year of *Rome* 622; and had naturally a  
wonderful Facility in learning Languages. The *Greek*  
Tongue in particular, soon became so familiar to him,  
that in several Negotiations, on which he was sent  
by his Republick, he treated with several of the *Greek*  
Nations, without an Interpreter. Nevertheless, his  
Son was endowed by Nature with much greater Ta-  
lents. *Cicero* tells us, That this famous Orator was  
*Questor* in *Asia*, and spent some Time at *Athens*,  
there to learn a Taste for true Eloquence.

<sup>36</sup> This *Quintus Mucius Scævola*, was the Son of  
*Publius Scævola*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, who was  
*Consul*, in the Year of *Rome* 620. After his Death,  
his Son was honoured with the supreme Pontificate.  
A resemblance of Characters, and ties of Blood, had  
united *Quintus* in Friendship, with the Orator *Lici-*  
*nus Crassus*; and Accident, or rather publick Ho-  
nours, strongly cemented it. *Cicero* observes, that  
these two great Men were Collegues, in all the publick  
Offices of the Republick except the *Tribunship* and  
*Censorship*; and the *Roman* Orator, has extolled, in  
several Parts of his Works, the singular Merit, pro-  
found Learning, and great Probity, of *Scævola*.

the



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLVIII.

L. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
Q. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA,  
Consuls.

Cic. Rhetor.  
L. 2. & in  
Personna.  
Val. L. 8. c.  
15.

Pædian. in L.  
2. Rhetor.

the accused. He armed with Stones all the seditious Men of his Party, who drove all *Cæpio's* Friends, out of the *Comitium*; and then, voting in a tumultuous Manner, condemned him a second time to Banishment. However, when *Cæpio* left *Rome*, he had the Comfort to carry with him a faithful Friend, who voluntarily banished himself, in Affection to him. *L. Antistius*, the *Tribune of the People*, who had openly declared for him, accompanied him in his Misfortunes; and thereby shewed, That Friendship in a generous Breast was able to do more, than the Republick, with all her Power, even dared to attempt. It, in effect, condemned to Banishment a *Tribune of the People*, whose Person was inviolable.

§. XIX. By these means the *Consuls* were detained too long in the Capital, after they had drawn Lots for their Provinces, which were the two *Gauls*. *Cisalpine* had fallen to *Crassus*, and *Transalpine* to *Scævola*. But the latter found so little Business in his, that to save the Publick Expence, he brought back his Legions to *Rome*, before his<sup>37</sup> *Consulship* expired. Other Generals would have been pleased to have enjoyed the Advantages of such a Government as long as possible. But *Scævola* was Probity itself. He shewed the same Temperance, Moderation, and Equity in *Gaul*, as he had done in *Asia*; and abdicated his Government and disbanded his Troops, as soon as they were become useless, and consequently an unnecessary Burden on the publick Treasury. Whereas his Colleague, though a Man of great Honour, acted in a different Manner. His Ambition and love of Glory made him a little forget that he was a *Roman Citizen*. Though *Cisalpine Gaul* was as peaceable as *Transalpine*, he sought for Enemies where there were none. He searched into all the Corners of the *Alpes* for People to fight with; and when he found that nobody stirred, was forced to turn his Arms against a Company of Robbers, who were owned by no People, committed Ravages in several Places, often assembled together to pillage without a Leader, and were therefore the more easily defeated. Nevertheless *Crassus* desired a *Triumph*, at his Return. He was rich, in high Esteem, and the Populace inclined to favour him; so that all Things seemed to promise him success. But *Scævola* opposed the Request of his Colleague; and nobody suspected him of being actuated by Jealousy. It was well known that his Heart was not capable of it; and besides, he both loved *Crassus*, and esteemed him. *Rome* therefore ascribed his Opposition entirely to his rigid Regard to Equity, and his Zeal for the publick Welfare. He could not bear to see the Honour of a *Triumph* depreciated, by being thrown away on slight Occasions. But at the same Time, he did Justice to the Merit and Virtue of *Crassus*; lamented his having no Enemies to conquer, except a Company of Robbers; and told him, that he was very sensible he wanted not Valour, but an Opportunity to signalize it. So that the Contest between the two *Consuls* was carried on with great Politeness; and tho' the People were harangued on both sides, the wise Civilian got the better of the eloquent Orator. But if *Crassus* did not obtain a *Triumph*, he at least had the Honour, of having behaved himself unblameably in his Government. He had formerly accused<sup>38</sup> *Papirius Carbo*, who

<sup>37</sup> *Val. Maximus* has observed, L. 8. c. 15. that *Scævola* shewed the same Disinterestedness, when *Prætor* in *Asia*. He did not tarry there till his Office expired; but after nine Months Residence, returned to *Rome*, because he thought his Presence no longer necessary in his Province.

<sup>38</sup> We have observed, Vol. 1. p. 512. Note 18. that the *Papirian* Family was divided into two principal Branches, one of which was of the second Order of *Patricians*, and the other *Plebeian*. Of the former, were *Pontifices*, Chief Sacrificers, called *Kings of the Sacrifices*, *Military Tribunes*, and *Consuls*; such as the *Mugillanus's*, the *Cursor's*, and the *Maso's*. It may even be affirmed, that the Name of *Papirius* was almost as old as *Rome*. In the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*, one *Sextus Papirius* compiled the Royal Laws, and made a Body of Civil Law of them, which was afterwards known by the Name of *The Papirian Code*. Of the second Branch, were the *Turdus's*, the *Patrus's*, and particularly the *Carbo's*, those seditious *Tribunes*, who lighted the Fire of Discord in the Bosom of their Country. *Aulus Gellius* and *Macrobius* mention another *Papirius*, whom they

distinguish by the surname of *Prætextatus*; but they have not told us his Descent, or the Place of his Nativity. They only relate one remarkable Particular of his Infancy, which has transmitted the Memory of him to Posterity.

In the first Ages of *Rome*, the Senators, in order to form their Children early to Politicks, and the Knowledge of Government, brought them to the Senate, before they had arrived at the Age of Puberty. According to this Custom, one of *The Conscrip Fathers* brought with him young *Papirius* his Son, at a Time when Matters of Importance were under Debate. This Child, though very young, was arrived to the Maturity of Manhood; and remarkably shewed his Discretion in the Answer he gave his Mother. She was curious to know the Matter in debate, and pressed him closely to tell her the Secret; but *Papirius* got rid of her Importunity by an ingenious Lye. I cannot resist your Desires, replied he, with an Air of Ingenuity and Assurance, which sometimes makes Men take a merry Fiction for a serious Truth; the Senators were divided about a Point in which you are concerned. The Question was, Whether it would be



who was suspected of having assassinated *The second Africanus* in his Bed ; and the Son of this *Carbo* had followed *Crassus* in his Expedition, in order to watch him, that he might find an Occasion to accuse him, and get him banished, in his Turn. The *Consul* knew that young *Papirius* was a Spy upon him ; but was so far from keeping at a Distance from him, that he admitted him into all his Councils, and made him privy to all his Conduct. In short, he forced his Adversary himself to confess, that he thought it very probable that his Father must have been guilty, since he had been condemned, on the Accusation of *Crassus*. Thus ended a *Consulship* which was more remarkable for the civil Actions displayed in it, than for military Exploits.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLVIII.

L. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
Q. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA,  
Consuls.  
Val. Max.  
L. 3. c. 7.

§. XX. In the choice of *Consuls* for the next Year, the People shewed less Regard to Merit, than to Interest. Four Persons appeared, three of whom were eminent for their good Qualities. One was *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, probably the Brother of that *Domitius Ahenobarbus* who had been *Consul* two Years before, and the People were unanimous for him. The Contest for the second *Consulate* lay between three Men, of very different Characters. The first was to one *C. Fonteius*, a Man of distinguished Birth and Probity. The second was that *L. Cornelius Dolabella* of the *Cornelian* Family, who was not only thus nobly born, but had likewise great personal Merit, and had triumphed, on account of the *Lusitanians*, in his *Prætorship*. And the third was one *C. Cælius*, a new Man, who was surnamed *Caldus*, to shew his Fire and Precipitation in whatever he attempted. He had declared for the *Marian* Faction against the Senate, and thereby made himself agreeable to the People. *Dolabella* foreseeing in time, that *Cælius* would succeed against him, and piqued with a generous Resentment, not only desisted from his present Pursuit, but resolved never to appear again for this Office. At least we don't find his Name in the List of *Consuls* after this Time. But *Fonteius*, stood the Shock of a Refusal ; and had the Mortification to see himself postponed to a contemptible Man, who was his inferiour in Birth, and had no Virtue to put him upon a Level with any of his Competitors 39.

Cic. de Petit.  
Consulatus ; ad  
Marcum Fra-  
trem.

As soon as *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, and *Cælius Caldus* were proclaimed *Consuls*, they drew Lots for their Provinces ; but we know not what those Provinces were. The only Honour they gained in their Year, was that of preserving the Republick even in greater Tranquillity, than that in which they found it. The chief Cause of this universal Concord was, that some of the chief Nobility, the *Sextus's*, *Marcellus's*, *Junius Brutus's*, and in short some of the *Citizens* of the very first Rank, were now admitted into the *College of Tribunes* : And under this wise Administration was carried on the famous Process against *Norbanus*. We have already observed, That this factious *Tribune*, had in a tumultuous Manner stirred up the Populace, to drive the *Protectors* of *Cæpio* out of the *Comitium*, with Stones ; and That *Scaurus*, the *Prince of the Senate*, who was so venerable for his Age and Employments, had unfortunately received a Blow in the Fray. This disrespectful Treatment had exasperated him against the Disturber of the publick Peace ; and he now employ'd a young Orator, of a rising Reputation, to execute his Revenge. *P. Sulpitius Rufus* brought the Accusation against *Norbanus*, for the Sedition he had raised in his *Tribuneship* ; and *Scaurus* appeared as a Witness, and shewed the Wound he had received. So that *Norbanus* was to contend with the formidable Interest of a *Prince of the Senate*, and the Eloquence of an Orator of a rising Character, who wanted an Opportunity to display his Talents ; and

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLIX.

L. DOMITIUS  
AHENOBAR-  
BUS, & C. CÆ-  
LIUS CALDUS,  
Consuls.

be most for the Service of the Publick, to allow every Woman two Husbands, or to give every Man two Wives. This pretended Confidence alarmed the Mother ; she immediately went to several of her Friends, and told the pretended Secret ; and it was soon spread among the *Roman Ladies*. The next Morning, a great Number of them, come in great Haste to the Senate-house, and intreated the Assembly to determine for the Women, rather than their Husbands. The Senators were surprized at a Demand, the Cause of which they could not guess at ; but they were soon informed, that the wise Dissimulation of *Papirius* had caused all this Uproar, and they highly commended him. But at the same Time, they saw the Danger of bringing Children into the Senate ; and by an express Law, they were all for the future excluded, except *Papirius*, whose Prudence deserved to be rewarded. From that Time the Child was called *Præ-*

*textatus*, in Memory of an Event, which shewed the Wisdom of a Child, who was yet in his *Prætexta* ; which, as we have observed, was an Habit which the young *Romans* affected to wear, till they were seventeen Years of Age.

39 Nevertheless it must be confessed, that *Cicero* allows *Cælius* to have some eminent Qualities, and particularly an uncommon Prudence in the Management of Affairs, that were committed to his Care. He gives him this Testimony in his seventh Oration against *Verres*, and his 2d Book *de Oratore*. This was the *Cælius*, who when he was *Tribune of the People* made the Law, which established Voting by Tickets, or *Tablets*, in capital Cases. *Cicero* says, in his Oration for *Plancus*, that the People had refused him the *Quæstorship*, several Years before his *Consulate*.



Year of  
ROME  
DCLIX.

L. LICINIUS  
CRASSUS, &  
Q. MUCIUS  
SCÆVOLA,  
Consuls.

Cic. l. 2. de  
Orat.  
Val. Max. l.  
8. c. 5.

his Condemnation therefore would have been thought certain, if he had not got himself a powerful Advocate, in *M. Antonius*. No Roman equalled this great Man in Eloquence, and the *Censorship* he had just quitted, added new Weight to what he said. And tho' the Cause was odious in it self, since to support the Seditious, was in effect to give a Sanction to Rebellions, yet he could not in Honour, refuse his Assistance to *Norbanus*, who had been his *Quæstor* in his *Consulship*. And then appeared the mighty Power of the Art of Persuasion. Neither the general Prejudices of the People, nor the Notoriety of a publick Fact, nor the Testimony of *Scaurus*, nor the lively and pathetick Harangues of *Sulpicius*, were of any Weight, against the irresistible Force of the Speech which *Antonius* made in defence of the Accused. He represented the least excusable Action that ever was, in so favourable a Light, that the *Knights* his Judges, had room to acquit the Criminal, without Dishonour to themselves. But nevertheless, it must be believed, that they were strongly inclined to favour *Norbanus*, whose only Design in that Tumult had been, to condemn *Cæpio*, who was hated by all the *Roman Knights*. He had endeavoured to take from them the Privilege of judging the Causes of private Persons, and confine it to the Senators; and therefore his Adversary was declared Innocent, tho' notoriously Guilty. A surprizing Effect of the Art of Oratory! Of which it is not easy to say, whether it did most Service or Disservice to the Republick. If we judge of it by the Disturbances it daily raised, especially among the People, it will appear to have been, among the *Romans*, a Weapon, which bad Men made an ill use of, and which the Brave employed to the Honour, and in the Defence of their Country. But be that as it will, the Study of Letters in general, and particularly of Eloquence, was, in these peaceful Times, become more common than ever. And among others, *Hortensius* and *Cicero* were now forming themselves in the Schools; the former, in order to become hereafter, the worthy Successor of *Licinius Crassus*, and *Sulpicius Rufus*; the latter, in order to surpass even *Antonius* himself, and become the greatest Orator of his Age.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLX.

C. VALERI-  
US FLACCUS,  
& M. HE-  
RENNIUS,  
Consuls.  
Cic. in *Bruto*;  
& in *Orat. pro*  
*Muræna*.

Plut. in *Sylla*.

§. XXI. Thus the 40 Year was spent in pacifick Employments; with scarce any publick Contention in it, except in *The Field of Mars*, when new *Consuls* came to be chosen. *L. Marcius Philippus* appeared as a Candidate, and did not doubt of Success, from the Regard due to his Person. He was descended of an illustrious Family, had great Eloquence, and an excellent Capacity for Business. But the Populace often act very capriciously. Instinct, rather than Reason, determines them in their Choice. It often happened at *Rome*, that after an Election was over, they were themselves surpris'd at their having preferred one Candidate to another, which was the Case in the present Instance, when the Republick blindly preferred one *Herennius* <sup>41</sup>, a very worthless Man, to the Exclusion and Disgrace of *Marcius*. *C. Valerius Flaccus* was nominated his Colleague; and thereby two Men of very different Birth and Merit, were equally honoured with the *Consular Fasces*. The *Prætorship* however, was a little better filled. That *Cornelius Sylla*, who had so eminently distinguished himself by his Valour, in the Wars with *Jugurtha* and the *Cimbri*, had of late disappeared. All the Time that *Marius* was Master of the Assemblies, he had chosen to retire, and not stand for any Office. But when he saw the Credit of his Enemy and old Rival diminished, his Ambition revived. He then put on the white Robe, and appeared among the Candidates for the *Curule Dignities*. He had the last Year endeavoured to get the *Prætorship*, without passing first through the inferiour Offices; and the People, notwithstanding his Merit as a Soldier, had refused him that Honour, which he had attempted to obtain irregularly. The Commons, in regard to their own Pleasures, were desirous of seeing him *Ædile*, before he was promoted to an higher Station. They knew that *Bocchus*

<sup>40</sup> In the same Year 659, the *Prætor*, *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, governed the Province in *Asia* which belonged to the *Romans*, with so much Equity and Disinterestedness, that the People instituted Festivals and solemn Games to his Honour, which annually renewed the Remembrance of his *Prætorship*. And in order to make the Institution the more lasting every City paid its Share towards a sufficient Sum of Money, to be laid up as a Fund, to defray the Expence of this annual Solemnity. This Fund was entrusted with the *Trallians*, who afterwards applied it to their own Use. The Son of *Flaccus* coming afterwards to the

*Prætorship* in *Asia*, demanded those Sums which he pretended, belonged of Right to his Father; and actually seized them as his Inheritance. The *Asiaticks*, enrag'd at this Proceeding, which they thought unjust, accused him at *Rome*, of publick Oppressions; and this gave occasion to the Oration which *Cicero* spoke in Defence of young *Valerius*.

<sup>41</sup> According to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, *Marcus Herennius* had no other Merit, but that of being an indifferent Orator, and speaking *Latin* correctly. His Family was *Plebeian*, and divided into two Branches; that of the *Balbus's*, and that of the *Gallus's*.



King of *Mauritania* was his Friend; and imagined, that if he was made *Ædile*, he would entertain them in the *Shows* he would give them, with the Sight of some unknown Animals brought from the furthest Parts of *Africa*. It is well known to what an Excess of Folly, the *Romans* carried their Fondness for the *Shows* of the *Circus*, *Theatre*, and *Arena*. They chose to live in *Rome* upon Bread and Water, rather than lose the Pleasure of seeing the *Shows* there. However, *Sylla's* first Disappointment did not discourage him. He now appeared again for the *Prætorship*, and obtained it. For the present Year, he continued in *Rome*, and presided in the Court of Judicature which fell to his Lot; the next, he went *Prætor* to *Asia*; and the People lost nothing, by the Favour they had shewn him, in excusing him from being *Ædile*. Besides, that he bought their <sup>42</sup> Suffrages dear, he gratified them with a new and splendid Show. *Bocchus* sent him 100 Lions from *Mauritania*, and with them, some of the *Mauritanian* Hunters, who were used to fight them. These Animals had never been seen in *Rome* before, but in Chains; and it was a double Pleasure to the People to see them set loose upon Men armed with Spears, who knew how to avoid their Attacks, and were very expert in striking them. And I know not, whether the Remembrance of this Entertainment, did not afterwards contribute as much towards *Sylla's* Promotion to his *Consulate*, as either his Reputation, or his Exploits.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLX.

C. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS, &  
M. HEREN-  
NIUS, Consuls.  
*Juvenal. Sat.*  
8.

*Cic. L. 1. de*  
*Orat. & in*  
*Topicis.*  
*Quintil. L. 7.*  
c. 7.

*Cic. pro Cæci-*  
*na.*

*T. Manilius*, another of the *Prætors*, who was Judge of the civil Causes between Citizen and Citizen, was to give Judgment in an Affair that was new. There was a Case, which would well bear a Dispute, brought into the Court of the *Centumviri*, in which he presided; which was this. A rich Citizen of *Rome*, who had had no Children, left his Wife, as he thought, big with Child, at his Death; and made his *Will* in writing, in these Words, which were the Subject of the Dispute. *If my Wife shall bear me a Son, and that Son dies before he is out of his tutelage, I appoint M. Curius, his Guardian, my Heir.* But it happened that the Woman was not with Child, and consequently could not bear a Son. Nevertheless, *Curius* claimed the Inheritance; and *Coponius* the nearest Relation of the Deceased, disputed it with him. *Curius* retained the famous Orator *Licinius Crassus*; and *Q. Mucius Scaevola*, the most famous Civilian of his Age, appeared for *Coponius*. The former was a Man of great Eloquence, and had a tolerable Knowledge of the Law; the latter understood the Laws much better, and at the same time spoke agreeably and politely: And the Novelty of the Cause, and the Reputation of the Orators, drew all *Rome* to hear it. *Scaevola* pretended, That, in the Case of *Wills*, the Judges ought to adhere strictly to the Words of the Testator; That the Deceased had not devised the Inheritance to *Curius*, but upon Condition, That his Wife bore him a Son, and that Son died in his Guardianship; and That a Child which had never seen the Light, could not be understood to be dead. On the other hand, *Crassus* contended, That the Judge ought not to judge of a *Will*, so much by the Expressions, which were a fallacious Rule to go by, as by the presumed Intention of the Testator; That, whatever the Words in this Case might imply, it was plain, that the Testator's Design was to devise his Estate to *Curius*, in default of Heirs Male; and That, if the Force of Words only was to be regarded, there was no publick Treaty, or private Contract, that could be sufficiently secured against Chicanery, and evasive Interpretations. In their Pleadings, the Orators enlivened the Subject, which was in appearance so dry, with so much Wit, and ingenious Learning, that it was rather an Entertainment than a Fatigue to the Assembly: And the Judges themselves were divided between the Principles of natural Equity which *Crassus* laid before them, and the strict Rules of Law, on which *Scaevola* insisted. But the *Prætor Manilius*, was in judgment for *Curius* before he collected the Votes, and had the Satisfaction to find his Opinion confirmed by a Majority of the *Centumviri*; so that *Coponius* was disappointed of his Aim.

§. XXII. Eloquence was now in high Esteem at *Rome*, and served to amuse and employ the *Romans* instead of War. Poetry, at least with regard to *Hexameters*, was

<sup>42</sup> It was a Thing notorious at *Rome*, that *Sylla* had gained the Suffrages of the People by his Bounties. *Plutarch* relates on this Occasion, a very smart Reply which *Cæsar* made to the new *Prætor*, who threatened to use the Rights of his Place against him. *Your Place*, answered *Cæsar*, *You say right. You have Reason to call it so, since you bought it with ready Money.* But to prevent Mistakes it ought to be observed, That

this could not be *Julius Cæsar*, who was then but about six Years of Age; it better agrees with the Age and Character of *Cains Julius Cæsar*, who was *Ædile* in the Year 663. His Politeness, and Gayety, his readiness at Repartees, and the Wit with which he enlivened every thing he said, gave him, according to *Cicero*, a great Advantage over others, in common Conversation.



Year of not yet brought to any great degree of Perfection. <sup>43</sup> *Lucretius*, the first Reformer of  
 ROME them was but just born. But the Art of Rhetorick was greatly studied, and the more  
 DCLX. so, because it was one of the surest Steps to great Employments. By this Talent, ma-  
 C. VALERIUS ny raised themselves with little hazard to those Dignities, which formerly were confer-  
 PLACCUS, & red only on the greatest Generals. Every one valued himself on being able to speak in  
 M. HEREN- publick, and occasionally undertook to plead his own Cause; of which we have an In-  
 NIUS, Consuls. stance in P. <sup>44</sup> *Rutilius Rufus*, an old Consul, and a Soldier. He had attended *Scævola*  
 Epit. Liv. into Asia in his Proconsulate, and was thought the Author of his severe Reformation of  
 Oros. L. 5. the Publicans, who were all taken out of the Knights; and purely in Revenge <sup>45</sup> for  
 c. 17. this, he was accused of Oppressions, before this Body <sup>46</sup>, which he had great Reason to  
 Val. Max. L. think formidable. Nevertheless, he neither altered his Dress nor Behaviour, upon his  
 6. c. 4. Citation. He even declined the Offers his Friends <sup>47</sup> *Lucius Crassus* and *M. Antonius* made  
 Velleius L. 2. him,

<sup>43</sup> *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places the Birth of *Titus Lucretius Carus*, one of the most famous ancient Latin Poets, in the 2d Year of the 171st Olympiad; and most Chronologists have followed him in it, supposing that he was born about 12 Years after *Cicero*, in the Consulship of *Lucius Licinius Crassus*, and *Quintus Mucius Scævola* in the Year 658. Several Moderns who have wrote his Life, have affirmed, without Proof, That *Lucretius* was twelve Years older than *Cicero*; and yet, by the most notorious Mistake, have allowed, That he was born in the Consulship of *Crassus* and *Scævola*; and That *Cicero* was born in the Consulship of *Caius Attilius Serranus*, and *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*. And the Miscalculations of a Writer who is otherwise valuable for his Learning, are yet more obvious. He places the Birth of *Lucretius* in the 2d Year of the 175th Olympiad; and makes the Olympick Year which answers to the 674th Year of Rome, to coincide with the 543d. Nor is it less false, that *Lucretius* lived before *Terence* and *Varro*; and yet this Mistake, which is fathered upon *Crinitus*, has been exactly copied by *Charles Stephens*, *Lloyd*, and *Hoffman*, in their Dictionaries. And lastly, an English Author, in his Review of the Works of several Writers, makes this Poet to have been born, in the Year of Rome 620, without quoting any Authority that can justify that Date.

The same *Chronicon* relates it, as certain Fact, That *Lucretius* was subject to Fits of a Phrensy, which *Eusebius* ascribes to a Philter given him by his Wife, or his Mistress *Lucilia*: Adding that he had between whiles some lucid Intervals, which he employed in composing his Poem, *De Natura Rerum*. It was thus, according to *Monsieur de Thou*, that *Tasso* employed himself in making Verses, at those Times, when his Disorders did not take away the free Use of his Reason. To which we shall add with *Eusebius*, That *Lucretius* killed himself in the 44th Year of his Age, and the Year of Rome 701. *Pompey* was then Consul the third Time. It is presumed, that he killed himself, in one of those periodical Fits, which were brought on him by the dark Vapours of a burning Choler. Perhaps, as some conjecture, what drove him to this Excess of Despair, was his Grief at being an Eye-witness of the Misfortunes of his Country, which was a Prey to contending Factions, or his Resolution not to survive the Disgrace of his Friend *Memmius*, whom the prevailing Faction had condemned to Banishment. But be that as it will, *Gassendi* is strangely mistaken in placing his Death in the Year of Rome 644. This Opinion is as absurd, as the Consequence he draws from it; That *Lucretius* was older than the famous *Zeno*, the Epicurean, who had the Honour to have *Cicero* and *Atticus* to be his Auditors. We ought therefore to adhere to *Eusebius's Chronicon*, without any regard to the Opinion of those, who of their own Authority make him to have died at the Age of 36, and 40, and 42 Years. If we may credit *Donatus*, *Virgil* put on the Toga Virilis the Day *Lucretius* died. Which

is an Authority of greater Weight, than that of a Modern, who fixes the Birth of *Virgil* to that Day. At this rate, *Virgil* must have wrote his *Eclogues*, when he was but eight or nine Years old, which is surely, utterly improbable.

It must be allowed, that *Lucretius's* Work, *De Natura Rerum*, is one of the finest Productions of the Learning of the Ancients. He here discloses all the Mystery of the Epicurean Philosophy, which he professed; and has adorned the Atomick Hypothesis, with all the Ornaments of Poetry. *Eusebius* pretends, That *Cicero* retouched the six Books after the Death of the Author. At least he most highly extols him, in one of his Letters to his Brother *Quintus*; and tells him, That he has Reason to esteem a Poem, in which are united the Delicacies of Art, and the finest Strokes of Wit. *Velleius Paterculus*, and *Cornelius Nepos* have given the same Judgment of it. *Ovid* says, it will last as long as the World it self. *Julius Cæsar* calls him an incomparable Poet. But the Applauses of all these great Men, will not justify his impious Maxims with regard to Religion, God, and a Providence. It is well known, that being a Disciple of *Epicurus*, he, like this Philosopher, allowed of no other Governour of the World, but a blind Necessity, or odd Destiny, which sported with all human Grandeur, and the best concerted Schemes. He seems to have nothing in view, throughout his whole Work, but to induce Men to shake off the Yoke of Religion. In this he glories, and by this pretends to make himself Immortal. See our Remarks on the Doctrines of *Epicurus*, Vol. 2. p. 416, Note 24; and p. 450, Note 83.

<sup>44</sup> *P. Rutilius Rufus* had been Consul, in the Year of Rome, 648.

<sup>45</sup> *Marius* was suspected of having stirred up this Trouble to *Publius Rutilius*, whose Virtue he dreaded. *Athenæus* tells us, That *Apicius* was one of his Accusers; a Man famous for the Delicacy of his Table, and wholly given up to the Pleasures of good Eating. And there were afterwards two others of the same Name, who were as famous for their Gluttony, one in the Reign of the Emperor *Tiberius*, the other in that of *Trajan*.

<sup>46</sup> The Enemies of *Rutilius* were not afraid to broach Suggestions of his having been guilty of infamous Crimes. But his Innocency of Life, and the great Reputation for Probity which he had acquired, by a Conduct free from all Reproach, were an unanswerable Proof of the Impudence of these Calumnies. The Reader may judge of the Uprightness of his Heart, and of the Virtue of this great Man, by one single Fact which is related of him by *Valerius Maximus*, B. 6. Upon his refusing to grant an unjust Request of a Friend, who was importunate for it, that Friend said, *Of what Service is your Friendship to me, if you won't vouchsafe to grant me my Request?* To which *Rutilius* replied, *Of what Advantage is yours, if you would force me to do an Act of Injustice?*

<sup>47</sup> According to *Cicero*, two Men of Distinction in



him, of being his Advocates; and in a very plain manner laid before the Court what he had to offer in his Justification. But this was not enough to influence his partial Judges: They condemned him to Banishment. The brave Roman comforted himself with his Innocence, sought for an *Asylum* among the Philosophers at <sup>48</sup> *Smyrna*, and was so well pleased with his Retreat, that he preferred it to the Noise and Tumults of *Rome*, whither the People would have recalled him some Years after <sup>49</sup>.

The next Year drew the *Consuls* out of their Inaction, and gave them some sort of military Employment abroad. *C. Claudius Pulcher*, and *M.<sup>50</sup> Perperna* were elected; and they led Armies to their Provinces, which were *Italy*, and *Cisalpine Gaul*. It being discovered, that some Commotions and Plots were privately hatching in the Cities of the old *Allies* near *Rome*; this made it necessary to keep them in awe. Indeed *Italic Gaul* was in Peace; but it was proper to have a Camp in the farthest Part of *Hetruria*, that the Troops might be in a readiness to march to *Spain*, upon the first Reports of the increase of the Troubles there, which were not quite extinguished. After the Departure of *T. Didius*, *C. Valerius Flaccus* had continued among the *Spaniards*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, and had seen new Insurrections there. The Inhabitants of <sup>51</sup> *Belgida*,

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in the Republick, for their Birth and Abilities, undertook the Defence of the Accused. One was *Caius Cotta*, the Nephew of *Rutilius*, by his Sister; who had already appeared with Credit at the Bar. The other was the famous *Quintus Mucius Scaevola*, one of the most learned Civilians of his Age; who was more interested than any body, in the Justification of his Friend *Rutilius*, whom he had assisted with his Counsels, when he governed *Asia* in Quality of *Pro-Consul*.

<sup>48</sup> Others have said, that the Place of his Banishment was *Mitylene*, now *Metelin*, the Capital of an Island of the same Name which was formerly called the Island of *Lesbos*. But be that as it will, *Quintus Mucius Scaevola* acted the Part of a true Friend, in doing all he could, to furnish him with the Conveniencies of Life, and lessen the Fatigues of a long Voyage. *Rutilius* left *Rome*, to the great Grief of all good Men; and in his Journey, the Cities of *Asia* vied with one another who should attend him most, and conducted him along in a kind of Triumph. When he came to the Place of his Retreat, both People and Monarchs were pressing to do him Honour, and load him with Presents. So that, tho' so far removed from his native Country, he found an abundant Provision for all his Wants, in the Liberality of the *Asiatics*.

<sup>49</sup> The *Roman Annalists* place under this Year 660, the Accusation brought against one *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* for embezzling the publick Money. The famous *Lucius Crassus* one of his Accusers, pressed his Condemnation with such Fury, as made the accused tremble. But says *Valerius Maximus*, B. 8. c. 5, the thundering Charge of the Orator, did but little Execution, and vanished into Smoke. The Judges concluded from the furious Zeal of *Crassus*, that he had not so much the doing Justice in his View, as the gratifying his own Hatred and Revenge; so that the accused triumphed over the most vehement Attacks of Eloquence, and was acquitted.

It is likewise in the same Year, that the *Fasti Capitolini* place the Triumph of *Publius Licinius Crassus*. After his *Consulship* in the Year 656, he had succeeded *Lucius Cornelius Dolabella*, in the Government of *Further Spain*, whilst *Titus Didius* subdued the Rebels in *Hither Spain*. He commanded the *Roman Armies* in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, for three Years. The *Triumphal Tables*, and they only, tell us, That he subdued the *Lusitanians* who had shaken off the *Roman Yoke*. He triumphed on the Eve of *The Ides of June*, that is, the 12th Day of that Month. *Didius* had obtained the same Honour, in consideration of the Victories which he had gained in *Celtiberia*.

If we may give credit to *Strabo*, *Crassus* during his

Command in *Further Spain*, embarked at the Port of *Gades*, and went to see the *Cassiterides* Islands, where the *Phœnicians* had long carried on a considerable Trade. They were so called by the *Greeks*, as *Pliny* observes, because they abounded with Lead and Tin Mines. The only Dispute is about their Situation. *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* say there were ten of them, which they place in the Ocean, over against Cape *Finisterre*, towards the Coasts of *Galicia*. Others have thought that the *Greeks* meant by the *Cassiterides*, the *Sorlingues* Islands near *Great Britain*; and they found their Conjecture, on the Lead and Tin Mines which were there, even in the Time of the Republick. But it is asked, with what Design *Crassus* could have left the Government of his Province, in order to go into a distant Country, whither the *Romans* had not carried their Arms. *Pliny*, *Mela*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, agree, with *Strabo* and *Ptolomy*, as to the Situation of the *Cassiterides*; but the former makes them only fix in Number. Nevertheless, except the two Islands of *Ziganga* and *St. Cyprian*, we find nothing to the North of *Galicia* but barren Rocks. So that the *Cassiterides* of *Strabo* and *Pliny* are a Problem to the Moderns. Before them, *Herodotus* had been ignorant of their Situation, as he himself declares, B. 5. Most Geographers believe, that this Name can only be applied to the *Britannick* Islands, on account of the great Quantity of Lead and Tin, which they have produced at all Times. But if these were the *Cassiterides*, it is not easy to guess at the Motive of *Crassus's* Voyage. Perhaps the *Phœnician* and *Carthaginian* Merchants who traded to *Cadiz*, gave him an advantageous Account of these Islands; and in that case, Curiosity, or a Love for his Country, might excite him to get a Knowledge of a Country, from which the *Romans* might reap great Advantages in their Trade. Nevertheless it is certain, that the *Phœnicians* kept their Trade to the *Cassiterides* a great while a Secret. *Strabo* says, That one of their Pilots designedly drove in among the Rocks, where he dashed his Ship in pieces, on purpose to conceal his Route from a *Roman Ship*, which followed him, and perished at the same Time. To which he adds, that the *Phœnician* having saved himself by his Address, had ample amends made him for his Loss, by his Countrymen.

<sup>50</sup> *Marcus Perperna* appears to have been the Son of him, of the same Name, who had been *Consul*, in the Year of *Rome*, 623, and had triumphed over King *Aristonicus*.

<sup>51</sup> *Ortelius* places the City of *Belgida* in the Kingdom of *Valencia*. Some pretend it was the same Place as *Balbastro*, a City in the Kingdom of *Arragon*.







*Cappadocia*, he had caused young *Ariarathes*, his Sister *Laodice's* Husband, and the Son of another *Ariarathes*, who had been slain in a Battle between *Aristonicus* and the *Romans*, to be assassinated. And he had extended his Frontiers by Conquest, as far

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the Manage, they put him upon a wild Horse; but the young Prince had Skill enough, to force the fiery Animal to obey the Bit. Then, to make sure work, they resolved to poison him. But *Mithridates* being apprized of these villainous Designs, guarded himself against them by excellent Antidotes. By the constant Use of these Remedies, he made his Constitution proof against the most mortal Poisons. *Plutarch* says in his *Opuscula*, that the Fear of entrusting others with the Care of his Health, led him to study Physick, in which he acquired some Skill, and loved to shew it. The Lords of his Court were so meanly complaisant, as to cut and burn themselves, on purpose that their Master might have an Opportunity of shewing the Skill, of which he was very vain.

the Court, who had engaged in the Conspiracy, their Lives.

But the King of *Pontus* did not lose sight of the Conquest of *Asia*; amidst these domestick Troubles. Whilst, on the other hand, the *Roman* Republick had just put some stop to this Torrent, in the midst of his Career. *Mithridates*, intimidated by the peremptory Orders of the Senate, had restored several Provinces of *Scythia* to their lawful Masters. Indeed, he had Hopes of gaining, by his Money, a Majority of the Senate; and with this view, had sent a Deputation to *Rome*. But the Plot was discovered; the Ambassadors were treated with Ignominy, by a Tribune of the People, whom some call *Auseius*, others *Apuleius*; and they got nothing by their Negotiation, but the Shame of being driven away, as so many Cheats.

*Mithridates*, thus fallen from his Hopes, resolved to dissemble, and wait for a favourable Opportunity to signalize his Resentment against the *Roman* Republick. But a Prince, swallowed up in Ambition, could not long keep within the Bounds of a little State. He undertook to conquer *Paphlagonia*, one of the Kingdoms of *Asia Minor*; and to this End, joined his Arms with those of *Nicomedes*, the Son of *Prusias*. *Pylmenes*, the King of that Country, could not long withstand the Forces of the two confederate Princes; they made themselves Masters of it, and divided it between them. The dethroned Monarch had no Resource, but to the Protection and Equity of the Senate of *Rome*; and he brought his Complaints before this august Tribunal. The Republick immediately ordered the Conquerors to restore *Paphlagonia* to its lawful Master; and *Mithridates* received these Orders, with such Haughtiness, as surprized the Ambassadors. *What right*, said he, *have the Romans to assume an Authority over crowned Heads? I am not indebted to them for the Crown I wear, but to my Ancestors, and to my Sword. Nor am I accountable to them, for any Thing that I do. I shall find Means, if it be necessary, to make your Republick sensible, that it ill becomes her to pretend to give Law to me, in my own Dominions.* This said, he heard the Threatenings of the Ambassadors with a Sneeze; and to shew his Contempt in the most open Manner, immediately marched his Army into *Galatia*, and subdued it. Whereas *Nicomedes* pretended to comply with the Orders of the Senate, and promised to restore to *Pylmenes* the Portion that had fallen to him. But he added Insult to his Breach of Faith, by the most notorious Chicanery and Imposture. He pretended, that he had performed his Promise, by giving his own Son the Name of *Pylmenes*, and proclaiming him King of *Paphlagonia*.

In the mean Time, *Mithridates* spared neither Sword nor Poison, in carrying on his ambitious Views. In order to possess himself of the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, he had hired a Villain named *Gordius*, to assassinate *Ariarathes*, the Husband of his Sister *Laodice*, and the Son of another *Ariarathes*, who had been killed, fighting for the *Romans*, against *Aristonicus*. The Queen-Mother herself took Care of the Education of the two Princes her Children, whom *Mithridates* had resolved to destroy, in order to secure their Dominions to himself; and *Nicomedes* anticipated him, by seizing the Throne, which was vacant on the Death of *Ariarathes*. Upon this News, the King of *Pontus* pretended to take the Part of his Nephews, and sent Queen *Laodice* Succours to oppose the Usurper. But he knew not that she had just married *Nicomedes Philopater*, the Grandson of *Prusias*. When informed of this, he immediately began his March at

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However, his Precautions against Poison, could not secure him from Assassinations; and he therefore retired to solitary Places, to save his Life. If we may believe *Justin*, he rambled about seven whole Years, in Forests, exposed Day and Night to the open Air, and wholly employed in Hunting. This Way of Life, made him very robust and healthy, hardened his Body against the Intemperature of the Seasons, and qualified it for sustaining the Fatigues of a military Life, in an heroic Manner. When he returned to his Capital, he stained the first Years of his Reign with the Blood of the greatest Men in his Kingdom; and being persuaded, that his nearest Relations desired his Death, he sacrificed several of them to his Suspicions. By his orders, his Brother was inhumanly murdered; and his Mother, after she had languished a great while, in close Confinement, perished with Hunger. This barbarous and jealous Prince, made no Scruple of committing the most atrocious Crimes, if they favoured his Politicks and Ambition.

As soon as he was settled on the Throne, he formed immense Schemes for enlarging his Dominions. Not content with having subdued the vast Country of the *Scythians*, made himself Master of the Dominions of *Perisades*, King of the *Bosphorus*, and invaded whole Kingdoms; he proposed nothing less than subduing all *Asia*. With this view, he privately stole away from his Court, and attended by a few Courtiers who had his Confidence, passed over all the Provinces of this great Continent, incognito. He examined the Places, Forces, and Situations of the Cities which he designed to conquer, settled before-hand the Marches of his Armies, pitched on proper Places for encamping; and in short, after some Years absence, returned to his Dominions. And if upon his return, he had the Pleasure of hearing, that since his Departure, he had a Prince born; he had at the same Time the terrible Mortification, of hearing the Debauchery of *Laodice*, who was both his Wife and Sister. The Queen, who knew nothing of the Designs and Motions of *Mithridates*, took it for granted she should never see him more, after the Absence of several Years, flattering herself that he was dead; and her Accomplices in Iniquity endeavoured to confirm her in this Opinion. So that his return was a Thunder stroke to her. She had no Favour to expect from a Prince inexorable in his Revenge, whom she had wounded in the most tender Part; and in Despair, she, in concert with those to whom she had shewn her Favours, resolved to make use of Poison to rid her of a jealous Husband, whose Fury she dreaded. But a Woman Slave, whom the Queen intrusted with the Secret, informed *Mithridates* of the Danger that threatened him; and it cost the unfortunate *Laodice*, and the chief Lords of



Year of as the Banks of the *Phasis*, and even beyond Mount *Caucasus*. As soon as the  
 ROME Romans were informed of the Progress he had made in the North of *Asia*, the Senate  
 DCLXI. by a Decree ordered the Usurper to restore the Countries he had seized in *Scythia* to  
 their old Masters: And the King of *Pontus* not finding himself yet strong enough to  
 C. CLAUDIUS cope with the Roman Power, obeyed; at least, in Part. He gave up to the *Scythian*  
 PULCHER, & Kings, whom he had dispossessed, their Countries, which lay too much to the North to  
 M. PERPER- engage his Affections much.

Justin. L. 38.  
 App. in Mi-  
 thridat.  
 Memnon apud  
 Photium.

But he did not lay aside the Design he had long formed, of uniting all *Asia Minor*  
 under his Dominion. He had, as we have just now observed, already paved the Way  
 for his ascending the Throne of *Cappadocia* by the Murder of *Ariarathes*; who had  
 left two Sons, the eldest of which inherited his Name and Dominions, and was un-  
 der the Guardianship of his Mother *Laodicea*, who was lately married to the King of  
*Bitbynia*. And as the Life of these two Princes was a great Obstacle to the Suc-  
 cess of his ambitious Views, he, who made no Scruple of Assassinations, in order  
 to gain his Point, immediately resolved to destroy them. To this End, he found  
 means, under Pretence of Friendship, to bring the eldest, who was also named *Aria-  
 rathes*, to a Conference; and as soon as the too credulous young King appeared in

the Head of a numerous Army, resolving to dispo-  
 sess the Garrisons which the King of *Bitbynia* had put  
 into all the Towns in *Cappadocia*; and the Success  
 was answerable to his Desires. Upon the Approach  
 of a victorious King, the Cities opened their Gates;  
 and when *Mithridates* was Master of the Kingdom,  
 he pretended great Merit in placing his Sister's eldest  
 Son on the Throne of his Ancestors. But the artful  
 Prince, was only laying a Plot against the Life and  
 Crown of his Nephew, under the Appearance of  
 Friendship. In order to put this barbarous Design in  
 Execution, he had recourse to Fraud, which he thought  
 less dangerous, than open Violence. In an Interview  
 he had with the young King, under Pretence of settling  
 a lasting Peace, he assassinated him with his own  
 Hand. And when Master of *Cappadocia*, he caused  
 his own Son to be acknowledged Sovereign of that  
 Kingdom. He ordered him to take the Name of  
*Ariarathes*, and made that very *Gordius* his Guardian,  
 who had hitherto been the chief Minister of his Cruel-  
 ties. The Miseries the *Cappadocians* suffered under  
 the Government of this Villain are not to be expressed:  
 and their Patience being at last worn out by his Ty-  
 ranny, they set up against the Usurper, the only sur-  
 viving Son of the Queen by her former Husband.  
 Upon the first Rumour of the Revolt, he entered *Cap-  
 padocia* Sword in Hand, gained a signal Victory, and  
 forced the lawful Sovereign to abandon his Domi-  
 nions; and this Prince, who was still young, did not  
 long survive his Defeat. His Grief at his personal  
 and family Misfortunes threw him into a Fit of Sick-  
 ness, of which he died in the Flower of his Age. So  
 that, by the Death of this last Branch of the *Cappa-  
 docian* Kings, *Mithridates* became peaceable Possessor  
 of the Kingdom he had usurped. Such was the Con-  
 duct and Character of the King of *Pontus* before he  
 came to an open War with the Republick.

The Medals which we have of him give us no Ac-  
 count of any of the Events of his Reign. In that,  
 Plate 10, Page 253. No. 3, we have only, on one  
 Side his Head, and on the Reverse a winged Horse;  
 the Symbol found on most of the Medals struck at  
*Amisus*, one of the most famous Cities of *Pontus*, ac-  
 cording to *Strabo*. The Wings of the Horse are pro-  
 bably designed, to point out the Swiftnels of the  
 Horses bred in the Territory belonging to this City.  
 At least, *Homer*, and *Hecateus* the Geographer, ob-  
 serve, that this District produced excellent Coursers.  
 The Greek Letters  $\alpha$ , are numerical, and signify the  
 212th Year of the *Æra* of the Kings of *Pontus*;  
 which is commonly fixed to the 4th Year, of the 118th  
*Olympiad*, and the 448th Year of *Rome*, under the  
 Reign of *Mithridates the Second*, whom ancient Au-  
 thors make the Founder of the Monarchy of *Pontus*,

after he had enlarged his Dominions and Power, by  
 his Conquests. If then, we add to the 448 Years,  
 the Number of 212, expressed on the Medal, it will  
 appear to have been struck, in the Year of *Rome*,  
 660, under the Consulship of *Caius Valerius Flaccus*,  
 and *Marcus Herennius Nepos*. *Mithridates* had then  
 reigned 30 Years, if we suppose with the most exact  
 Chronologers, that he mounted the Throne about the  
 630th Year of *Rome*, and the 30th Year of his Age.

Besides the surname of *Eupator* which *Mithridates*  
 assumed, in Respect to the Memory of his Father  
*Euergetes*, he had likewise that of *Dionysus*; which was  
 one of the Names, the ancient Pagans gave to *Bacchus*.  
 Whether he only compared himself with this God,  
 whose Conquests are celebrated in Fable, or took  
 him for his Model at his Repasts, when he valued him-  
 self upon drinking a great deal, he certainly gloried in  
 this Title. The Historians of his Life say, That he gave  
 Prizes to such of his Guests, as eat and drank most;  
 and That he himself gloried in surpassing the strongest  
 of them in this Way, and gaining from them the  
 Prize of Intemperance: And *Plutarch* says, That he  
 was in Allusion to this called *Dionysus*. But the same  
 Writer chooses to ascribe the giving him this Sur-  
 name, to an Accident that was common to him, and  
 the Son of *Semele*. He says, That the Lightning  
 burnt his Swadling-clothes when he was an Infant,  
 without doing him any other harm, than leaving a  
 slight Mark on his Forehead; That when he was more  
 advanced in Age, the Lightning struck into the Room,  
 where he was asleep, and burnt to Ashes, a Quiver  
 full of Arrows which hung at his Bed's Head, without  
 hurting him; and That he was from this Prodigy,  
 surnamed *Dionysus*, because *Bacchus* had been won-  
 derfully secured from Thunder in his Mother's Womb.  
 The Authorities from whom we have taken these Facts,  
 are *Justin*, *Appian*, *Athenæus*, and the *Opuscula* of  
*Plutarch*.

54 The *Phasis*, a River of *Cholcis* now *Mingrelia*,  
 rises in the Mountains of *Armenia*; and after it has  
 run through the greatest Part of that Province, falls,  
 by several Mouths, into the *Euxine* Sea. On the  
 Banks of it, formerly stood a City of the same  
 Name, of which nothing now remains but Ruins.  
*Columella* observes, that there was plenty of *Pha-  
 sans* about this River. The Natives now call it *Rione*;  
 but it is still best known among the Europeans, by  
 the Name of the *Phasis*.

55 By mount *Caucasus* is meant, a long Chain  
 of Mountains which makes Part of Mount *Taurus*.  
 It runs through the Provinces which are situated  
 between the *Euxine* Sea, to the West, and the *Caspian*,  
 to the East.



fight, the Barbarian drew out a Dagger, which he had concealed, and imbrued his Hands in his Nephew's Blood. The younger Prince, being forced to fly to a foreign Country for Refuge, in a little Time languished away and died there, and left the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* at the Mercy of *Mithridates*. Year of ROME DCLXI.

§. XXIV. The Queen of *Bithynia* saw with great Grief, the Children of her first Husband sacrificed to the Ambition of her Brother; and alarmed her second Husband, by shewing him that he had Reason to fear the loss of his Dominions. The Throne of *Bithynia* was now filled by *Nicomedes the Third*, the Grandson of *Prusias*, and the Son of that *Nicomedes* whose Parricide we have related with Horror; and he, though greatly attached to a Dancing-woman named *Nisa*, by whom he had had a Son, named also *Nicomedes*, espoused the Resentments of his Wife. The King and Queen of *Bithynia* ordered enquiry to be made for a handsome Boy, brought him up in their Palace, gave him the Name of *Ariarathes*, and gave out that he was the third Son of the late King of *Cappadocia*. And to give the greater Sanction to the Substitution, the Queen of *Bithynia* in Person conducted this pretended Son of the King, her first Husband, to *Rome*. But the Intrigue was not carried on with Secrecy enough; *Mithridates* got Information of it; and then he invented a Fable likewise, which he thought he could impose upon the Senate and People of *Rome*. He sent to *Rome* that *Gordius*, whom he had made Governor of the Son he had placed on the Throne of *Cappadocia*; and *Gordius*, with an Impudence equal to that of the *Bithynian* Queen, insisted, That the Child *Mithridates* had placed on the *Cappadocian* Throne, was the true Son of the late King *Ariarathes*. A more perplexed Case never came before the *Conscript Fathers*. A Mother refused to acknowledge a Son, who was said to be hers, and was actually in Possession of a Crown; and at the same Time, presented another as hers, who was demonstrated not to have been born of her. The Senators therefore perceived that there were Frauds on both Sides, and as sovereign Judges over crowned Heads, pronounced the Kingdom of *Cappadocia* vacant, and without any rightful Owner; and made this great State, an independent Republick, to be governed by Magistrates of its own choosing. But this new Government did not last long. The *Cappadocians* were soon weary of it, and desired the *Romans* to grant them a kingly Government, which, they said was more suitable to the Genius of their Nation. *We are*, said they, *used to be governed by one Head. It is necessary therefore that a Monarchy should be again established among us. Where can we find, among Men devoted to Effeminacy, laborious Magistrates enough, to keep up a Succession in the painful Offices of Government? No considerable Country in Asia has preferred the Republican State to the Happiness of being governed by a King.* The Roman Senate complied with the Request of the *Cappadocians*. It was of little Consequence to them, whether *Cappadocia* was governed by a Monarch, or a supream Council; and they gave them leave to choose themselves a King, and entail the Crown on his Posterity. The *Cappadocians* at first deliberated, whether they should choose this *Gordius*, who had governed them in quality of a Regent; but his Attachment to *Mithridates* giving them just Cause of Suspicion, they chose a Lord of their own Country, named *Ariobarzanes*, and his Election was approved at *Rome*, and confirmed by the Senate; and from this time, the Republick became engaged in Honour to maintain the Determination of a People, who were her faithful and obedient Allies.

§. XXV. In the mean time, *Mithridates* was very uneasy, at being disappointed of his Hopes, of placing his Son, or at least *Gordius*, in the Throne of *Cappadocia*; and in order to oppose *Ariobarzanes*, and support the Pretensions of *Gordius*, he stirred up the King of <sup>56</sup> *Armenia*, his Son-in-Law, against the new Monarch the *Cappadocians*. *Plut in Sylla, & alii supra citati.*

<sup>56</sup> *Armenia*, called in Holy Scripture *Ararat*, is one of the richest and most fruitful Countries in *Asia Minor*. It is watered by seven Rivers, which contribute not a little to the Fertility of the Soil. The Climate is so fine, that some Interpreters have from thence conjectured, that God placed the terrestrial Paradise there. The Geographers are not unanimous as to its Limits. Some divide it into three Parts, *Armenia*, *Turcomania*, and *Georgia*. But the Ancients divide it into the *Upper* or *Greater*, and the *Lower* or *Lesser Armenia*. The *Upper* lays between *Mesopotamia*, *Georgia*, *Media*, and *Armenia Minor*. The

*Lower* is bounded to the North, by *Cappadocia*; to the South, by *Syria*; to the West, by the *Black Sea*; and to the East, by *Armenia Major*. And this Situation agrees well enough with that which is given it by *Strabo*, *Pliny*, and *Ptolomy*, who place *Armenia Major* between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. This Country was first subject to *Persia*, afterwards to the Kings of *Syria*, till the Reign of *Antiochus the Great*; and in his Time, it became subject to new Masters, *Ariaxias* and *Zadriades*, the Governours of the *Greater*, and *Lesser Armenia's*, rebelled against their lawful Prince, usurped each the Sovereignty in his



Year of *cians* had chosen. *Tigranes* <sup>57</sup>, at the Sollicitation of *Mithridates*, raised a numerous *ROME* Army, under the Command of *Mithras* and *Bagoas*; and the *Armenians* had no sooner entered *Cappadocia*, but *Ariobarzanes* clapped his Effects on board a Ship, and sailed for *Rome*, there to get Succours of the *Romans*, his Protectors. The Senate ordered he should be reinstated, and commissioned the fortunate *Sylla* to do it. So that the *Prætor* whose Lot had fallen in *Asia*, had the Advantage of having it a Part of his Business, to restore a Monarch to his People, who had desired his Restoration.

DCI.XI.  
C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, &  
M. PERPER-  
NA, Consuls.

It was not unknown at *Rome*, that *Mithridates* had brought the *Armenians* into *Cappadocia*, by his Intrigues; and *Sylla* had Orders to watch the Motions of a King, who was the more formidable Enemy, for being unwilling to appear so. *Sylla* therefore embarked in one of the Ports of *Italy*, took the dethroned King with him, landed in *Cilicia*, and made a long stay there. He thought this Province lay convenient for assembling there the Forces of all the Allies of the *Romans* in *Asia*: And he there formed a great Army, not so much of *Romans* as *Asiaticks*, and carried back *Ariobarzanes* in Triumph to his Dominions. The *Armenians* and a part of the People of *Cappadocia*, had already put *Gordius* in Possession of the Throne. But *Sylla* defeated him, and the *Cappadocians* in a pitched Battle; and forced him to flee for Refuge to the Territories of *Mithridates*. So that great was the <sup>58</sup> Glory the *Prætor* acquired, by restoring *Ariobarzanes* to his Kingdom, by force of Arms; great the Mortification of *Mithridates*, to have a King for his Neighbour, who was devoted to the *Roman* Republick. Nevertheless, *Mithridates* dissembled, and joined in the Applause the *Cappadocians* gave the *Romans*, waiting for a more favourable Opportunity to declare himself against them.

When *Sylla* had restored Tranquillity in the Capital of *Cappadocia*, he went with *Ariobarzanes*, through his whole Kingdom to pacify it: And when he came to the most eastern Frontier, he received Advice, that Ambassadors were coming to him, from *Arbaces* the King of the <sup>59</sup> *Parthians*, to desire the Friendship and Alliance of the *Roman*

his Province; assumed the Title of Kings; and as we are informed by *Appian* in *Syriacis*, and *Justin* L. 2, transmitted it to their Descendants.

<sup>57</sup> The *Tigranes* here spoken of, was *The Second* of the Name, and the Son of *Tigranes the First*, his Predecessor. In the List of the *Armenian* Kings, he is placed the fourth, from the Foundation of the Monarchy by *Artaxias*. After he had murdered the last of the Descendants of the *Zadriades*, he seized *Little Armenia*, and united it to his Crown; and we shall soon see him march into *Syria*, exterminate the Race of the *Seleucids*, and seize their Dominions. And when Master of their Kingdom, he will compare himself with the *Parthian* Emperors, and after their Example assume the proud Title of ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ, King of Kings. He has it on a Medal, which bears his Name and Image. The Reverse is charged with a Woman sitting, crowned with Towers, and holding a Palm-Branch in her Hand; which is the usual Symbol, by which the City of *Antioch*, where this was struck, is represented on Medals. The Figure of the River on the Medal stands for the *Orontes*, which washes the Walls of that City.

<sup>58</sup> *Ariobarzanes* did not long continue in peaceable Possession of the Throne of *Cappadocia*. As soon as *Sylla* was gone, *Mithridates* stirred up *Tigranes* against the new Monarch. *Mithras* and *Bagoas*, the King of *Armenia*'s Generals, entered the Territories of *Ariobarzanes*, at the Head of a numerous Army; and besieging the King in his own Capital, he had no Means to escape but by Flight. So that *Cappadocia* was a second Time subject to young *Ariarathes*, the Son of *Mithridates*. He was carried back thither in Triumph by the two Conquerors, whilst *Ariobarzanes* went to *Rome*, to implore the Protection of the Senate.

<sup>59</sup> The Relation the History of the *Parthians* will henceforward have with that of the *Roman* Republick and Empire, inclines us to think it not improper, to

give the Reader here a View of the Origin and Progress of a Monarchy, which rose by degrees to so great a Pitch of Power, as to become formidable at last to the *Romans*.

*Parthia* properly so called, one of the Provinces of *Upper Asia*, lies in the middle of that Chain of Mountains, which makes a Part of Mount *Taurus*. It is bounded to the North and West, by *Hyrkania* and *Great Media*; and to the South and East by *Persia* and *Caramania*: And is now known by the Name of *Arac*. It was subject to the Empire of the *Persians*, till the Conquests of *Alexander the Great*; and upon the Division, that his immediate Successors made among themselves of the Kingdoms of *Asia*, after the famous Battle of *Ipsus*, it was annexed to those vast Dominions, which from the *Hellepont* to the River *Indus*, composed the Monarchy of the *Seleucids*. It was inhabited by Barbarians, who were said to have come originally from *Asiatick Scythia*; and who, content with the little their dry and uncultivated Country produced, lived in Tranquillity, under *Seleucus Nicator*, and *Antiochus* his Son, till the Reign of *Antiochus the Second*. Then they shook off the *Syrian* Yoke. The Incontinence of *Agathocles*, whom *Arrian* calls *Pherecles*, was the Occasion of this great Event. *Antiochus* had committed to his Care, the Administration of all the Provinces beyond the *Tigris*; so that *Parthia*, and the adjacent Countries were under his Government. *Agathocles*, who was too much charmed with the Gracefulness and Beauty of *Tiridates*, a young Lord of *Bactria*, made some Attempt on his Modesty. *Arfaces*, enraged at the Affront offered to his own Brother, immediately ran to Arms, and supported by some Friends who engaged in his Quarrel, assassinated the Governour. *Eutbydemes* a Native of *Greece*, put himself at the Head of the Rebels, drove the *Syrians* out of *Bactria*, and formed for himself an independent State; but he durst not cause himself to be proclaimed Sovereign of it. *Diodorus* his Successor

\* See Pl. 10.  
No. 4 Page  
253.



Roman People. Tho' this Nation was the largest, the most warlike, and the most wealthy, of any in *Asia*, yet the Name of *Parthians* was at this Time scarce known at *Rome*. *Sylla* rejoiced greatly, and thought it one of the most fortunate Occurrences of his Life, that he should have the Happiness to be the first *Roman*, that should be known to these People: And whether, in order to dazzle their Eyes with an Air of Grandeur, or to intimidate them by his Pride, the *Prætor* took great State upon him with the Ambassadors. In the Place where he received them, he ordered three Seats to be put, one in the middle for himself, that on his Right-hand for *Ariobarzanes*, and the other on his Left, for *Oromazes*, the Chief of the Embassy; and we may judge of the Conference, by these Preparations for it. The King of the *Parthians* was so displeased with it, that he beheaded *Oromazes*, for having debased Majesty, by his Compliances. It is said, that during the Conference, a *Chalcidian*, who was an expert Physiognomist, fixing his Eyes steddily on the *Prætor*, cried out; *This Man is born to govern the World! My only Surprise is; that he is not yet Master of his Republick.* And indeed, the Event will shew, that the Conjecture of the Diviner, who thought he could trace it in the fierce Countenance of the *Prætor*, proved true. Nevertheless. *Sylla* was not ho-

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXI.  
C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, 2  
M. PERP  
NA, C.

Successor was the first, who gave himself the Title of Monarch. *ARSACES*, after his Example, caused himself to be proclaimed King of the *Parthians*; and fixed his Residence at *Hecatompolis*, which he made the Capital of his Kingdom. Some Authors pretend, That he was descended of the Race of the *Achemenides*, and That therefore his Descendants assumed on their Medals the pompous Title of *King of Kings*, after the manner of the *Parthian* Kings. But others declare against this Descent. And be that as it will, all allow, That he was the Founder of the Empire of the *Arfacidæ* in *Parthia*: And he is commonly said to have founded it, in the 57th Year of the *Seleucidæ*, and 498th Year after the Reign of *Romulus*.

After the new Monarch had for two Years and some Months withstood all the Forces of the Kings of *Syria*, he received a Wound in Battle, which put an end to his Reign, and his Life; but his Memory did not perish with him. The 28 Kings that succeeded him, piqued themselves on bearing a Name, which was so dear to the Nation.

*TIRIDATES*, the Brother of the late King, felt the Frowns of Fortune, upon his first coming to the Throne; but he afterwards humbled the Pride of *Seleucus the Second*, whom he kept two Years in Captivity; and made himself amends for his Losses, by the Conquest of *Hyrcania*, and several Places in *Media*. After this, he enjoyed a profound Peace for ten Years, which was the Fruit of his Victories; and reigned 37 Years.

*ARTABANUS* his Son and Successor had a formidable Enemy to contend with; *Antiochus the Great*, who was already well known by his Wars with the *Romans*. But *Antiochus*, being taken up with a more important Expedition, gave the King of *Parthia* Time to breathe; and he died in Peace, after a Reign of 28 Years.

All that the Historians tell us of *PHRIAPATIUS* or *PRIAPATIUS*, the Son and Successor of the former, amounts to no more than this, That he reigned 15 Years; and That his three Sons, *PHRAATES*, *MITHRIDATES*, and *ARTABANUS*, successively enjoyed the Throne of *Parthia* after him.

*PHRAATES* subdued the Country of the *Mardi*, a People near *Armenia*, and united it to his Crown. Upon his Death-Bed, being not so much concerned for the Advantage of his Children who were very young, as the Welfare of his Kingdom, he left the Crown to his Brother *MITHRIDATES*; and the Virtues and Exploits of this Monarch, justified his Choice. He subdued all those vast Countries that reach from Mount *Caucasus* to the *Euphrates*. All the East saw with Terrour, *Mesopotamia* and several Cities of *Asia* taken from *Demetrius Soter*; his Son *Demetrius Nicanor* deprived of his Dominions, and

kept Prisoner in *Hyrcania*; the neighbouring Princes subdued or vanquished, receive Law from the Conqueror; and the Bounds of *Parthia* extended as far as to the *Persian Gulph*, and the *Red-Sea*. In a Word, *Mithridates*, by the Rapidity of his Conquests, formed out of the Ruins of the Conquests of *Alexander the Great*, one of the most powerful Empires of *Asia*. So that, it may be affirmed, that the Reign of *MITHRIDATES* was the Epocha of the Grandeur of the *Parthians*. And with all these heroic Virtues, this Prince had a Sweetness of Temper and Beneficence of Mind, which made him amiable to all that approached him. He reigned 37 Years, and died lamented by his People, who greatly loved him.

But *Phraates the Second* inherited neither the good Fortune, nor the Success of his Father. Being defeated by the *Scythians*, and by *Antiochus Sidetes*, by whom he suffered most, he had the Mortification to see *Media*, and the fine Provinces of his Empire, fall a Prey to the Enemy. Of all the large Countries, which he governed, he could scarce save *Parthia*. Death only put an End to his Misfortunes with his Life, after a Reign of ten Years; and the *Parthians* made his Children feel the Contempt they had for their Father. The Nation unanimously agreed to exclude them from the Throne, which they gave to King *ARTABANUS THE SECOND*, the youngest Son of *Priapatus*.

The War he made with the *Tochares*, a warlike People of *Asiatick Scythia*, proved fatal both to him and to his Subjects. He was mortally wounded in the Arm, in Battle, after he had Reigned three Years.

But *MITHRIDATES THE SECOND*, the Son and Successor of *Artabanus*, gained as great and signal Victories as *Mithridates the First*. He, like him, reigned 37 Years; and extended the Glory of the *Parthians*, to the farthest Parts of *Asia*. He subdued the *Scythians*, and confined them to their Deserts; so that they durst no more appear in *Parthia*. He reconquered 18 Provinces in a few Years, revived the Glory of the *Arfacidæ*, and repaired the Losses of *Phraates*. So that both Histories and Medals agree, in giving him the Surname of *THE GREAT*. He is honoured with this glorious Title on the Medal which bears this Inscription, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΩΝ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ ΑΡΣΑΚΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ*. On one Side of it, is the Head of *Mithridates* under the Name of *Arfaces*; and on the other, the Figure of the same Prince sitting and holding a Bow in his Hand. It was in his Reign, that the *Romans*, by *Sylla*, made their first Alliance with the *Parthians*: And we shall have occasion to shew his Successors hereafter.

See Plate 10.  
Page 253.  
No. 5.

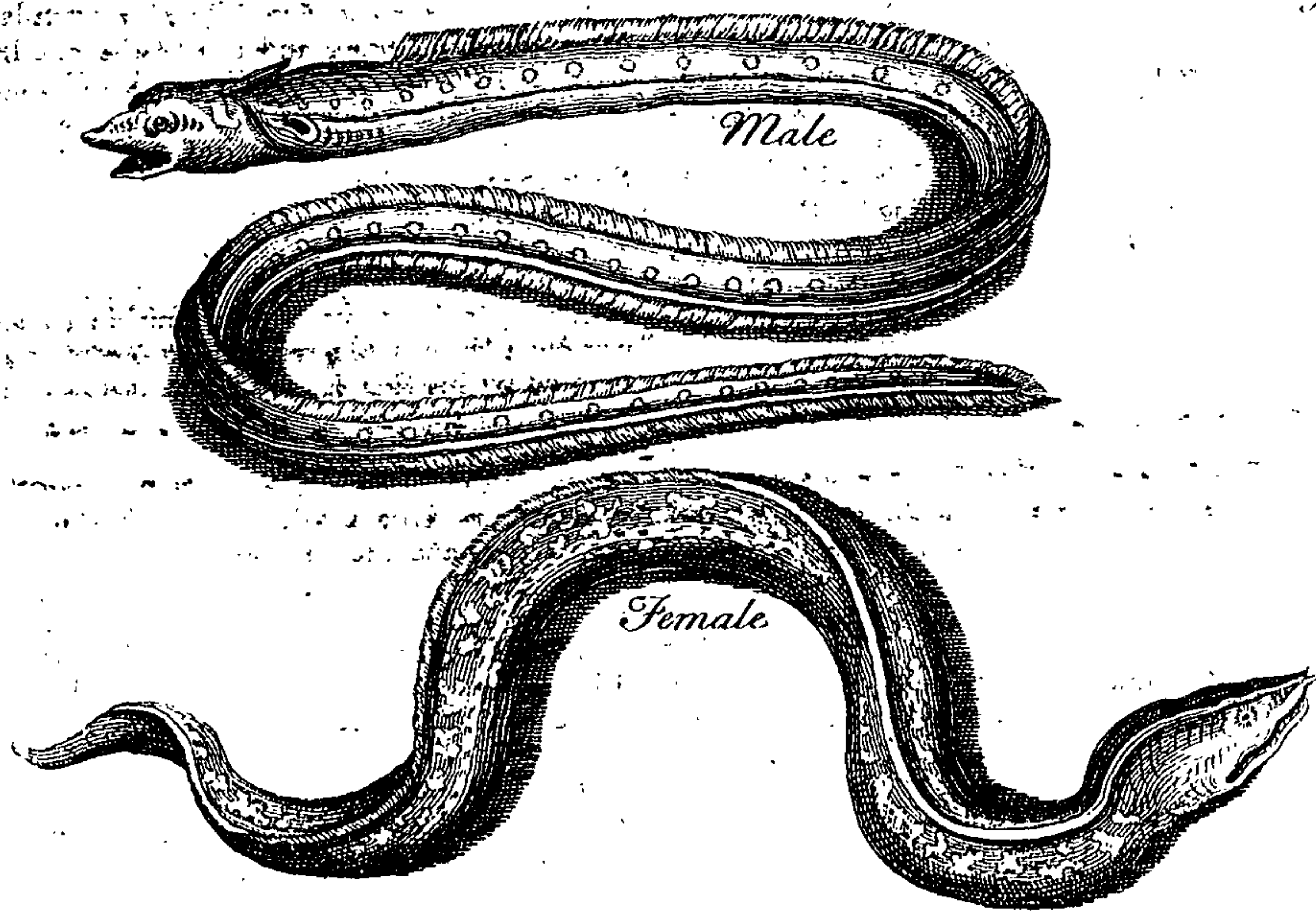


Year of **ROME** DCLXI. noured with a *Triumph*, at his Return to *Rome*. On the contrary, there was an Attempt made, to get him condemned by the People, for having misapplied great Sums, in his Administration in *Asia*. But he found Means to divert the Acculation, and silence his Accuser.

C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, &  
M. PNER-  
NA, Consuls.  
Fast. Capit.  
Val. Max. L  
6. c. 3.  
Cicer. pro  
Domusua, &  
L. 2. de  
Orat.

Mac. Saturn.  
L. 3.

§. XXVI. Tho' *Rome* could pacify the Nations of the East, she could not put an end to the Disputes of her chief Magistrates. Two of the greatest Men in the Republic had been promoted to the <sup>60</sup> *Censorship*. The first was that *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus* who had been *Consul*, and was now *Pontifex Maximus*. The other, that *L. Crassus*, whose sprightly and graceful Eloquence made him thought one of the Prodigies of his Time. *Ahenobarbus*, more out of an Affectation of Gravity, than any Claims from his Birth or Understanding, assumed a Superiority over his Collegue, *Crassus*, who knew his own Abilities, and who in Birth, as well as personal Merit, was superiour to his Rival, was willing to have his Share at least of the Honours and Functions of their common Office. And this bred Quarrels between the two *Censors*; which broke out in a scandalous manner, and were brought before the People. The austere *Ahenobarbus* accused his Collegue for the Care he took in breeding <sup>61</sup> *Muræna*,



Vol. 5. p. 324

<sup>60</sup> The Names of these two *Censors* are both preserved, in a Fragment of *The Capitoline Marbles*. *Sigonius* supposes, without Proof, That *Crassus* abdicated the *Censorship*; and That the Disputes which arose between them, made this Abdication necessary, before their Office expired. To which he adds, with as little Foundation, That on Account of *Crassus's* laying down, the *Romans* took no *Census*, as usual. He did not consider, that *Cicero*, in his first and second Books *De Oratore*, expressly says, That *Crassus* discharged the Office of *Censor*, the whole Time fixed by the Laws, as he had done the *Consulship*.

<sup>61</sup> Most Naturalists, both ancient and modern agree, That the *Muræna*, was a sort of Sea-Serpent; whose ordinary length did not exceed two Cubits. This Fish which was so famous among the *Romans*, was very like a Snake. They who have made the strictest Enquiries about the Nature of it, say in general, That it was smooth, and That the Male and Female were differently marked. The Males, according to them, were distinguished by small round Spots, which

lay in a straight Line, and at equal distances, from the Head to the Tail. The Females were browner, adorned with irregular red Spots, and varied with different Colours. Some shining like Gold, others being blackish. The Head of the *Muræna* was more Spherical, than that of a Snake, the Throat wide, and the Mouth armed with two Rows of very sharp Teeth. Its Flesh which was exceeding white, covered little crooked Bones. Its *Vertebrae* turned up towards the Head, whereas those of other Fish turn towards the Tail. And if such was the *Muræna* of the Ancients, which must be allowed, upon the Authorities of *Pliny*, *Varro*, *Columella*, *Athenæus*, and *Macrobius*; some modern Commentators have been in the wrong, to take it for the *Lamprocybus*. The Flesh of the latter is soft, glutinous, cartilaginous, and has no Bones. Besides, *Pliny*, in his Description of both these Fishes, supposes them to be very different from each other.

Of all the Flats of the *Mediterranean Sea*, that of *Cadiz*, and the *Streights of Sicily*, were thought to abound most with the best *Muræna*. *Strabo* pretends, that some

and



and the excessive Fondness he had shewn for one of these Fishes, which he had kept in his <sup>62</sup> Ponds. When the Favourite *Muræna* died, he had put himself in Mourning, as if it had been for <sup>63</sup> his Daughter; and had built a Tomb for it. Surely therefore the Conduct of *Crassus* <sup>64</sup> must have been ver- bla- nels, if nothing but these Trifles could be laid to his Charge: And when the famous Orator came to speak in his Defence, he was very satyrical on his Accuser. He very gravely desired his Friendship, in the Name of his illustrious Ancestors, their Statues, and the other Monuments of their Glory; and uttered his Ironies with such Gestures, as drew upon his Colleague the Sneers

Yer of  
ROME  
DCLXI.  
C. CLAUDIUS  
PULCHER, &  
M. PERPER-  
NA, Consuls.  
Cic. in Bruto.  
& De Orat.  
L. 2.

some were caught near *Tariffa* in *Andalusia*, which weighed 80 Pounds a-piece. But *Hippolitus Salvi- mus* affirms, on the contrary, That the largest did not weigh above 10 Pounds. If we may credit *Pliny*, B. 9, The Coasts of North *Gaul* produced *Muræna*; which, he says, were known by seven little Spots of a deep Yellow, placed on the Right Jaw, in much the same Order as the seven Stars lay, in the Constellation of *The little Bear*. To which he adds, That these natural Marks disappeared at the Death of the Fish. But it is strange, that a Fish which was formerly so common, should now be absolutely unknown; and not easy to suppose, that the Ancients should have quite destroyed the *Species*.

The usual Retreat of the *Muræna* was to the Clefts of the Rocks; from which the Fishermen drew them by a Bait fastened to the end of a small Cord. What some Naturalists say of their coupling with the Viper, is contradicted by the greatest Part of them. But they agree better as to some other Particulars, relating to these Fishes, which are mentioned by *Johnson* and *Aldrovandus*, in their *Natural Histories*. They say, among other Things, That upon tasting Vinegar, the *Muræna* grow mad, and in their Rage fasten upon the scaly Fish with such Fury, that it is not possible to loosen them without killing them. Their Gills, according to these Authors, are very small; and a very little Water is sufficient to keep them alive. And agreeably to this, *Macrobius* and *Varro* say, That they are sometimes seen swimming on the Sea-Shore, and at the Mouths of Rivers, in such shallow Water, that the Fishermen could easily take them with their Hands. For this Reason, these two Writers give them the Name of *Flotæ*, and the *Greeks* that of *πλωται*. The Skin of the *Muræna*, according to *Marcellus*, burnt to Ashes, and steeped in Vinegar, and applied to the Forehead, was reckoned an effectual Remedy for the Head-ach. In short, this Fish was so famous among the Ancients, that we thought it not improper to give the Reader the Figure of it, which we have taken from *Johnson*, and *Aldrovandus*.

62 The great Men at *Rome*, in order to supply their Tables with Delicacies, bought the most exquisite Fish, and had them kept at a great Expence in Ponds made on purpose in the Country, and sometimes in the City. They, who valued themselves most on their Magnificence, had the Sea-Water brought through subterraneous Canals into Reservoirs where they kept the choicest Fish, that the *Mediterranean* or *Ocean* afforded. *Cic. L. 2. De Leg.* laughs at the pompous Names which they gave to these Aqueducts. *Who would not smile*, says he, *at the Sight of their Nile's, and Euripus's? For so they call these stately Canals. Ductus vero aquarum, quos isti Nilos & Euripos vocant, quis non, cum hæc videat, irriserit?* They called the larger ones *Niles*, and the lesser *Euripus's*, in allusion to the great River of *Egypt*, and the famous Streight, which divides *Achaia* from the Island of *Eubæa*, or the *Negropont*. *Pliny* tells us, B. 9. That *Lucullus* cut through a Mountain near *Naples*, in order to bring the Sea to his Fish-Ponds; and *Pompey*, according to *Pliny*, or *Elius Tuberus* according to *Plutarch*, was so struck with the Sight of a Work which had cost immense Sums, that he said, *Rome* would find *Lucullus* to be

a second *Xerxes*. This King of *Persia* had actually undertaken, according to *Herodotus*, to open a Passage for his Ships through Mount *Athos*. Before *Lucullus*, one of these voluptuous *Romans*, named *Sergius Orata*, had brought the Sea, through subterranean Passages, to a stately Country-House which he had built near *Baiæ*; where his Salt and Fresh-Water Ponds supplied his Table constantly with Variety of the nicest Fish; particularly with Oysters brought from the Lake *Lucrinus*; and with the *Dorades*, a sort of Fish which the *Latins* called *Aurata*. And for this Reason, says *Macrobius*, the *Romans* gave *Sergius* the Surname of *Orata*. In like manner one *Licinius* had been surnamed *Muræna*, because he was very fond of *Muræna*. But *Verrius Flaccus* pretends, That the Surname of *Orata* alluded to the Rings of Massy Gold, which *Sergius* affected to wear in publick.

63 *Crassus's Muræna* was so tame, that it would come at his Call, and feed out of his Hand. In- f- much, that, according to *Ælian*, in his 8th Book Of *Animals*, *Crassus* loved it so well, that he took Pleasure in making it fine; which he did, with some rich Pen- dants, and some of the most valuable Jewels he had. *Pliny* reproaches the Orator *Hortensius* with a like Weakness, for another *Muræna*, at whose Death he wept; and says, That *Antonia* the Wife of *Drusus*, inherited the Fish-Ponds of *Hortensius*, and his Affec- tion for a Fish of the same Kind, which she took care to adorn with her own Hands. To which *Ælian* adds in the same Place, That when *Domitius* rallied *Lucius Crassus* upon the Death of his dear *Muræna*, he re- plied; *It is true, I have wept at the Loss of a Fish; whereas you, Domitius, have borne the Loss of three Wives, without shedding a Tear.*

64 *Pliny* and *Val. Maximus* add, That *Domitius Abenobarbus* charged it as a Crime on his Colleague, That he had placed in the *Vestibule* of his House, four Pillars of the finest Marble taken out of the Quar- ries of Mount *Hymettus* in *Attica*. Marble had never yet been used in any but publick Buildings. He had brought these Pillars to *Rome*, to adorn a Theatre made for *The Scenic Games* which he gave the People when he was *Ædile*. Afterwards he converted them to his own Use, and dorned one of his Halls with them. And *Pliny*, B. 17, gives us this Ac- count of the Reply *Crassus* made to the Reproaches of *Domitius*. *How much*, says he, *do you value my House at?* 100000000 *Sesterces*, replied *Domitius*; (that is 100 Millions of little *Sesterces*, which at 2 *Sols* and an half, make near 12500000 *Livres*, an incredible Sum, and much beyond the Purchase of a private Person;) *You shall have it*, answered *Crassus*; *but what will you abate, if I cut down six of the finest and scarcest Trees in my Garden?* In that case, said *Domitius*, *I will not give you one Obolus for it.* *Who then*, replied *Crassus*, *is most to blame?* *You, who would give 100 millions of Sesterces for six Trees; or I, who live in a House, which is indeed a fine one, but which I cannot relinquish without giving up the Inheritance of my Fa- thers?* And *Val. Maximus* relates the same Matter, with this difference, That *Domitius* valued it at only 6000000 *Sesterces*, which make 750000 *French*

l. s. d.  
807291 13 4  
Arbuth.

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48437 10 0  
Steel.



Year of of the whole Assembly. The Nick-name of *Ahenobarbus* had been given the severe  
 ROME *Censor*, only because his *Beard* was red; and the Orator gave many ridiculous Turns  
 DCLXI. to this natural Imperfection. My Colleague, said he, *is made up of all Metals. His Mouth*  
 is Iron, his Heart Lead, and his Beard Brass: Implying, according to the Force of  
 C. CLAUDIUS the Latin Expressions, That he had neither good Nature, nor Wit, nor Courage, nor  
 PULCHER, & an agreeable Person. Nevertheless, we shall hereafter see his Family advanced much  
 M. PERPER- above the *Crassi*. This *Ahenobarbus* was Great Great-Grandfather to the Emperor *Nero*.  
 NA, Consuls. Sueton. in Ne-  
 rose.

Quintil. de  
 præstantia  
 Orat.  
 Cic. de Orat.  
 L. 3.

But the two *Censors*, notwithstanding their Quarrels, did not neglect to join in use-  
 ful Regulations. There had been a sort of Professors brought into Rome, under the  
 Title of *Latin Rhetoricians*; and *Crassus*, who was himself one of the greatest Masters  
 of Eloquence, finding that these Pretenders to it, were so far from improving, as to  
 hurt the Understandings of their Scholars, ordered them to shut up their Schools; where,  
 he said, they rather taught Youth how to talk impudently, than to speak like Men  
 of Sense. The *Censorial* <sup>65</sup> Decree was put in execution; and the Roman Youth for the  
 future, only studied Eloquence, after the Models of the *Greeks*, and the greatest Ora-  
 tors in Rome. *Cicero* <sup>66</sup> was then only 15 Years of Age. He first applied himself to  
 Poetry, and thereby raised his fine Genius to the most sublime Eloquence. His young  
 Companions already treated him with such Distinction, as always to give him the  
 Place of Honour. Such an ascendant <sup>67</sup> does a superiority of Understanding give Men,  
 over those who are their Superiors in Birth! Rome had now for some time enjoyed an  
 agreeable Tranquillity; and Men of Learning that Leisure, which is necessary to make  
 a Progress in it. But new Commotions soon interrupted this short-liv'd Quiet; and the  
 Republick was put into a Flame, in the following manner.

§. XXVII.

<sup>65</sup> In the Year of Rome 592, the Consulate of  
*Marcus Valerius Messala* and *Caius Fannius Strabo*,  
 the Prætor *Marcus Pomponius Matho* had, according  
 to *A. Gellius*, L. 15. c. 11, made a like Decree a-  
 gainst the Philosophers and *Rhetoricians* who had  
 come from different Parts to Rome. See Vol. 4.  
 P. 534.

<sup>66</sup> We have already observed, That *Cicero* was  
 born in the Year of Rome 647, under the Consulship of  
*Quintus Servilius Cæpio*, and *Caius Attilius Serranus*,  
 on the Third of the Nones of January, that is, the  
 third Day of that Month. This appears by several  
 Passages in his Works. His Grandfather was then a-  
 live, as we learn from his second Book *De Legibus*.  
 Some Authors have had recourse to the *Marvellous*,  
 to give the more Lustre to the Birth of this great Man;  
 and make his future Grandeur to have been foretold  
 by Prodiges. They say, his Mother *Helvia*, of the  
 Family of the *Helvii*'s, which was of considerable  
 Rank in Rome, was delivered of him, without any  
 Pain; and his Nurse was informed by one of the *Ge-  
 nii*, whom the ancient Pagans worshipped, That the  
 Safety of the Roman Republick depended on the Wel-  
 fare of this valuable Child. But *Plutarch* justly looks  
 on these sort of Predictions, as Inventions *ex post facto*.  
 Poets only are to be allowed the Liberty of inventing  
 what Miracles they please, to aggrandize their He-  
 roes.

*Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*, carries up *Cicero*'s Fa-  
 mily as far as to *Tullus Attius*, the old King of the  
*Volsci*, who made War with the first Romans, with  
 Success. *Cicero* himself boasts of being descended  
 from a very ancient Family, in several Parts of his  
 Works. Tho' his Testimony might indeed be justly  
 rejected, if it was not confirmed by other Authors,  
 and especially by *Plutarch*. The latter was convin-  
 ced, That the first Person of the *Tullian* Family, to  
 whom the Surname of *Cicero* was given, was a Man  
 of great Weight; insomuch, that according to him,  
 the Descendants from this Branch, were so far from  
 being ashamed of it, as to glory in it. It was vain  
 Advice that was given to the Roman Orator, not to  
 suffer himself to be called by this Name, when he  
 appeared for the *Curule* Dignities. He despised this  
 vain Delicacy, and with an Air of Confidence an-

swered, That the Name of *Cicero* would one Day be-  
 come more glorious and more famous, than that  
 of *Scaurus*, or *Catulus*. When he was *Quæstor* in  
*Sicily*, he affected to have his two Names *MARCUS*  
*TULLIUS* engraven on a Statue, or Vase of Silver,  
 which he dedicated to a religious Use; and to have  
 his third Name represented by a Chick-Pea. And  
 indeed *Plutarch* says, That the Person of the *Tullian*  
 Family who transmitted the Surname of *Cicero* to his  
 Descendants, had a fleshy Excrescence, or Wart, on  
 his Nose; which resembled the Pulse which the *La-  
 tins* called *Cicer*. But *Pliny* pretends, that one of  
 the *Tullii* was called *Cicero*, on Account of his great  
 Love for Kidney-Beans.

The Father of this illustrious Orator was named *Mar-  
 cus Tullius Cicero* as well as himself. He had spent the  
 greatest part of his Life, at a Country-House near *Ar-  
 pinum*, a little City in the Country of the *Volsci*. This  
 little Country, says *Cicero*, *De Legibus* L. 2, is truly  
 my native Country, and my Nursery. A delicacy of  
 Constitution, and an uncertain State of Health, obliged my  
 Father to confine himself to a rural Retreat. There he  
 spent his Time very agreeably, between the Study of po-  
 lite Literature, and the sweet Amusements of a Country  
 Life. Our Mansion House there savoured of the Sim-  
 plicity and Modesty of our Ancestors. You would have  
 taken it for a mere Cottage. Such was that, in which  
*Curius* the Conqueror of the *Samnites*, went to enjoy  
 the Sweets of a Life of Tranquillity, far from the Tu-  
 mult of Arms. But my Father, in conformity to the  
 Taste of the Age, enlarged and embellished his ancient  
 Inheritance. This was all his Care, and all his Am-  
 bition, being well satisfied with the Title of a Roman  
 Knight, which he had received from his Ancestors.  
 He died in a pretty advanced Age; his Son being then  
 in his 43d Year, which according to *Asconius*, was that  
 of his Consulship.

*Quintus Calenus* indeed, in a Speech full of Invec-  
 tives against *Cicero*, reproached him, as *Dio Cassius*  
 informs us, with the Meanness of his Village, and the  
 Lowness of his Extraction; and from thence came the  
 Reports, that his Father had been a Fuller, and culti-  
 vated his Land with his own Hands. But if this be  
 true, *Cicero* must have been the most impudent Man  
 alive, to have boasted in his Oration for *Muræna*, be-  
 fore



§. XXVII. The kind of Government settled among the *Romans*, would not suffer them to enjoy Tranquillity at home any longer, than while they, rather by Chance, than from a Wisdom in their Choice, happened to place such *Consuls* and *Tribunes of the People* at their Head, as were Men of Moderation, and of a pacifick Temper. And it pleased Heaven to permit them to chuse a turbulent Man for one of their *Consuls* for the Year 662, and to place in the College of *Tribunes* one of those profound Politicians, whose Schemes are good in Speculation, but are often found impracticable, when they come to be put in execution. The *Consuls* were *Sext. Julius Cæsar*, and *L. Marcus Philippus*. The former was a Man of much Wit and Raillery, but peaceable in his Conduct, rather from a love of Quiet, than natural Disposition: The latter, was warm and violent, and we shall see him do very extraordinary Things in the course of his Year. But the chief Author of the Troubles that followed was the *Tribune, Marcus Livius Drusus*. He was of an illustrious Family, and had improved the rare Talents Nature

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fore a venerable Assembly, That he was the Son of a *Roman Knight*. And in his *Oration for Rabirius*, he speaks with as much Assurance. *You know*, says he, addressing himself to the *Knights*, *That I am descended from one of You. Nunc vos, Equites Romani! Videte, scitis me ortum ex vobis.* Besides, is it probable, that *Helvia*, *Cicero's* Mother would marry a vile Mechanick? Her Family was considerable for its great Alliances, and for the *Tribunes of the People*, *Ædiles*, and *Prætors*, that had been of it. One of her Sisters had married *Gaius Visellius Aculeo*, a famous *Roman Knight*, one of the greatest *Civilians* of his Age, and the Confident of *Lucius Crassus* the Orator; so that his Son *Visellius Varro*, whom he had himself instructed in the Law, was Cousin-German to *Cicero*, as well as his inseparable Friend. This appears in his second Book *De Oratore*, and in the Book called *Brutus*.

Nevertheless *Cicero* confesses, That none of his Family obtained the *Curule Offices* before himself; and therefore he was not ashamed to acknowledge himself to be a *new Man*. Nay, his Vanity was indulged by this seemingly humble Confession. For this was implying, that he was indebted only to his own Merit, for his attaining the highest Honours in the Republick.

In his third Book *Of Laws*, he likewise takes no little Pains to magnify the Merit of his Grandfather. He says, That he was a Man venerable for his Integrity; That he contracted an intimate Friendship with *Marcus Antonius*, *Catulus*, and *Cotta*; That he had married the Sister of *Gaius Marius Gratidius*; and That he warmly opposed the Attempts of this turbulent Man, who endeavoured to introduce into *Arpinum*, the Law for giving Suffrages in Writing. And there is some room for Suspicion, that this *Marius Gratidius* was the Father of the great *Marius*. At least *Cicero* seems to imply it, when he adds, in the same Place, That the Father began those Tumults in his native City, which his Son *Marius* afterwards carried on, in a much greater Place. And indeed *Marius* as well as *Gratidius*, had made use of Violence, when *Tribune of the People*, to settle a new Way of Voting in the *Comitia* for electing Magistrates. But besides that, *Plutarch* says, the Father of this *Tribune* was a very poor Man, who lived by his Labour, we are inclined to believe, That *Cicero* had in his View another *Marius*, surnamed *Gratidius*, whom we shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

67 According to *Plutarch*, *Cicero* made such vast Progress in his Studies when he was but a Child, that those of his Age looked upon him as their Master; and these his School-Fellows made him known to their Fathers. Several *Romans* of the first Distinction, went to the publick Schools, to have the Pleasure of hearing him; and all returned full of Admiration, and proposed him to their Children for their Model. His first Application was to *Greek* and *Poetry*; and his first

Essay in the poetick Way, was a Poem in *Tetrameters*, which was called *Pontius Glaucus*. This Fisherman, who was so famous in the Fable, had already been the Subject of one of the Tragedies of *Æschylus*. Before *Cicero* was arrived at the Age of Manhood, he translated into *Latin Verse*, *Aratus's* Work on the Heavens and Constellations, as he himself informs us, in his second Book, *De Nat. Deorum*; and the other poetick Pieces, which are ascribed to him, are much of the same Stamp. The Remains we have of them, are sufficient to shew that his Genius did not lay so much for Poetry, as Oratory. True Eloquence is not always a Friend to the Muses. So that *Plutarch*, who calls *Cicero* a great Poet, is forced to acknowledge, That his Merit in this Way, was eclipsed at *Rome*, by the excellent Performances of *Lucretius*, *Virgil*, *Varius*, *Gallus*, *Ovid*, &c. and before them, by *Plautus* and *Terence*.

68 It is conjectured, That this *Sextius Julius Cæsar* was Uncle to the Conqueror of *Pompey*. His Sister *Julia* was the Wife of *Marius*, according to *Plutarch*; and for this Reason, *Suetonius* says, That she was Aunt to *Julius Cæsar*, the first *Roman Emperor*.

69 *Marcus Philippus*, according to *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, was one of the most eloquent Persons of his Age.

70 This *Marcus Livius Drusus*, was the Son of that *Marcus Livius Drusus*, whom we have seen *Consul*, honoured with a *Triumph*, *Censor*, and the firmest Support of the Senate against the Violences of the *Gracchi*. *Velleius Paterculus* says of this *Tribune of the People*, That he had as well as an illustrious Descent, all those Qualities which make a great Man; an uncommon Eloquence, great Penetration, and a probity and rectitude of Soul, which raised him above all mean and false Artifices. In short, he wanted nothing, according to our Author, but the Favour of Fortune in the Execution of his Designs. But it may be suspected, that the Panegyrist flattered *Livius* a little, in order to make his Court to the Empress *Livia*, who was the Granddaughter of this *Tribune*, and to the Emperor *Tiberius Cæsar*, who was his great Grandson. The Author of *The Lives of illustrious Men*, has given us a very different Character of *Livius*. He was, according to him, proud and haughty, and knew no Law but what favoured his Ambition. In order to ingratiate himself with the People, he gave them fine Shows, in his *Ædileship*, at his own Expence. But having little Regard for the Welfare of his Country, he received with Disdain and Scorn, the Advice his Colleague in the *Tribunate* gave him, for the Service of the Republick. When he was *Quæstor* in *Asia*, he never would vouchsafe to appear, with the *Regalia* of his Office, because he thought he did not want those Ornaments to create him Awe and Respect. In the Schemes he laid for the *Allies* and the People, he openly



Year of Nature had given him, by the Study of Eloquence. He was a good Citizen, loved his Country, and had nothing in view, but to correct the Faults which Passion had introduced into the publick Administration. He was sensible, that the Discord between the three Orders of Men which made up the whole Body of the Republick, was the Source of all the Seditions which had hitherto disturbed it. And tho', the Times were become a little more calm, since the Return of *Metellus Numidicus*, and the Removal of *Marius* from Employments: He saw, there was still a great deal of Fire hid under the Ashes, and doubted not but the least blast of Wind would kindle it afresh. The Senate suffered with Impatience the Usurpations which the People and *Knights* had made upon them. The People murmured, because the Execution of the *Gracchian* Laws was neglected, and complained that no Care was taken to assign them Lands. The *Allies* of *Italy* earnestly pressed to have all the Rights of *Citizenship*, and particularly that of Suffrages. And the *Roman Knights*, who had been for some Time the sole Judges in civil Affairs, had made both the Nobility and the People their Enemies, by the Injustice <sup>71</sup> of their Decrees.

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*Vell. Pater.*  
L. 2.

These Wounds of the Republick much affected *Drusus*, now at the Head of the *Tribunate*, and he formed a Scheme to heal them all at once. But tho' his Intentions were probably upright, the Work was beyond the Power of Man. How could Interests so different be reconciled; or Minds so divided be united? The Nobility insisted on not parting with any of the Lands they had in their Possession. The Senate insisted on their ancient Right of being joined in Commission with the *Prætors*, to judge civil Causes; and desired to have this Privilege taken from the *Roman Knights*, who had been invested with it by a late Law. The *Allies* aspired at the Right of Suffrage, and at the Offices in the Republick, which they had so much assisted in her Conquests. The old *Roman Citizens*, on the other hand opposed this; and would not debase their Privileges by making them too common. Nevertheless, *Livius Drusus* proposed nothing less, than to reconcile all Parties, put an end to all Discontents, and settle the Republick on the same Foot, as in the Times of her first Virtue. A glorious Design; but now impracticable! The whole *Roman* Government was fundamentally wrong, and nothing could set it right, but changing it to its very Foundations. How could so rich and extensive a Republick be wisely governed, by so great a number of Men almost independent of each other? Its immense Riches excited the Covetousness of private Persons, and none aspired at publick Offices, but in order to satisfy their Avarice. The *Prætors* sent from *Rome* to the distant Provinces, were become so many petty Tyrants, whose haste to enrich themselves was the greater, in proportion to the shortness of their stay; and if any of these Oppressors were cited to appear before the *Roman Knights*; their Judges, who were as bad as themselves, often protected them in their Injustice, and shared their Spoils with them. And when, with much Difficulty, any of those publick Oppressors were condemned by the People, all the Consequence was a Retirement to an agreeable Exile, where they enjoyed the Fruits of their Rapines, in plenty. Hence the eagerness of the Candidates for the *Prætorship*, and the other gainful Employments; hence the open and publick buying of Suffrages; hence the canvassings in *The Field of Mars*, which the most ambitious carried on, till they came to bloody Battles. Nay, even the Senate and People often came to Blows,

penly said, That his Design was to deprive the Magistrates of all their Rights, and oblige them to lead unactive Lives. His Avarice led him to be guilty of the basest Treachery to *Magulfa*, a Prince of *Mauritania*, who, under the Protection of the *Tribunes*, had fled to *Rome*, to secure himself against the Hatred of King *Bocchus*. In Contempt of the publick Faith, and in Defiance of the sacred Laws of Hospitality, *Livius* delivered up the unfortunate Prince into the Hands of the enraged King, who caused him to be trod to Death by an Elephant. *Micipsa* King of *Numidia* had sent his Son *Adherbal* to *Rome* for an Hostage; and *Livius*, who hoped for a great Ransom for him, hid him, and kept him Prisoner in his own House, till the Price was paid for his Redemption. The Omission of Facts of this Nature by the *Roman* Historians, gives us Reason to call in question their Impartiality. But be that as it will, *Livius Drusus* had two Collegues, in the *Tribuneship*, who were entirely devoted to

him. One was named *Publius Tarquinius*, according to *Julius Obsequens*; the other, according to *Cicero*, was that *Lucius Furius*, who accused *Manius Aquilius* of publick Oppressions. But that was not the Case of *Caius Carbo*; who was one of the *Tribunes* of the People, in this Year of *Rome* 662. No body opposed *Livius's* Faction with more Vigour; and *Cicero* says, he was one of the most eloquent Orators of his Time. But, to prevent Mistakes, it ought to be observed, That the *Caius Carbo* here spoken of, was the Son of that *Caius Papirius Carbo*, whom we have seen accused, p. 180, by *Lucius Crassus*, at the Age of 21 Years, of being an Accomplice in the Murder of *Scipio Æmilianus*.

<sup>71</sup> *Cicero*, in his *Oration for Posthumius* says, That *Marcus Livius*, the *Tribune of the People*, openly accused the whole Body of the *Roman Knights*, of selling Justice to any that offered most.



in support of their reciprocal Pretensions. These were the two prevailing Powers; one being superior by their Numbers; the other by their Riches, and having the best Heads among them. The People were at the Will of their *Tribunes*, and led whither they pleased by their seducing Eloquence. The *Conscript Fathers* were actuated by more secret Springs, which were set at work by their Ambition. But their different Views made them almost always oppose one another, and there were perpetual Diffensions among them. And in this Situation, how could these two Tribunals, in which was lodged the whole Legislative Authority, govern the World long? It every Day became more and more necessary, that the *Roman Empire* should be governed by a single Monarch; but the Time for this total Change was not yet come. The *Romans* were yet too jealous of their Liberty; but in sacrificing to that Goddess, they sacrificed only to their own Interest, without any Regard to the true Interest of the Provinces which were subject to them.

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§. XXVIII. But *Livius Drusus* had only superficially considered the Distempers of his Republick, without searching them to the bottom; and by endeavouring to remedy only the external Evils, his very Remedies increased them, and made them incurable. He began with endeavouring to reconcile the Senators and *Knights*, which was an important Point; and thought he had found out an effectual Expedient for it. In order to do this gradually, he endeavoured to gain the Affections of all People; and made it his first Business to satisfy the ancient Allies of *Rome*, in *Italy*, especially the *Latins*. *Fulvius Flaccus* when *Consul*, in the Year 628, had given them Hopes, That he would get them put upon an equal Foot with the *Roman Tribes*; and That, tho' Strangers, they should have active and passive Voices in all the Assemblies of the *Roman People*. A Privilege indeed, which they had very justly deserved; because it was by their Arms, that *Rome* had acquired and enlarged her Dominions, and her Glory. These faithful *Italians* annually supplied the Republick with twice as many Soldiers as were raised in the Capital for her *Legions*. Was it reasonable then, that they should continue bare Subjects, while the Inhabitants of *Rome* made and confirmed the Laws, chose the Magistrates, and engrossed the chief Dignities to themselves? On the contrary, these *Allies* had now long demanded to be put on a Level with them; and insisted, That they had merited this Equality, by their Labours, and the Blood they had spilt in the Service of the Republick. The two *Gracchi* had entered into their Measures, and would doubtless have done them Justice, if Death had not prevented the Prosecution of their Designs; and *Livius Drusus* now thought to have gained the Point in which they failed, by pursuing it in a different Method. He was so far from declaring himself an Enemy to the Senate, that he made Court to them, flattered them, and promised to restore them to their ancient Lustre. And tho' it may be presumed, he did not intend to deceive them, yet he was himself deceived by his own Chimæra's. When he was, as he imagined, supported by the Senate, and become agreeable to the Commons, whom he governed by his Eloquence, he spread Reports in the Cities near *Rome*, That he would soon pass a Law, whereby all the *Allies* should be invested with all the Privileges of *Roman Citizens*. This Promise was received with all imaginable Applauses; and the neighbouring Nations thought themselves arrived at the utmost of their Wishes. *We have at last, said they, obtained the Rewards of our Labours. The Republick owes her very Being, and all her Grandeur to us; and we are now going to partake of the Authority, which she exercises over all the World. All Italy will now be one Body of Sovereigns, who will determine the Fate of the World by their Suffrages; and we shall now see many Consuls, and Prætors chosen from among our selves.* But as flattering as these Expectations were, and as cruel as it was to the *Allies* to disappoint them; he who had raised those Hopes, could not possibly fulfill them. By attempting it, he undesignedly caused that unfortunate War to break out, at the very Gates of *Rome*, which the Historians sometimes call a *Civil War*, sometimes the *War of the Allies*, and sometimes the *War of the 73 Marfi*, because it began in their little Country, which was full of brave Men.

App. Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.  
Florus  
Epit. Liv.  
Orosius. L. 5.  
Vell. Patere.  
L. 2.

In the mean time, *Drusus*, in his *Tribuneship*, made use of the Assistance of the neighbouring People, who crowded to the Capital, to help forward the Execution of his Schemes. Though they had not a Right of Suffrage, they had a great deal of Interest in *Rome*. The greatest part of them were related to the *Citizens* by Inter-marriages. Besides, when Things were voted in the *Comitia*, a great many Strangers

72 See Vol 2. p. 159. Note 38.



Year of **R O M E** always got into the Inclosure with the native *Romans*; and were not so carefully watched, but their Suffrages were taken. *Drusus* therefore, seeing himself supported by the formidable Faction of the *Allies*, published the vast Designs he had formed, in the following Speech. *I have formerly understood by my Father, said he, that our domestick Divisions are founded in the reciprocal Oppositions that all the Bodies of the Republick are pleased to make, against granting the Desires and Claims of each other. The Commons are very desirous of obtaining a Property in some Lands, but the Nobility oppose it. The Senators would again be Judges in civil Causes, as they formerly were, but the Roman Knights have deprived them of this Prerogative. The Knights are ambitious of Seats in the Senate-house; but the Senators refuse to admit their Inferiours among them. And lastly, Our Allies demand all the Rights of Citizenship, but our Tribes exclaim against it, and will not admit of such an Equality. And these Broils among all Orders of Men threaten us with impending Ruin. This hidden Leaven, unless removed, cannot fail to produce a general Insurrection. But the Gods themselves, who watch for the Preservation of the Republick which they protect, have inspired me with a Design, which will unite all Hearts, and establish perpetual Concord among us. Let us satisfy all Parties, by granting to each what they most desire; and then all Factions will be at an End. Let the Senate, for instance, appoint some of their Members to sit again as Judges, in the Suits between Man and Man. Let the Knights be added to the first Order of Men in the Republick, and have Seats in the Senate-house. Let our Allies have a Right to vote in our Comitia, and to be admitted to publick Offices. And let our indigent Citizens, in consideration of their giving up a Part of their Privileges to the Allies, be put in Possession of the Lands of the Publick, and have Corn given them gratis, for their Subsistence. When this is done, all Causes of Complaint will be removed; and Concord will again be established, to the universal Satisfaction of all People. I frankly own, Romans, that to this single Point all my Labours shall be applied, during my Office; and, I shall think myself very happy, if I can reconcile the Senators with the Knights, the Rich with the Poor, and the Allies with the Citizens of Rome.*

This Declaration kept all Orders of Men in suspense. The Vulgar applauded it; but Men of Penetration saw the unsurmountable Difficulties that would prevent the execution of it. However, the Tribune himself did not yet perceive how chimerical his Project was; and he began, with proposing in the Comitia, the *Agrarian* Law, and that for distributing to the Poor gratis as much Bread as they should want, which had been passed in the time of the *Gracchi*, but had not yet been put in execution. He observed to the Assembly, That these were two Laws which mutually assisted each other; That his Design being not only to lessen the Poor in Rome, but likewise to provide for the better Maintenance of those that should remain there, these Ends would be promoted by these Laws; inasmuch as the diminishing the Poor, by planting some in Colonies, or sending them to cultivate Lands of their own in the Country, would make it the more easy to support the rest at the publick Expence: That there was no Reason to fear exhausting the Treasury by these Bounties, since the Sums were immense that were annually brought to it in Tributes from the Provinces; and, That the Temple of *Saturn*, where the publick Treasures were deposited, ought not to be made like the Sea, which swallows up every Thing, and returns nothing. But notwithstanding all the Orator could say, his Law met with Opposition. It was urged, That it would be too great an Expence to the Publick, to give all the Corn that would be necessary to support so great a number of Families; and That though there were then in the Treasury, 1620829 Pounds <sup>73</sup> weight of Gold, yet Rome was threatened with a War with *Mithridates*, in the East; which made it necessary to save the publick Money, to maintain it. *Drusus* therefore found out an Expedient for encreasing the Money in the Treasury; which was to add an eighth Part of Brass, to the pure Metal, of which the Roman Coin had hitherto been made; and by the help of this Alteration, he got the Laws passed, and the common People were satisfied.

§. XXIX. But it was more difficult to reconcile the *Senators* and *Knights*. Nevertheless, the Tribune thought he had found out a Means to heal all their Divisions, by removing the Causes of them. He flattered himself, that he could prevail on the

<sup>73</sup> Sixteen hundred and twenty Thousand eight hundred and twenty nine Pounds weight of Gold, were worth above 300 Millions of French Crowns; allowing only 500 *Livres* to a Pound of Gold. Which would doubtless appear an incredible Sum, if it was not known, that all the Riches of the World centered in old Rome.



*Knights* to give up the Judgment of Civil Causes, and procure them Admission into the Senate, by a Compromise, which he thought infallible. He proposed, That the Number <sup>74</sup> of the *Conscript Fathers*, which had long been fixed to 300, should be increased to 600; That in order to this, each *Senator* should choose one of the chief *Knights*, that he liked best, who should be incorporated into their own Body; and That out of this Body when thus enlarged, the Judges of Civil Causes should be chosen. He took it for granted, that this would put an end to all Disputes. In this Case, it might truly be said, That the Senate had still preserved their ancient Rights; and That the *Knights* had not given up the distinguishing Honours that had been granted them. Such were the fond Speculations of the well-meaning *Livius*; who did not see the Vanity of them, till they came to be put in execution. Then both the Bodies, which he wanted to reconcile, declared with great Vehemence against the Scheme. The Chief of the <sup>75</sup> *Knights* refused, either to give up the Judgment of civil Causes, or to accept of Places in the Senate, where the Numbers would be so great, as to depreciate their Value. On the other hand, the Senators scorned to associate, and put themselves upon a Level, with Men, whose Money rather than their Birth, had made them the second Order in the Republick. The bare Proposal of the Design raised a greater Antipathy between the two Bodies than ever; and as is usual with those, who form Schemes for reconciling Parties, the Reconciler incurred the Hatred of both. *Q. Servilius Cæpio* put himself at the Head of the *Knights*, and the *Consul Marcius Philippus* appeared for the Senate, to oppose the designed Accommodation. The *Consul* indeed had no other Reason to hate *Livius*, but his supposed Opposition to the common Interest of the Nobility. But *Cæpio* had had personal Quarrels with him. They had formerly been united in a strict Friendship, and their Coldness had begun on a very slight Occasion. They had both cheapened a Ring of great Price, and one took the Bargain out of the other's Hands. From that time they kept no Correspondence with one another; and as the strictest Friendships when broke off generally turn into the most implacable Hatred; they became constant Rivals to each other, and did each other all the Mischief they could, in their Pursuit of Offices. *Livius* was more rich and liberal than his Adversary. *Cæpio* was more artful, and better formed for Intrigues. Nevertheless, the former had gained the *Tribunate* from the latter; but *Cæpio* had now a favourable Opportunity to give *Livius* trouble in the Discharge of his Office. He put himself at the Head of the *Knights*, and haughtily refused to accept of a Place in the Senate, upon the Condition of giving up the Judgment of civil Causes. It was great Pleasure to him to mortify *Drusus*, the Author of the Law; and from that Time *Drusus* inclined more than ever, to favour the Senate. *Scaurus* therefore, who presided in it, and the *Consul Marcius*, advised him, to take away from the *Knights* the Judgment of Causes, without advancing them to be Senators; and represented to him, That they had greatly abused their Authority; That Justice was become venal in their Hands; and That they had unjustly condemned some of the most virtuous Citizens. But Obstinacy was the distinguishing Character of *Drusus*. Since he had gone so far as to propose his Law, he resolved to support it, without any Alteration: And by this Means he drew upon himself the best Heads in the Senate. The *Consul Philippus*, and old *Scaurus*, became his Enemies: *Scaurus* with more Moderation, on account of his Age; but *Philippus* with all the <sup>76</sup> Fire of a Soldier. The latter loved good eating, and was an agreeable

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<sup>74</sup> According to *Liv. Epit. L. 60.* *Caius Gracchus* had, several Years before *Livius*, proposed a Law in favour of the Equestrian Order, whereby Seats and Votes in the Senate were given to 600 *Knights* of the greatest Merit. But *Appian de Bell. Civ. L. 1.* reduces their Number to 300. Either therefore this Law did not pass, or it must have been disannulled after the Death of *Caius Gracchus*. It is certain, it was not in force, since *Livius Drusus* offered to be the Mediator to treat of an Union, of the Senators and the *Knights*, who were yet two separate Bodies.

<sup>75</sup> *Cicero* ranks *Caius Flavius Puffo*, *Cnæius Titinius*, and *Caius Mæcanas*, among the most considerable Roman *Knights*, who opposed the Attempts of the Tribune *Livius*.

<sup>76</sup> According to *Val. Maximus*, *Marcus Philip-*

*pus* declared against *Livius* with such Fury, that the wisest Senators thought it necessary to restrain him. They represented to him, That the present State of Affairs required a mature Deliberation; and That too precipitate an Ardour, instead of putting a Stop to the Evil, would make it more general. But the impetuous *Consul* regarded neither Persons nor Things; he consulted nothing but his own Passion; and resenting the seeming Dilatoriness of the Senate, he broke out into Reproaches upon the whole Body, and even accused them of Prevarication, and of fomenting Discord by their mean Compliances. He went so far, as to say, in his Passion, That those cowardly Senators, who betrayed the Interests of their Country, were unworthy of the Seats they filled; and That he could find others to put in their Room, who were truly Romans, and had Courage enough, to brave with



Year of agreeable Companion, but warm and impetuous, especially in Matters of Honour; *ROME* and it happened, That in the *Comitia Drusus* and *Philippus* one Day met on the *DCLXII. Tribune of Harangues*, and as soon as the *Tribune* opened his Mouth, the *Consul* immediately interrupted him, and commanded him to hold his Peace. This was an Affront not to be borne, and it was immediately revenged. *Drusus* was strongest in the Place where he exercised his Jurisdiction, and he called for Assistance. Upon this, one of his Clients immediately mounted the *Rostra*, and seized *Philippus* so roughly by the Collar, and squeezed him so hard, that the Blood came out of his Nose. The Assembly were surprized at the Sight of a bleeding *Consul*; but the *Tribune* cried out, *It is very well; what you see run from his Nose is not Blood, but the Gravy of Ortolans.* This Jest, alluding to the *Consul's* Epicurism, made the People laugh; and they quietly suffered *Philippus* to be carried to prison by Violence.

SEXT. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, & L.  
MARCIVS  
PHILIPPUS,  
Consuls.  
*Val. Max. L.*  
9. c. 5.  
*Florus L. 3.*  
c. 17.

This Success increased the Confidence of *Drusus*. Tho' the Senate and *Knights* were his Enemies, the Commons had all declared for him. They had attained to their highest Wishes, by the Law, which granted them Lands, and a free Bounty of Wheat; and the *Tribune* thought himself not only safe under their Protection, but in a condition to treat the Orders of the Senate with Contempt. The *Conscript Fathers* assembled in a different Place from that in which they usually sat, and sent to summon him to appear before them, to give an Account of the Imprisonment of the *Consul*. But *Drusus* proudly answered the Messenger, That if the Senate had any Thing to say to him they might find him in the *Comitium*; and That they ought to remove from the Place where they were, to the old Palace of King *Hostilius*, where they usually held their Assemblies: And this first Body of the Republick had the Cowardice to comply with his Directions. *Drusus*, surrounded by the People had nothing to Fear, and supported his Conduct with a Steadiness which disconcerted the Senators. Nor did he with less Courage resist the *Knights*, who laboured to render his Designs abortive by the Help of the factious *Cæpio*. He ventured to threaten this Head of their Party, to have him thrown down from the *Tarpeian Rock*.

Author. de Vir.  
Illust.  
Plut. L. 28.  
c. 9.

§. XXX. In the mean Time, the *Allies*, whom the *Tribune* had hitherto made use of, in the Execution of his most dangerous Enterprizes, pressed him to conclude<sup>77</sup> their particular Affair. He had promised them, that before he went out of his Office, he would put them upon a Level with the *Roman Citizens*; and they insisted on the immediate Performance of this Promise. But as he had hitherto delayed drawing up their Petition in the Form of a Law, and proposing it to the People, and now foresaw more plainly than ever, the Difficulty he should have in getting it passed, this threw him into Perplexity. To break his Word, was to lose the Confidence and Protection of his best Friends, and in losing them to hazard every Thing else. But whilst the *Allies*, on one hand, were tiring him with their Sollicitations; the Senate, *Knights*, and *Roman Tribes*, on the other, all opposed the communicating their most glorious Privilege to Strangers. In short, the prodigious Concours of the *Allies* to the City, their coming and returning, their private Meetings, and their seditious Commotions, gave him great Concern; and when he saw that his Rival *Cæpio* was at the Bottom of all these Cabals, it threw him into a deep Melancholy. It is said, that in a Fit of Sorrow, he drank Goat's Blood, and immediately afterwards went to the *Comitium*, resolving to pass the Law in favour of the *Allies*, that very Day. But the Strength of his Draught brought on him a Fit of the Falling-sickness in the Presence of all the People, and being thought dead, he was carried to his House. The *Allies*, who were interested in his Preservation, openly testified their Grief at this Accident, and all the

with him, the Danger that threatened them. *Lucius Crassus* answered these Insults with a Steadiness, which made the *Consul* change Colour; and in his Rage, he ordered a *Lictor* to seize this Man, who was so venerable for his Birth and personal Merit. But *Crassus*, still preserving his Gravity, repulsed the *Lictor*, who would have dragged him to prison; and turning to *Marcus* said, I will not allow a Man to be a *Consul*, who does not treat me as a Senator.

<sup>77</sup> Among the chief of the *Allies*, who pressed the *Tribune of the People* to get them the Right of *Roman Citizenship*, *Quintus Pompædus* was the warmest. He applied himself to young *Cato*, whom his Uncle *Livius* was bringing up, under his own

Care; and used all means, to prevail on the Child, to solicit the Favour of the *Tribune* for the *Allies*. But *Cato* rejected the Application with a Firmness that surprized them. From *Carences Pompædus* proceeded to Threatnings, seized *Cato*, carried him up to the uppermost Floor in the House, and in order to frighten him, pretended he would throw him out of the Window. But the Sight of the Danger, did not stagger the Constancy of the young *Roman*; and so much Courage at his Age, surprized *Pompædus*, and those of his Faction. They retired in Confusion, and resolved to take more effectual Measures to gain their Point. This Account is given us, by *Plutarch* in his *Life of Cato of Utica*, and by *Val. Maximus*.

Cities



Cities of *Italy* made Vows for his Recovery. But we cannot think it probable, that, Year of  
as some Authors say, he drank the Goat's Blood, only to cast on *Cæpio* the Odium of *ROME*  
having desired to poison him. However, as soon as he was recovered from his Distem- DCLXII.  
per, which had attacked him several Times before, and from the returns of which he  
had preserved himself by Hellebore, he returned to his ordinary Business; and when <sup>SEXT. JULIUS</sup>  
he remounted the *Rostra*, he found the People much altered with respect to himself. <sup>CÆSAR, & L.</sup>  
He had indeed got them Lands, or Bread for their Subsistence. But the Gratitude of <sup>MARCIUS</sup>  
the Populace is not Proof against the least Discontents; and they reproached him <sup>PHILIPPUS,</sup>  
with sacrificing their Interest to the *Allies*. So that he was now deserted, not only by <sup>Consuls.</sup>  
the Senate, and *Knights*, but also by the *Roman* People. How then could he perform <sup>Cic. pro domo</sup>  
his Promise to the *Allies*? They came to *Rome* from all Parts, and were there equal in <sup>sua.</sup>  
Number to the greatest Armies. Nevertheless the *Tribune*, on whom alone all their <sup>Auth. de Vir.</sup>  
Hopes depended, durst not confer with them, but in dark Portico's and secret Places;  
and his Distrust gave them Suspicions, that they should not be able to compass this  
favourite Point, by his Means. They therefore entered into a Plot, without his Know-  
ledge, to extort by open Force, what they despaired of gaining by Interest; and a  
Company of them formed a Design to assassinate the *Consuls*, during the Ceremony of  
*The Feriæ Latinæ*. This was a Solemnity, annually celebrated on *The Hill of Alba*  
after the Election of the great Magistrates. The two *Consuls* went thither, were there  
invested with their Office, and again swore to observe the ancient Treaties with the  
Nations of *Italy*, on the Altar of *Jupiter Latialis*. It is probable, that this famous  
Sacrifice, at which were present Deputies from all the Cities, and a great Crowd of  
People, had been postponed, on account of the Troubles; and the *Latin* Malecontents  
were resolved to mix the *Consuls* Blood with that of the Victims. But notwithstand-  
ing all the Care the Conspirators took to conceal their Plot, *Drusus* was informed of  
it; and he acquainted *Sextus Julius Cæsar*, and *Marcus Philippus*, tho' his Enemy,  
with it. The *Consuls*, under some Pretence, or other, kept from the Feast, and thereby  
saved their Lives. And *Drusus* was ill rewarded for his Probity. The Number of his  
Enemies increased daily; and *Cæpio* at the Head of the *Knights*, and the *Consuls*, at <sup>App. Bell. Civ.</sup>  
the Instigation of the Senate, conspired to destroy him. They drew to the City a great <sup>L. 1.</sup>  
Number of *Hetrurians* and *Umbrians*, who were displeased with the Settlement of <sup>Florus L. 3.</sup>  
those *Roman Colonies* which the *Tribune* proposed to make in their Country; and no-  
thing was heard but Complaints, against the rash Enterprizes of *Drusus*. Ought a  
young Tribune, said they, to have Interest enough, to put all Orders of Men in the  
*Republick* in a Flame, with his wild Speculations? Is it to be expected, that at his Age,  
he should become an universal Peace-maker? His Pretence of reconciling all Interests has  
only added Fuel to our former Discords. Such were the Complaints of Citizens, and  
Strangers; and it was not to be conceived, but they must in the End prove fatal, to him  
that caused them.

§. XXXI. Indeed, *Drusus* began to fear the Fate of the *Gracchi*; and could draw  
but little Assurance from the Uprightness of his Intentions. Tho' a *Tribune of the Peo-*  
*ple*, he had to do with Men, who were used to Slaughter; and were always as ready  
to shed Blood in the *Comitium*, as in a Field of Battle. He therefore kept at home,  
and appeared no more in Publick; and when he no longer spoke for himself, the Se-  
nate renewed their Declarations against him. They accused him of holding private  
Assemblies in his House, and of making as seditious Harangues to a small Company of  
his Friends there, as he had done from the *Rostra*. These Calumnies, which reached  
his Ears, obliged him to leave his Retreat, and appear before the People, in his own  
Vindication. But this was an unseasonable Step. It was already resolved, that he  
should be assassinated. Whether it was the People, or the *Allies*, or the *Consuls* and  
Senate, or the *Roman Knights*, or *Quintus Varius* one of his Collegues, that hired the  
Villain who killed him, has never been sufficiently cleared up; but the Suspicion of  
this black Attempt against the sacred Person of a *Tribune*, fell on the *Consul Philippus*,  
*Cæpio*, and *Varius*. However, *Drusus* appeared again on the *Rostra*, and harangued  
the People; and when he had done, he found that he was not escorted to his House  
as usual. Only a small Number of Clients followed him; and among them was the  
Assassin, who did not strike the Blow, till he had attended him to the Door of his  
House. There the Villain stabbed him in the Groin, with a Shoe-maker's Knife, and  
left the Knife in the Wound. When *Drusus* felt himself wounded, he cried out, *Un-*  
*grateful Republick! Wilt thou ever find a Man more zealous for thy true Interest, than*  
VOL. V. I have



Year of  
ROME  
DCLXII.  
SEXT. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, & L.  
MARCUS  
PHILIPPUS,  
Consuls.  
Vell. Pat. L. 2.

*I have been?* And a few Hours after expired. Rome had never seen more Misfortunes joined with more Virtue, in any of her Children. His Manners were blameless. This appeared by his Conversation with a Workman, who had agreed to build him a House on the Hill *Palatinus*. Upon the Architect's telling him, that he would contrive it so, that Nobody should overlook him; he answered, *No, let me be so exposed to my Neighbours, that they may see every Thing that is done in my House.* And for Love to his Country, he had no Equal. He dedicated all his Thoughts, Cares, and Life itself, to its Service. Indeed the Success was not answerable to his Expectations; because he considered the *Romans* as what they ought to have been, and not as what they were. If the Violence of their Passions had not blinded them, he would have succeeded in bringing about a sincere Reconciliation, which alone could preserve the Republick from impending Ruin. But as it was, he sunk under the Weight of a glorious Enterprize, on which he had embarked on pure Principles of Honour; and Heaven soon after bestowed on his Family the Empire of the *Romans*. *Livius Drusus* was the Grandfather of *Livia* the Wife of *Augustus*, and the great Grandfather of *Tiberius*.

As for the Senate, they pursued the generous *Tribune* with their Hatred, even beyond the Grave. They not only refused to order any Enquiries to be made after the Authors and Accomplices of his Death, but spread Reports that he had killed himself in Despair, upon seeing his Schemes prove abortive. At the Motion of the Consul *Philippus*, all the Acts passed by him were disannulled by a Decree. And *Varius*, at the Sollicitation of the *Knights*, ventured to desire of the People, that Informations might be taken against those who had entered into the Scheme of granting the Right of *Citizenship* to the *Allies*. *Varius* had been born in *Spain* on the Banks of the <sup>78</sup> *Sucro*, of a *Roman* Father, and a *Spanish* Mother; and on account of the Meanness of his Mother, the Nick-name of <sup>79</sup> *Hybris*, or *Mongrel*, was given him by way of Reproach. He was frightfully ugly, loved Intrigues, and with an excessive Impudence, and the Spirit of a Fury, had a pretty easy Manner of Speaking in Publick. He was jealous of the Reputation *Drusus* had acquired in his *Tribuneship*, and undertook to obliterate it, and succeed him in the *Rostra*. But as he could not trust to his own Merit and Interest, he gave himself up to the Faction of the *Knights*, and stood upon theirs. It was by their Advice, that he moved the People, that all those who had been active in endeavouring to get the Right of *Citizenship* granted to the *Allies*, should be accused of Treason; and by the Intrigues and Violences of these new Friends, he prevailed on the Commons to prosecute Men of the best Families in *Rome*, for being of *Drusus's* Party. The *Knights* were their Judges, and they forced *L. Calpurnius Bestia*, an old Consul, to banish himself. *Marcus Aurelius* <sup>80</sup> *Cotta* followed his Example, and his Mother *Rutillia* accompanied him in his retreat. *Mummius* was banished in his old Age, to *Delos*. And lastly, the venerable *Scaurus* himself, the old President of the Senate, was summoned by *Varius* to appear before the People, and made only this short but weighty Defence. *The* <sup>81</sup> *Mongrel accuses me of having been the Cause of the Discontents of our Allies.* *Scaurus*, the Prince of the Senate, denies it. *There are no Witnesses. Judge You, who is to be believed.* Without farther Apology *Scaurus* was acquitted; and *Varius* confounded by the Shoutings of the People. And as a greater Punishment was due to the Villain than the Banishment to which he had brought so many others, he afterwards died in Torments by the Hands of the *Allies* themselves. An end worthy of such a Wretch, who was accused of having em-

Val. Max. L.  
8. c. 6.  
App. Bell.  
Civ.  
Cic. de Nat.  
Deor. L. 3.  
Cic. Orat. pro  
Scauro.  
Val. Max. L.  
3. c. 7.

<sup>78</sup> The River *Sucro*, which the Natives now call the *Xucar*, rises near *Cuenca*; formerly watered a City of the same Name, in the Kingdom of *Valencia*; and falls into the *Mediterranean*, some Leagues from *Gandi*.

<sup>79</sup> The Term *Hybris*, taken from the *Greek* *ὑβρις*, signified any Animal, that was born of a Male and Female of different Species; and it was applied to *Quintus Varius*, according to *Val. Maximus*, because his Right to the *Roman* *Citizenship* was doubtful.

<sup>80</sup> *Appian* says, That *Marcus Aurelius Cotta* appeared before the People; made a Speech himself with great Dignity, in Justification of his Conduct; and then, addressing himself to the *Roman* *Knights*, very pathetically described the ill Practices and monstrous Abuses, which they were ac-

cused of committing, in the Administration of Justice. After which he left the *Comitia*, without waiting for his Sentence of Condemnation, and went into voluntary Banishment.

<sup>81</sup> According to *Val. Maximus*, *Quintus Varius* accused *Scaurus* of a Crime, in taking Money, contrary to Law, of *Mithridates*, when he was Ambassador for the Republick in *Asia*. But *Asconius* says, it was *Quintus Servilius Cæpio*, the most open Partizan of the *Roman* *Knights*, who accused *Scaurus*, and the Consul *Philippus* at the same Time, at the Tribunal of the People. One for having advised *Livius* to transfer to the *Senators* only, the right of hearing all Causes, civil and criminal; and the other for canvassing for the *Consulship* in an unlawful Manner.

played



ployed the Assassin who had killed *Drusus*, and made use of Poison against *Metellus Numidicus*!

§. XXXII. But all the Murders which were yet committed, in a manner with Impunity at *Rome*, were only the Forerunners of those Massacres and Proscriptions, which the Dispute between *Sylla* and *Marius* were ready to produce. Their mutual Hatred was very near breaking out, upon a new occasion of Jealousy, which happened at this Time. *Bocchus*, King of *Mauritania*, had been very sincere ever since his delivering up of *Jugurtha*. He was become a real Friend to the *Romans*, and retained a sincere personal Regard for *Sylla*. And in order to testify his own Gratitude, and contribute to his Glory, he had cast a Groupe of 20 Statues in Gold, which he presented to the Republick. It was a *Victory* on a Pedestal, surrounded with the Soldiers of *Bocchus* attending *Jugurtha* in Chains, and *Sylla* receiving him from the King's Hands: And it was not only valuable for the Materials, but done in an exquisite Taste. The Senate ordered it to be placed in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and this was enough to revive the Fury of *Marius*. He had triumphed over the King of *Numidia*, and *Bocchus* had given his Rival the Glory of the Conquest. He therefore highly resented the Affront, and resolved to take this lasting Monument, which tended to his Dishonour, out of the *Capitol* by Force. On the other Hand, *Sylla* called his Friends together to defend *Bocchus's* Present, and to support his own Honour, which he thought nearly concerned in the Affair. So that the *Capitol* was ready to have been stained with the Blood of many *Romans*; but the People, by their Authority, put a Stop to these Beginnings of a Civil War; though, in reality they only delayed it. An Affair of more Importance obliged *Rome*, for the present, to pay court to both their Generals. The *Allies* were taking up Arms against the Republick; the Rupture was declared. *Pompeidius Silo*, the most popular Nobleman, and the most famous Warriour among the *Marfi*, was already upon his march, at the Head of 10000 Men, and was coming to surprise *Rome*, which he had resolved to plunder. But *Cn. Domitius*, the *Roman*, accidentally met *Pompeidius* upon the Road, as he was going to his Country-house; and had Interest enough with him, to divert him from this Blow. Otherwise, the 10000 *Marfi* were ready to have demanded the Performance of *Drusus's* Promises, in the *Comitia*, and to have given the *Romans* no quarter, in case of a Refusal. However, as the People of *Rome* resolved not to grant the *Allies* the right of Suffrage, they still expected to see the Hostilities soon begun, by the People of *Italy*. The famous Orator *Crassus* died<sup>82</sup> before these first Convulsions happened in the Republick; and *Cicero* his Panegyrist, extols his Happiness on that Account. The latter, though only in his sixteenth Year, was already thought a Prodigy of<sup>83</sup> Eloquence, and having put on the *Toga Virilis*, began to appear frequently at the Bar; but the Troubles were so violent, that he thought not proper at his Age, to venture either to mount the *Rostra*, or plead in the Courts of the *Roman Knights*.

§. XXXII. Thus the old expiring Year threatened *Rome* with two civil Wars, one with the *Allies*, the other between *Marius* and *Sylla*; and they soon followed one another, but that of the *Marfi* broke out first. The new *Consuls* were chosen as usual, in the *Field of Mars*; and two Men of distinguished Merit were promoted. One

82 According to *Cicero*, *De Orat. L. 3.* the *Triumvir Livius* had assembled the Senate, on the *Ides of September*; and *Marcus Philippus* appeared there with all the Pride of a *Consul*. He treated that venerable Body with such Insolence, that it roused the Zeal of the famous Orator *Lucius Crassus*; who defended the Senate against the *Consul* with such vehemence, that it threw him into a Pleurisy, of which he died, after seven Days Sickness.

83 The Time fixed for taking the *Toga Virilis* in the first Ages of the Republick, was 17 Years; of which *Cicero* gives us a Proof, in his Oration for *Marcus Caelius*. He says, that the Age for military Service, and for taking this Robe, was the same. Now, according to *Numa's* Institution, a *Roman* was fit to bear Arms, as soon as he was 17 Years old. Afterwards, the *Citizens* varied from this Custom, and left it to Parents and Guardians, to give it when they pleased; and we have Instances in the old *Roman* Story, of young *Romans*, who put it on, before

they were 17. *Augustus Cæsar*, according to *Suetonius*, was but 15, when he quitted the *Prætexta*. *Propertius* says, that this Change of Habit was made with great Solemnity before the Altar, or Statue, of some Divinity; and *Ovid* tells us, that the *Third of the Ides of March*, that is, the 17th of that Month, was the Day generally pitched upon for that Ceremony. The *Romans* then celebrated the Festival called *Liberalia*, in honour to *Bacchus*; and the Poet gives us this Account of the Reasons that led the Republick to choose a Day consecrated to that God.

*Restat, ut inveniam, quare toga libera detur  
Luciferis pueris, candide Bacche, tuis.  
Sive, quod ipse puer semper, juvenisque videris,  
Et media est ætas inter utrumque tibi.  
Sive, quia tu pater es, patres, sua pignora, natos,  
Commendant curæ numibusque tuis.  
Sive, quod es Liber, vestis quoque libera per te  
Sumitur, & vitæ liberioris iter.*



Year of  
ROME  
DCLXIII.  
L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, &  
P. RUTILIUS  
LUPUS, Con-  
suls.

was *L. Julius Cæsar*, the other *P. Rutilius Lupus*. In what Degree of Relation this *L. Julius Cæsar* stood to *Sextus Julius Cæsar* the late *Consul*, is not known. All that is certain is, that the latter was Brother to one *Caius*<sup>84</sup> *Julius Cæsar*, whom we shall see soliciting for the *Consulship* in vain. They were all of the *Julian Family*, and related to the famous *Julius Cæsar*, who after the Defeat of *Pompey*, possessed himself of the Empire of the World, and turned the Republick into a Monarchy. *Lucius Cæsar*, who was very brave, and very ambitious, had the Misfortune to be the first Man that attempted to reduce the *Allies*, and bring them to Reason. The War, of which he was to bear the first Fire, proved very fatal to the *Romans*. *Rome*, the Mistress of the World, seemed fallen back to the same State, in which she had been in her earliest Infancy. She was now to re-conquer the same Nations, which she had with so very great Difficulty subdued, when she was yet in her Cradle. The *Marsi*, *Peligni*<sup>85</sup>, *Samnites*<sup>86</sup>, *Campani*<sup>87</sup>, *Lucani*<sup>88</sup>; and in short, all the<sup>89</sup> *Provinces* near the *Tyber*, revolted at once, from the Capital of *Italy* and of the World. They had formerly been subdued one by one, but they were now to be fought together, all united in one Confederacy. Besides, these *Nations* seemed to be now, a very different Sort of People, from what they had been when *Rome* first overcame them. By being in Alliance with her, they had, in some Measure, imbibed her Spirit and Courage. Having been taught the same way of fighting as the *Romans*, armed like them, accustomed to the same Way of encamping, the same Order in forming themselves, and the very same Evolutions, and in short, being as well disciplined as they, it may be affirmed, that the Republick never engaged with more formidable Enemies. The Chiefs had learnt the Art of War, under the most famous *Consuls*, and had at last as much Experience as the Generals chosen annually in the *Field of Mars*. It was said of the *Marsi* in particular, that there never had been a *Triumph* in *Rome*, on account of any Victory, in which they had not had the greatest Part. Such were the Rebels, whose Fury the present *Consuls* were to sustain. Their old Attachment to *Rome* was turned into Rage against her; and indeed, their Complaints were reasonable. The *Roman* Historians themselves confess, that the War they entered into was not unjust.

Strabo L. 5.  
App. Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.  
Velutius, L. 2.

The first Step they took in their Revolt was to appoint themselves a Capital which should rival *Rome*; where should be held Assemblies of the new Republick, to which the Deputies of every City in the Confederacy should come; and which should be their chief Magazine of Arms, for carrying on the War. *Corfinium*<sup>90</sup>, a great and strong City, in the Country of the *Peligni*, was chosen for these Purposes; and thither were carried the Hostages which were taken from all the Cities in the Revolt, and prodigious Stores of Arms and Provisions. But these Preparations could not be so privately made, as to be kept secret from the *Romans*, who had their Spies, in all the Places which they suspected. It happened, that the City of<sup>91</sup> *Asculum Picenum* resolved, among the rest, to send her Hostage to *Corfinium*, to shew her Adherence to the Rebels; and *Q. Servilius*, who then governed that Country in quality of *Pro-Consul*, was informed of their Determinations. Upon this Information, he made all haste to *Asculum*, and entered it with that air of Authority, which the *Roman* Magistrates generally assumed over the Cities in their Provinces. The *Asculani* were then assembled in the Theatre, to see some publick Shows, and the *Pro-Consul* thought fit to interrupt

84 It was that *Caius Julius Cæsar* who was surnamed *Strabo*, because he squinted. *Cicero* highly extols this illustrious *Roman*, in several Parts of his Works. He particularly mentions his Learning, Wit, Politeness, and Cheerfulness. *Asconius* ascribes to him some Orations and Tragedies, which were remarkable for nothing but the Elegance and Purity of their Style. *Donatus* quotes some Verses of his, in the *Life of Terence*, and *Festus* mentions two Verses taken from a dramatick Piece of his, called *Adraspe*. An old Inscription engraven on the Pedestal of a Marble Statue tells us, that he was *Quæstor*, *Curule Ædile*, *Tribune of the People*, one of the *Decemviri* appointed to settle the Bounds of Fields, and one of the *Pontifices*.

85 The Cities of *Sulmona*, *Corfinium*, and *Superæquum*, belonged to them. See Vol. 2. p. 145. Note 17.

86 See Vol. 2. p. 109. Note 63.

87 See Vol. 2. p. 123. Note 89.

88 See Vol. 2. p. 156. Note 33. of the Country of the *Lucani*. The *Bradano* separates it from *La Poiville*.

89 Of this Number were the *Picentini*, the *Vestini*, the *Marrucini*, all ancient Nations of *Italy*, before described; and in short, all the Nations that were spread from the *Carigliano*, to the *Adriatick* Sea.

90 *Corfinium*, the Capital of the *Peligni*, appears by *Sigebert's Chronicon*, to have been in being, in the Year of *Christ* 960, as *Strabo* observes. But it is now buried in its Ruins. Some Footsteps of it are still to be seen near *Popolo*, a City in *Hither Abruzzo*.

91 See Vol. 2. p. 457. Note 92; and p. 499. Note 74.



the Shows, and threaten the Burghers with the Vengeance of Rome. But both the Year of Times, and their Hearts, were much changed. They despised his Menaces, and inflicted the threatened Punishment, which they no longer dreaded, on himself. They put him, Fonteius his Lieutenant-General, and all the Romans they found in their Territory, to death; and by spilling their Blood, declared open War. Then Rome immediately levied her Troops, and nominated her Generals; and the Provinces that fell to the two Consuls were, Samnium to Cæsar, and the Country of the Marſi to Rutilius. The latter chose for his Lieutenant-Generals, Cn. Pompeius, the Father of Pompey the Great, the famous C. Marius the Conqueror of the Cimbri, Q. Cæpio the late Tribune, C. Perperna, and Valerius Messala. Cæsar nominated for his chief Officers, P. Lentulus his Brother by the Mother's Side, Cornelius Sylla who was already so well known by his Exploits, T. Didius, P. Licinius Crassus, and M. Marcellus<sup>92</sup>. By these Names it appears, that Rome had chosen her most famous Warriors to be employed against these new Enemies; and it was resolved, That these Lieutenant-Generals should not barely be Subalterns under the Consuls. Every one had a small Body of Troops under his own Command, with the Title of Pro-Consul. Nor was each fixed to a particular Province with Orders not to leave it. Every one had Orders to go whereſoever he was wanted, and all were directed to assist each other, without confining themselves to particular Districts.

§. XXXIV. Whilst Rome was taking these wise Measures, the Allies also chose their Consuls and Prætors at Corfinium, and settled the Form of their new Republick. The Reader therefore must take Care to remember, that both the Romans and their Enemies, made use of the same Names, for different Persons and Things, (which is not to be wondered at in People who spake the same Language) otherwise he will introduce Confusion in this Part of the History. The confederated Rebels chose for their Consuls, Q. Pompeius Silo, and C. Aponius Mutilus, whom some Historians call Papius; and then chose their Prætors for the several Cantons which had come into the Confederacy. Herius Asinius was appointed to command in the Country of the<sup>93</sup> Marrucini; Vettius Cato, in that of the Marſi; M. Lamponius, and Tiberius Cleptius, in Lucania; Marius Egnatius, Trebatius, and Portius Telesinus, in Samnium; C. Judacilius commanded the Troops of Apulia and<sup>94</sup> Picenum; and A. Cluentius, those of the Peligni. The Officers that signalized themselves most among the Rebels, after their Leaders, were T. Afranius, P. Ventidius, C. Pontidius, L. Presentius, and T. Herennius. Thus we see into how many Provinces the Contagion was spread. The Picentes, Vestini<sup>95</sup>, Peligni, Marrucini, Apuli<sup>96</sup>, Frentani<sup>97</sup>, Hirpini<sup>98</sup>, Pompeiani<sup>99</sup>, and in short, all the Nations from the Liris to the Adriatick Sea, took up Arms; and the new State was governed by a Senate consisting of 500 Persons, chosen out of all the confederate Nations. So that there were now, for the first time, two Romes, and two Republicks<sup>100</sup>, in Italy.

Upon the first Alarms of the approaching War, the Romans knew not the whole Strength of their new Enemies; and the most superstitious were terrified by certain<sup>101</sup> Prodigious. Among others, it was said, that Cæcilia Metella, the Daughter of Me-

<sup>92</sup> Velleius Paterculus adds to these General Officers, the Son of Quintus Metellus Numidicus.

<sup>93</sup> See Vol. 2 p. 217. Note 88. Some ancient Authors say, the Marrucini came originally from the Sabines.

<sup>94</sup> Before the Conquest of Samnium, by the famous Curius, in the Year of Rome 463, by the Picentini were meant only the Inhabitants of Picenum, which is now Part of the Marquisate of Ancona, and of Further Abruzzo. After the Samnites had been subdued, the Romans joined to Picenum all that Part of Campania which reaches from Sorrento to the River Silanus. And after this Union, the Inhabitants of Picenum were called Picentes, and those of the Country added to the old Province, were called Picentini; according to Strabo, B. 5.

<sup>95</sup> See Vol. 2, p. 217, Note 87.

<sup>96</sup> The People of La Pouille were anciently called Apuli.

<sup>97</sup> See Vol. 3, p. 95. Note 39.

<sup>98</sup> See Vol. 2, p. 210. Note 68.

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<sup>99</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 283. Note 90.

<sup>100</sup> Moreover, in a general Assembly held at Corfinium, it was resolved, That every Year during the War, two new Consuls, and twelve Prætors, should be chosen out of the 500 new Senators, after the manner of the Roman Republick. The Countries in the Confederacy against Rome, were divided into two Provinces, each of which was to be governed by one of the Consuls; and to each Consul were assigned six Prætors, to assist him in the discharge of civil and military Functions.

<sup>101</sup> Of all these Events which Ignorance and Superstition turned into Prodigious, there was none that alarmed the Romans more, than the Marriage of an Hermaphrodite. The unfortunate Creature was looked on as an Object of Execration, which fore-boded some terrible Disaster; and after he had first been brought before the Senate, and from thence to the Tribunal of the Augurs, he was by the Advice of the Aruspices, condemned to be burnt alive.



Year of *tellus Balearicus* had had a Dream, which seemed to presage something fatal. She was said to have seen, in her Sleep, that *Juno the Protectress*, who was called *Juno Sospita*, ready to quit the Temple, dedicated to her on the Hill *Palatinus*. Rome therefore appeased the Anger of the Goddess, by cleaning her Temple of the Filth that polluted it, through the Negligence of the Priests. After many Expiations, *Pompeius* marched with a Detachment from Rome, to revenge the Death of *Servilius*, and punish the *Asculini*; and he attempted to take their City by Assault. But the Inhabitants made an unexpected Sally, put the Romans to flight, and he suffered a considerable Loss. So that all the first Expeditions against the *Allies* turned to the Disadvantage of the Romans. What exasperated the People of Italy the more, was the little Regard the Roman Senate had shewn to the Deputation they had sent to them, before they were resolved to take the Field. The Pretensions, which we come to lay before you, Conscript Fathers, said the Deputies, are neither new, nor tumultuously claimed. Our Fore-fathers, have a great while past, been desirous of being incorporated into your Republic; and thought they had some Right to partake of the publick Honours of the Roman Government, since they bore their Share of the Expences and Fatigues of her Wars. And if you continue your contemptuous Treatment of us, we are now determined to demand these Rights of you Sword in Hand. Determine therefore, once for all, whether you chuse to have us for your Enemies, or Citizens of your City. If you think us unworthy to be incorporated in the same Body with you, take a View of the whole World, which has been conquered by our joint Forces. Will you make use of the great Power you have acquired, only to keep those in perpetual Subjection, who were the Authors of it? Besides, what right has Rome to usurp this Superiority over the other Cities of Italy? Is it her Antiquity? She was not in Being, when the greatest Part of our Cities were well known by the Valour of their Inhabitants. Is it the noble Descent of your Citizens? Except a small number of Families that came from Alba and Sabinia, the Romans were originally nothing better than a Company of Slaves and Banditti. Whereas we have many illustrious Families, which trace up their Origin to the Kings of the Aborigines. If you scorn to admit them into your Tribes, you have not disdained to mix their Blood with yours. You have received them into your Families by Marriages, so that our Daughters at least are become Roman. Is it then just to refuse the same Regard to their Fathers and Brethren? Spare us therefore, Romans, Spare yourselves, the Miseries of seeing your own, as well as our Provinces laid waste, as they were in the Days of *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal*. At these Words, a Noise rose in the Assembly which shewed their Indignation; and the Senate ordered this Answer to be given the Deputies, That Rome would receive no more Ambassadors from the Italians, till they came in a suppliant Manner, and with Marks of Repentance.

App. Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.

Jul. Obs. c.  
115.

Diod. Sic. apud  
Valef.

After this, the Consuls went and put on their military Habits in form; and the Cruelty of the *Allies* to the Roman Citizens whom they found in their several Countries, helped to hasten their Departure. News was brought to the Senate, That the *Picentes* had barbarously murdered some Romans, and Italians who had been born in Countries which refused to come into the Revolt. Nay, it was said, that their Rage was such, that they even scalped the Women that were not of their Party. The Author of these Barbarities, was a *Cilician* Pyrate, who had escaped out of Prison at Rome, and had gained himself some Reputation among the Italians by his Ferocity. The Territories of all the Cities that adhered to the Romans, were pillaged by the Troops he commanded. *Otriculum*<sup>102</sup> in *Umbria*, *Fesulae*<sup>103</sup> in *Hebruria*, *Carseoli*<sup>104</sup> in the Country of the *Aequi*, *Nuceria*<sup>105</sup>, and *Picentia* in *Campania*, adhered with Constancy to the Romans; and the Inhabitants of *Pinna*<sup>106</sup> in the Country of the *Vestini*, were so signally faithful that they suffered their Children's Throats to be cut before their

<sup>102</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 292. Note 5.

<sup>103</sup> *Fesulae*, formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Hebruria*, is now but a very small one, called *Fiezoli*, three Miles from *Florence*. See Vol. 3.

<sup>104</sup> On the right Bank of the *Teverone*, stood the City of *Carseoli*, in that Part of *Campagna* at Rome which the *Aequi*, a People of old *Latium*, had possessed, even before the Foundation of Rome. See Vol. 2. p. 309. Note 56.

<sup>105</sup> The City of *Nuceria* here spoken of stood in *Campania*. See Vol. 2. p. 283. Note 93. As for

the City of *Picentia*, which gave its Name to *Picenum*, of which it was the Capital, it is now only a small Town belonging to the Territory of *Salerno*, near the River *Silaro*. We have mentioned four Cities of *Nuceria*, in different Parts of this Work.

<sup>106</sup> *Pinna* still in a great measure preserves its ancient Name in that of *Clonia di Penna*, a City of *Further Abruzzo*, of which the *Vestini* possessed that Part which lays between the Rivers of *Piomba* and *Pescara*.



Faces, rather than surrender at the Desire of the Rebels. But as *Esernia* <sup>107</sup>, and the City of *Alba* <sup>108</sup> in the Country of the *Marfi* three Miles from the Lake <sup>109</sup> *Fucinus*, were both *Roman Colonies*, they were first insulted by the Armies of the *Allies*; as soon as they had taken the Field; and upon this News the *Consuls* instantly marched away to the Relief of those Places. *Julius Cæsar* entered *Samnium*, and *Rutilius* the Country of the *Marfi*, to begin Hostilities there. The *Latins*, who still adhered to their Duty, followed the *Consul*, and furnished their Contingent of Troops, as usual. The *Hetrusci* likewise, and *Umbri*, and a great number of Cities, even in the Countries where the Revolt most prevailed, were not drawn in. And out of these constant Friends, and some *Roman Legionaries* the *Consuls* raised two great Armies. The faithful <sup>110</sup> *Minatius Magius*, though an *Asculan* by Birth, raised as many Men for them, as amounted to the Number of a *Legion*. *Sertorius*, who was only *Quæstor* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, brought a Reinforcement of *Gauls*, to the Relief of his Country; and fought the *Allies* with a Bravery, of which he had already given some Proofs, though not so glorious ones as we shall see him give hereafter. He lost an Eye in this War, and rather gloried in, than lamented, a Deformity, which did him Honour. To which I might add the Multitudes of foreign <sup>111</sup> Soldiers, which were sent by the Eastern Kings, to support *Rome*, in her Wars in the Heart of *Italy*. But after all the Preparations of the *Romans*, their Forces were not more than equal to those of their Enemies. The *Allies* were not inferiour to them, either in number of Men, or Places of Importance, or Riches, or Capacity for the War.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIII.  
L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, &  
P. RUTILIUS  
LURUS, Con-  
suls.

Vell. Pat. L. 2.  
Plut. in Serto-  
rio.

App. Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.

§. XXXV. When the *Consul Rutilius* had pitched his Camp in the Country of the *Marfi*, and was ready to begin Hostilities, he discovered that the Enemy were apprized of his Designs; and this renewed his Anger, and Suspicions of *Marius*. He concluded, that the ambitious *Roman*, who was impatiently greedy of Honour, was endeavouring to stop his Progress, in order thereby to make himself necessary to the Republick, the next Year, and obtain a seventh *Consulship*, and the Glory of finishing the War with the *Allies*: And upon these Suspicions, he went so far, as by Letter to the Senate, to accuse him, though his Relation, of Treason, and bring several Officers of his Army under the same Suspicion. But the *Consul* was too precipitate in his Proceedings. Upon Enquiry, it appeared, that some of the Enemy's Soldiers, who had come into the *Roman Camp*, had privately given the *Italian Generals* notice, of every Thing that was done in the *Consular Army*. *Rutilius* himself was convinced of the Falseness of the Accusation; but it was now too late to repent. The Hearts of his Officers were violently set against him, and he could never regain their Confidence: And to this doubtless were owing the Misfortunes of the Campaign. Nevertheless, *Marius*, like an able General, was continually advising the *Consul*, to inure his Troops well to exercise, before he ventured them in the open Field. But *Rutilius* took this Freedom ill. He imagined that *Marius* had nothing in view but to obstruct his Glory, and reserve the Laurels which he should not gather, for himself; and therefore resolved to attack the Enemy without delay.

The Country of the *Marfi* was defended by two of the Generals of the Rebels, *Presfenteius*, and *Vettius Cato*. The former was watching to see what Step the *Romans* would first take; and the Officer that opposed him was *C. Perperna*, who commanded a great Body of Troops, under the *Consul*. *Perperna* moved first, and offered *Presen-*

<sup>107</sup> *Esernia* an ancient City of *Samnium*, stood beyond the *Apennines*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*. It is now called *Isernia*.

<sup>108</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 305. Note 37.

<sup>109</sup> See Vol. 1. p. 558. Note 8.

<sup>110</sup> *Mineius Paterculus*, in the second Book of this History, does himself the Honour to reckon among his Ancestors *Minatius Magius*, who was highly esteemed for his Fidelity and Adherence to *Rome* during the War with the *Allies*. He was the Grandson of *Decius Magius*, the illustrious Citizen of *Capua*, whose heroic Firmness against *Hannibal's* Party, we have admired, in the third Volume; and he inherited the Zeal and Courage of that great Man. *Minatius* gave signal Proofs of this on several Occasions, but particularly at the taking of *Ugentium*, a City of *Campania*. He shared the Glory of this Conquest with *Titus Didius*. Nor did he lose distinguishably

self at the Siege of *Pompeium*, another City of that Country, under the Command of *Lucius Sylla*. He alone, by his Prudence as much as his Valour, reduced *Cosa*, a City of *Calabria* to Obedience. So that *Minatius* well deserved, by the important Services he personally did the Republick, the Right of *Roman Citizenship* for himself, and the Office of *Prætor* for his two Sons, whom the *Roman People* honoured with it. This Elogium is given of him, by *Velleius Paterculus*, one of his Descendants; who says, That before his Time, several Writers, and particularly the *Orator Montanius*, in his historical Antiquities, had celebrated the Name and Exploits of *Minatius*. *Montanius* says, That *Elorgaden*, a considerable City of *Bithynia*, situated on the *Euxine Sea*, fitted out two Gallies, and sent them to *Rome*, for the Service of the Republick. A to no doubt, a handsome

teius



Year of *teius* Battle. The latter rejoiced in an Opportunity to begin Hostilities in the open Field; and the Success was answerable to his Expectation. The *Romans* fled before him, and lost about 4000 Men. *Rutilius*, enraged at this unfortunate Beginning of a War, the Consequences of which were so much to be dreaded, immediately deprived *Perperna* of his Command, and joined the Remains of his defeated Troops to those *Marius* commanded. By this Means, the Forces of the Republic in this Country were almost equally divided between the *Consul*, and *Marius* one of his Lieutenant Generals. But the latter could not forgive *Rutilius* the injurious Suspicions he had entertained of his want of Fidelity; and from that Time, entertained in his Heart an implacable Hatred to him. The publick Interest only obliged him to dissemble, and to act in Concert with his General. They were encamped separately, but at a little distance from each other, upon the two Banks of the <sup>112</sup> *Telonus*; a River which waters the Country of the *Marfi*, and falls into the <sup>113</sup> *Velinus*. That they might be able mutually to assist each other, they threw two Bridges over the River, each at the Head of his Entrenchments. The Enemy's General that opposed them, was *Vettius Cato*, who had posted himself nearer to *Marius* than the *Consul*. Nevertheless, he fancied he should be able to give the best Account of *Rutilius's* Troops; and he narrowly watched his Motions, keeping in a Readiness to take Advantage of the first false Step. Soon after, *Vettius* was informed by his Spies, that the *Consul* would pass the River the next Night. The Place, and the Darkeness he thought favourable, for laying an Ambush for the *Consular* Army; and they inconsiderately fell into the Snare. Upon being unexpectedly attacked, the *Romans* were driven back to the River; and the Battle was bloody on their Side, who lost 8000 Men. The *Consul* himself was mortally wounded in the Head, and left dead upon the Place, with a great Number of the Nobility who attended him; and the Action was so sudden, that *Marius* had no notice of it in his Camp, till the River had brought thither a great Number of dead Bodies. But at this Sight, the brave *Roman* ran to revenge the Defeat of his Friends; attacked *Vettius's* Camp, which was almost deserted, and made himself <sup>114</sup> Master of it. A poor Reprizal for so considerable a Loss, as *Rome* had suffered in the late Action!

Florus.  
App.  
Jul. Obseq.  
c. 115.  
Orosius.

Vell. Patere.  
L. 2.

App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

§. XXXVI. The News of this great Overthrow filled *Rome* with <sup>115</sup> Terror; which increased, when the *Consul's* Body was brought thither, to receive the usual funerary Honours. The People doubled their Cries and Lamentations; till at length the Consternation was so great, that the Senate thought proper to order, That for the future, they who were killed in War, should be buried in the Places where they were slain, and not be brought to *Rome*. The *Allies* also made the same Rule. During the Time of Mourning for the *Consul*, all the Inhabitants of *Rome* changed their City Habits for Military ones, and increased their Centinels and Guards on <sup>116</sup> the Ramparts and at the Gates; and the Senate ordered, That *C. Marius* and *Q. Cæpio* should divide between them the Command of the *Legions* which *Rutilius* had commanded. *Cæpio* had gained some slight Advantage over the Enemy; and he triumphed to find, that the *Conscript Fathers* had, at his Age, put him upon a Level with the greatest General in the Republick. But his Vanity was soon punished. *Pompeidius Silo*, the Generalissimo of the *Italians*, a Man of great Ability for War, and Stratagems, thought he could take Advantage of *Cæpio's* present Disposition; and in order to deceive him, he came to him as a Suppliant to his Conqueror. With him, came two young Slaves richly dressed, whom he pretended to be his Sons; each carrying in his Hand pieces of Lead, covered with very thin Plates of Gold and Silver, which he said were the Presents which his Children came to lay at his Feet. This raised *Cæpio's* Avarice, and flattered his Vanity; and he

<sup>112</sup> The *Telonus*, which others call the *Tolenus*, is the little River of *Turane*, which joins the *Kolino* near the City of *Rieti* in the Dutchy of *Spoleto*.  
<sup>113</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 279. Note 61. in this book.  
<sup>114</sup> Appian says, That *Vettius Cato*, having lost his Camp, was obliged to pass the Night in the Field of Battle, which he left the next Morning, by break of Day; and this brisk Retreat raised the Courage of the *Romans*, and gave them Time to repair their Losses.  
<sup>115</sup> Some imputed this unfortunate Defeat to the Rashness or Irreligion of *Rutilius*. He had, according to Custom, offered a Sacrifice to procure himself

Success in his designed Expedition. The Entrails of the Victim, says *Julius Obsequens*, foreboded nothing but Disasters; and these Presages were thought forerunners of the Anger of the Gods. But the *Consul* was above these frivolous Fears, despised the Prejudices of a superstitious Multitude, and gave the Enemy Battle.  
<sup>116</sup> Nevertheless, the People were, according to *Livy's Epitome*, a little encouraged by the current Reports, That *Sulpicius* had defeated the *Peligni* in a pitched Battle; and That *Cæpio* had forced his Way through the Enemy's Battalions, and made a great Slaughter of them.



took it for granted, that his good Fortune and Merit were going to make him the Peacemaker of the *Allies*. The young *Pro-Consul* received the General and his Presents with all possible Politeness and Gratitude; immediately admitted *Pompædus* into his Confidence; and in their private Conversation, the crafty *Italian* artfully insinuated, That if he would have the Honour of finishing a War which was so fatal to his Republick, he should follow him. *I will lead you*, said he, *to a convenient Place, where we will surprize your Enemies who are destitute of their Leaders. But we must not delay a Moment; if we let slip this Opportunity, it will be lost for ever.* Avarice, and the love of Glory blinded *Cæpio*; and he trusted his Safety upon the supposed Sons of *Pompædus*, who were left in the Camp, by way of Hostage. How could he suspect, that a Father would sacrifice his Sons, to cover his Treachery? However, it is probable, That he called a Council of War, before he set out on the supposed Enterprize; and the wisest Officers suspected the Promises of *Pompædus*, and desired more Precautions might be taken. But the *Pro-Consul* undertook the Defence of his Deceiver, and brought all over to his Opinion. His Confidence was such, that he not only refused to detain *Pompædus* in his Camp under an honourable Guard, but even suffered him to march at the Head of the *Roman Army*. In short, they marched very fast to a Place where an Ambush was laid for them; and upon *Pompædus's* giving the Signal agreed on with the Rebels, the latter left their Retreat, surrounded the *Romans*, attacked them before they well knew where they were, covered the Ground with slain, and buried *Cæpio* himself under a shower of Darts. Thus fell this seditious *Roman*, who, after *Drusus*, was charged with being the chief Author of the War.

§. XXXVII. The Defeat of two *Roman Armies* made the *Marfi* more insolent, and increased the Rage of the Rebels in general. The Camp of *Marius* was the only one, in this fatal Country, which had not been attacked; and after the Death of *Rutilius* and *Cæpio*, the Senate appointed him sole General there. They did not fear the Attacks or Ambushes of the Enemy, against a General, who was both brave and circumspect.

Nevertheless, the single Army of *Marius* could not hinder the Progress of the *Italians*, in the different Provinces where they had carried on the Revolt. Near *Asculum*, *Cn. Pompeius* being invested by three Bodies of Rebels, under *Judacilius*, *Afranius*, and *Ventidius*, had retired into the *Picenum*, to the Banks of the River <sup>117</sup> *Tenna*. From thence, being pursued by the Enemy, he had been forced to retreat to <sup>118</sup> *Firmum*, and there stand a Siege against *Afranius* in *Campania*. *Marius Egnatius* surprized the City of <sup>119</sup> *Venafrum*, and cut in pieces the *Roman Garrison*, consisting of two *Cohorts*. In the same Country, the City of <sup>120</sup> *Nola*, formerly so faithful to the Republick in *Hannibal's Wars*, surrendered to *Aponius*, one of the *Consuls* of the Confederates; delivered up the *Roman Garrison*, to the Number of 2000 Men, commanded by the *Prætor* *L. Postumius*; and the Enemy, contrary to the Law of Nations, suffered them all to perish with Hunger. The same *Aponius*, seized the Cities of <sup>121</sup> *Stabiæ*, <sup>122</sup> *Liternum*, and <sup>123</sup> *Salernum*; over-ran all *Campania* in a victorious manner; and to increase his Troops, enrolled all the Inhabitants he found there, whether Freemen, or Slaves. So that *Nuceria* <sup>124</sup> was the only City there, that adhered steadily to *Rome*, and could not be induced to join the Rebels. In *Lucania*, the Rebel *Lamponius* drove *M. Licinius* <sup>125</sup> out of the Plain, where he was encamped, and after he had killed 800 of his Men, obliged him to take Refuge in <sup>126</sup> *Grumentum*. *Judacilius* also conquered almost

<sup>117</sup> The River *Tenna* waters a Part of the *Marquisate of Ancona*, is within two Leagues of *Fermo*, and falls into the *Adriatick Sea*.

<sup>118</sup> *Firmum*, is now *Fermo*, in the *Marquisate of Ancona*. Some Miles from it, on the Coast of the *Adriatick Sea*, and near the Mouth of the *Tenna*, there was a Port and Arsenal, which the *Latins* called *Castellum Firmanorum*. This is now the Port of *Fermo*.

<sup>119</sup> The City of *Venafrum*, called *Venafri* by the *Italians*, stood in *Campania*, on the Banks of the *Vulturnus*. But it has now changed its Situation, and been rebuilt at some distance from that River. *Strabo* observes, That its Territory was very fruitful in Olives.

<sup>120</sup> *Nola*, belongs to the Kingdom of *Naples*. See Vol. 2. p. 207, Note 61.  
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<sup>121</sup> The City of *Stabiæ* stood beyond Mount *Vesuvius* and the River *Sarno*. It is called by the modern *Italians*, *Castel a mare di Stabia*. According to *Gallienus*, the Milk of the Cattle that were fed near this City, was remarkable for being an excellent Restorative.

<sup>122</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 174. Note 159.

<sup>123</sup> *Salernum* had the Title of a *Roman Colony*, seven Years after the second *Punick War*. See Vol. 4. p. 134. Note 129.

<sup>124</sup> See Vol. 2. 283. Note 93.

<sup>125</sup> *Marcus Licinius* had encamped in a Plain covered by a Coppice and Bushes. *Lamponius* set fire to them, and forced the *Romans* to decamp, to avoid the Flames.

<sup>126</sup> *Grumentum* was formerly a City of *Lucania*; a Province which is at present a Part of the *Basilicata*, and

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIII.  
L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, & P.  
RUTILIUS  
LUPUS, Con-  
suls.

Oros. L. 5. c.  
18.

App. Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.  
Epit. Liv.  
Oros. L. 5.  
Florus L. 3.  
c. 18.



Year of most all *Apulia*, and brought the Cities of *Canusium* <sup>127</sup>, and *Venusia* <sup>128</sup>, into the Interest of the Confederates.

ROME  
DCLXIII.

L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, & P.  
RUTILIUS  
LUPUS, Con-  
suls.

'Tis easy to conceive that all these Losses caused no small dejection in *Rome*. Only, one of her *Consuls* was left alive, and he was too much engaged in his Province, to be able to return to the Capital to preside at a new Election. The whole Weight of the War lay on his Shoulders. Besides that the *Samnites*, among whom he was, had ever been formidable to the *Romans*; the Time of a general Revolt, the Emotion of all Men's Minds, and the Inconveniencies of the Place, made his Commission still more dangerous. *Vettius Cato*, the *Samnite*, made Head against him, and he first posted himself in the Plain of *Esernia*. There the *Consul* was beaten, lost 2000 Men, and was forced to take shelter in a neighbouring <sup>129</sup> City, which he soon left, in order to go and relieve <sup>130</sup> *Acerræ* in *Campania*, warmly besieged by *Aponius*. This Rebel had taken *Oxyntas* the Son of *Jugurtha*, out of the Prison in *Venusia*, where the *Romans* had confined him for his Life, brought him into his Army, and affected to shew him there in all the Pomp of Majesty. In the mean time, *Cæsar* approached with his *Legions*, and two considerable Reinforcements of *Gauls* and *Numidian* Cavalry: And then the Presence of *Oxyntas* was of great Service to the Enemy. Upon hearing that the Son of their old King was fighting in the Army of the *Allies*, the *Numidians* deserted by Companies, and went over to the Enemies of *Rome*. So that the *Consul* was forced to part with all those Foreigners, and send them home to *Africa*. This diminution of his Troops, made him the less enterprising; insomuch that he kept close within his Trenches, and was now only a Spectator of the Siege of *Acerræ*. This Inaction raised the Courage of *Aponius*; and he came, in Contempt of the *Consul*, to insult his Camp. Nay, he afterwards went so far, as to attempt to storm it. Nevertheless, the *Consul* did not stir; he refused to draw out his Men into the Plain; not so much out of Fear, as in order to triumph over the Audaciousness of the Enemy. When they were advanced up to his Camp, and were pulling up some of the Palisades, which the *Roman* General had expected, he sent out his Cavalry, at the Gate opposite to that which was attacked, with Orders to march round the Camp, and take the Enemy in the Rear. At the same time, *Cæsar* made a Sally with all his *Legionary* Infantry, and fell so briskly on the *Samnites*, that he obliged them to retire; and then the *Roman* Cavalry coming up on a sudden, compleated their Defeat. Tho' their Camp was near, they could not recover it, before they had lost 6000 of their best Men. This Victory gave the Conqueror an Opportunity to throw in fresh Stores of Provision into *Acerræ*, and reinforce the Garrison; after which, he decamped, and left *Aponius* to waste his Troops before a Place, which he thought it impossible for him to take.

§. XXXVIII. This was the first Victory the *Romans* had gained in the Year; and the Joy it produced is not to be expressed. The People of *Rome* immediately laid aside the military *Sagum*, and put on the *Toga*. The Courts of Justice, which had been shut up six Months, were opened. The Senate confirmed the Title of <sup>131</sup> *Imperator*, which the Soldiers had given *Cæsar*, on the Field of Battle. And in short, the Re-

Oros. L. 5. c.  
18.

and of *Hither Calabria*. The modern Geographers are not agreed as to its Situation. See Vol. 3. p. 178. Note 164. This City, as far as we can judge by *Macrobis*, fell under the Power of the Enemy in the War with the *Allies*, and was reconquered by the *Romans*. And among the remarkable Events of the Siege of this Place, the Ancients have immortalized the heroic Care of two Slaves, to deliver their Mistress from the Insolence of the victorious Soldiers. They had foreseen the unhappy Fate of *Grumentum*, and made their escape to the Camp of the *Romans*, who kept it closely shut up. When it was taken by Assault, and given up to be plundered, the two Slaves made all possible haste by private Ways which they knew, to the House of their Mistress; and when they came there, they entered it with great Threatenings, seized the trembling Woman, as their Prey, and concealing their Design under an Air of Rage which deceived their Comrades, they led her out of the City, to a Place, where she was safe from the Insults of the licentious Soldiers. There, laying aside their Rage, they abated her Fears, and assured her they were ready to die in her Service and Defence. The Lady,

was deeply affected with so generous an Action, and as the Want to which she was reduced by the Loss of her Effects, would not suffer her to give them more solid Marks of her Gratitude, she gave them their Liberty upon the Spot.

<sup>127</sup> *Canusium*, now *Canosa*, was one of the Cities of *La Pouille*; and stood on the Banks of the *Aufidus*, or *Ofanto*. See Vol. 2. p. 255. Note 26.

<sup>128</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 126. Note 16.

<sup>129</sup> *Esernia* was also so closely besieged by *Vettius Cato*, that *Lucius Acilius*, and *Lucius Scipio*, disguised themselves in the Habits of Slaves, the better to escape the Vigilance of the Enemy; according to *Appian de Bell. Civ. L. 1*.

<sup>130</sup> *Acerræ*, an ancient City of *Campania*, is still called *Acerra*. See Vol. 2. p. 196. Note 38.

<sup>131</sup> In the Times of the Republick, the Title of *Emperor*, or rather *Imperator*, was an occasional Mark of Honour, which the Armies sometimes gave their Generals in their Acclamations, and which the Senate confirmed to those who had signalized themselves by important Victories. Under the *Cæsars* it became a Title of absolute Sovereignty.



*mans* thought that *Fortune*, who seemed to have deserted them, was reconciled to them. To which some add, That *Sylla* saved *Ejèrnia*, defeated the Army that was ready to take it, and drove it out of the Country, which it infested. And <sup>132</sup>, this at least is certain, That that great General acquired a great deal of Glory, in the first Year of the War with the *Italian* Rebels.

In the mean time, *Aponius* continued his Attempt against the City of *Acerræ*; and seemed resolved to reduce it at last, by mere dint of Perseverance. *Cæsar* therefore resolved to march a second Time, to its Deliverance. His Army consisted of 30000 Foot, and 5000 Horse; and tho' he was sick, he ordered himself to be carried in a Litter, rather than delay his March. He knew not that *Marius Egnatius* had laid an Ambush for him, in his Way; to intercept him; and he advanced to the Banks of a little River, which could not be passed, but over a Bridge, which was pretty near that of the two Cities of <sup>133</sup> of *Teanum*, which was also called *Sidicinum*. At a little distance from the Bridge, the Army of *Egnatius* appeared; and *Cæsar* must therefore retreat. When he came to repass the Bridge, he was attacked, and put in Disorder; and then retired to *Teanum*. There he soon repaired his Loss, with the People who came in Numbers to him from all the Neighbourhood; and began his March again, with more Zeal and Caution than ever, and appeared again before *Acerræ*. When he had pitched his Camp there, he continued in it; contented himself with watching the Enemy from thence, abating the Ardour of *Aponius*, and suspending the Operations of the Siege; and the Place was not taken.

§. XXXIX. In the mean time, *Marius*, who was in the Country of the *Marfi*, did not forget what he owed to his Country, and to his own Character. This great General alone supplied the Place of *Rutilius* and *Cæpio*, whose too great Desire of Conquest had led them to their Destruction; and pursued the Advice he had so often given to the late *Consul*, to so little Purpose. From the two Defeats his Troops had received, immediately after one another, he concluded that they wanted to be well disciplined in a Camp, before they were brought out to Action. For this Reason, he continued inactive for several Months, wholly intent on keeping his Troops to their Duty by his Presence, and forming them by continual Exercises and frequent Skirmishes. When he saw them piqued with Emulation, and uneasy at the Inaction in which he forced them to continue, he permitted them, by way of Favour, to meet the Enemy, and promised them to lead them to Victory, in due Time. Till at length, his Inaction made the Enemy negligent; they lived at ease, upon a Presumption, that he would attempt nothing that Year; and *Herrius Asinius*, the Chief of the *Marucini*, who opposed him, often came and insulted him in his Camp, in Confidence that he would not accept the Challenge. But this Confidence was immediately punished. *Marius* ordered a Sally, and fell so briskly on the united *Marrucini* and *Marfi*, that he put them to Flight, and drove them to a neighbouring Vineyard. There they thought themselves safe, in a Place full of Hedges and Vine-props; but their Misfortunes pursued them farther, and they were destroyed by a Hand which they had least feared. *Sylla*, who was not expected, had by accident come and encamp'd on the top of the Hill, on which the Vineyard was; and the Noise of the Arms brought him to the Action. He fell on the *Marrucini* with his flying Camp, made a terrible Slaughter of them, saw the General *Herrius Asinius* fall in the Battle, and made the Victory complete. It seems to have been the Fate of *Sylla* to put the last Hand, to whatever *Marius* undertook. He had happily put an end to the *Numidian* War, by the Captivity of *Jugurtha*; and had given the last Blow to the *Cimbri* in *Italy*. So that, having hitherto, always acted as a Subaltern, never as Commander in Chief, his good Fortune and Courage had contributed more to the Glory of another, than to his own.

§. XL. *Marius*, a little mortified to be always owing the best part of his Success to his Rival, retired to his Camp, and there continued his former Conduct. He saved his Troops with the same Circumspection as before, and would not hazard a Battle. In the mean time *Pompeidius* had assembled his *Marfi*, and was bent on having his Revenge.

<sup>132</sup> The Abridger of *Livy*, B. 63, relates it, as certain Fact, That *Ejèrnia* was taken by the *Samnites*; and adds, That one *Marcus Marcellus* who commanded in the Place, surrendered himself and his Soldiers at Discretion; and That he was therefore called *Ejèrnius* in Derision, to perpetuate the Shame

of his Defeat. But nevertheless, its certain, That *Orosius* gives *Sylla* the Glory of having secured this City against the Attacks of the Enemy. The Reader is to prefer which Authority he pleases.

<sup>133</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 134. Note 3; & p. 295, Note 25,



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIII.]  
L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, &  
P. RUTILIUS  
LUPUS, Con-  
suls.

The 6000 Men he had lost in the late Action, were soon replaced, in a Country where Men were born Soldiers, as well as at *Rome*; and he came before the *Roman* Camp with a more numerous Army than before. But *Marius* would not stir. The old General did not take his Measures from the Bravadoes of the Enemy; but acted as the Necessity, or promising Circumstances of Things, induced him. He still kept close to his Camp, which was advantageously situated on an Hill. *Pompædus* cried, *If Marius is as great a General as is reported, let him come down into the Plain.* To which *Marius* smartly replied, *If Pompædus is as brave as he pretends, why does he not come and attack me in my Post?* But they went no farther than Words; no Action ensued. However, from this Time, the Courage of the Rebels began to sink. *Rome* began to get the Ascendant, or at least, to recover from her Fright. The War was carried on by both Parties, in the same manner; tho' in a very different Way from what was formerly usual among the *Romans*. The Fate of it was not left to depend on one General, or one Army. Each of the revolted Provinces had its own General, against whom the Republick sent a *Pro-Consul* with a certain Number of Troops. And therefore the Success was various, according to the Abilities and Forces of the different Commanders. We have already observed, That the *Picentes* had, at their Head, among other Generals, one *Afranius*, a zealous Man for the Revolt, who kept *Cn. Pompeius* the *Roman*, besieged in *Firmum*; and this Siege had now lasted several Months. On the other hand, *Servius Sulpicius* had just reduced under the *Roman* Yoke, the Nation of the *Peligni*, whom he had entirely defeated in a pitched Battle. And that he might make the best use of his Leisure, *Sulpicius* resolved to go and deliver *Pompeius* and *Firmum* from the Danger that threatened them. He had given *Pompeius* notice of it, and they agreed, That, as soon as *Sulpicius* appeared, the besieged should make a Sally on the Besiegers. A Design wisely concerted, and as successfully put in Execution! Upon the first Signal *Pompeius* had of the Approach of these Succours, he opened the Gates, and marched out in Battalia against *Afranius*. Upon this, the latter instantly left his Camp, and without enquiring much whether he had any other Enemies to fear, hastened to drive back the besieged within their Walls. But the Attack was scarce begun, before the flying Camp of *Sulpicius* fell on the Camp of the Besiegers, and set it on Fire. The Smoke and Fire shewed the *Picentes*, that they had an Enemy behind them; and then they were struck with dread, and fled; and their Flight cost them dear. *Afranius* was killed in the Battle, most of his Soldiers cut in pieces, and the rest made the best of their Way to *Asculum*, the City where the Revolt began. *Pompeius*, to chastise the *Asculani*, invested the Place; and from being himself the besieged, became the Aggressor.

Plut. in Syll.  
& Mario.

§. XLI. This News dispersed all Clouds, at *Rome*. The Confidence of the People revived, with double Joy. When *Cæsar* had gained his first Victory, the People had changed their Habits; and now the Senators and chief Magistrates put on the *Prætexta*, and discharged their Functions as usual. Nevertheless the Campaign was not yet finished. *Marius* still acted the Part of a *Delayer* or *Temporizer*, among the *Marssi*. It suited with his Age; for he was 68, and much troubled with Defluxions. Indeed his past Exploits, and the many *Consulships* he had obtained, together with his Infirmities, should have contented him, and induced him to retire. But Ambition knows no Bounds. Old as he was, he was still a Slave to the Itch of Fame, and as desirous as ever of signalizing himself in another Battle, which might procure him new Honours. Accordingly, he marched into the Field, and gave Battle; but he was sensible in the Action, that he was not now the same Man. His Strength of Body, and Vivacity of Spirit failed him at once. His Troops but faintly sustained the first Shock, and then gave way, and fled. Indeed the Enemy had neither Courage nor Presence of Mind enough to take Advantage of their Rout, and pursue them fighting to their Camp; and he therefore said jocosely to his Troops, *You are brave Fellows indeed! who frighten your Enemies without shewing them your Backs!* But nevertheless, this ill Success gave *Marius* a dislike to commanding; and under pretence of his Infirmities, he resigned the Generalship, at least, during this War, in which he had acquired but a moderate Share of Glory.

The *Marssi* boasted of this slight Advantage, and reported every where, that they had forced the most able General *Rome* had, to leave the Country. This Rumour made an Impression on many Nations in *Italy*, who had hitherto observed an exact Neutrality; and the *Umbri* and *Etrurians* declared for the Confederates. This made it necessary for *Rome* to increase the Number of her Forces and Generals, in proportion



as the Number of her Enemies increased. But the Capital alone was not able to furnish so many Men as were necessary to fill up the many *Legions*, which she must raise. The Senate therefore took a Step, which had never hitherto been taken but in Crises, when the Republick was in the utmost Danger. They ordered that the *Freedmen* should be enrolled in the Soldiery; and twelve *Cohorts* of them were raised, and employed as Garrisons in the maritime Cities, as far as *Cumæ*. This enabled the Romans to send out two Armies, one under the Command of *Lucius Porcius* to *Hetruria*, the other under the Command of *Aulus Plautius* to *Umbria*. The two Generals joined Forces, fought the united *Umbri* and *Hetrurians*, and obtained a Victory over them, which was bloody on both Sides. So that the Republick had hitherto, by all these Exploits in this Campaign, gained nothing more, than an abatement of the Terror, which was very great when the War began. These Enemies who were so near, so brave, and so numerous, kept all the Forces of *Rome* in *Italy*, and gave to the Nations lately conquered in the East and West, an Opportunity to throw off the Yoke, or at least, Reason to be less afraid of the Attacks of the Conquerors of the World; and the Spirit of Revolt having already spread it self beyond the *Alpes*, the *Salves* in *Transalpine Gaul* had taken up Arms. But this Insurrection did not last long. One *Caius* <sup>134</sup> *Cæcilius Metellus*, who probably succeeded *M. Porcius* <sup>135</sup> *Cato* in the *Narbonne-Province*, at least for a Time, soon quashed this first Disturbance, which had no ill Consequences. But Steps were now taking for a much more formidable Affair in *Asia*. *Mithridates* was preparing to take Advantage of the Troubles in *Italy*. But we will postpone the mention of the Beginnings and Progress of his Arms, till we enter upon the History of the War, which we shall soon see him make with the *Romans*.

§. XLII. This Situation of Affairs in other Places, made the Revolt of the *Italians* in *Italy* still more formidable; and the *Consul L. Julius Cæsar* was very desirous of putting an end to it, before he went out of his Office. His Zeal for his Republick, and his own Glory, led him to make use of an Expedient, which he thought would infallibly reconcile *Rome* and her *Allies*. As he was the only *Consul*, and his Authority was supreme, as long as he continued in the Field, he drew up a *Consular Law*, which was ratified by the Senate, and was ever after called *The Julian Law*: Which was this. *That all the Nations in Italy, whose Alliances with Rome was indisputable, should enjoy all the Rights of Roman Citizenship.* But why then had so much Blood been spilt? Should *Rome* have at first haughtily refused to give, what she should afterwards be obliged to grant, with Shame? However, Necessity obliged her to admit the just Claims of a great Number of Cities, which had been forced to support their Right, Sword in Hand; but the Law was not executed in its utmost Extent all at once, but by Degrees, and at different Times. At first, the Right of *Citizenship*, which was the occasion of the War, was only granted either to the People near *Rome*, or to such as had not been drawn into the Rebellion, or such as first had recourse to the Clemency of the *Roman* <sup>App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.</sup> Senate, and offered to return to their Duty. However, this Conduct of *Julius* much <sup>Strabo. Liv. 5.</sup> abated the Ardour of the Enemy, and each of the Confederate Nations was in haste to make a separate Treaty for it self. So that the *Consul*, by this politick Step, drew off <sup>Vell. Pat. L. 2.</sup> many of the Confederates from the Rebels: And we shall soon see all these Nations obtain the Right of *Citizenship*, not excepting the *Lucani* and *Samnites* themselves, two fierce Nations, who had long been jealous of the Grandeur of *Rome*. Had it not been for their Obstinacy, all *Italy* would perhaps have been pacified, before the Year ended in which the War began; but by their Means, it was still carried on, and continued, for some Time, to disturb the Republick.

In the mean time, the *Tribunes of the People* <sup>135</sup>, at *Rome*, insisted, that the Law of their Collegue *Varius* should be put in Execution. It enacted, as we have observed, That

<sup>134</sup> Some have conjectured that this *Caius Cæcilius Metellus* was the Son of him, who was surnamed *Caprarius*, and whom we have had occasion to mention already.

<sup>135</sup> *Aulus Gellius* gives us Reason to believe, that *Marcus Porcius Cato* was the Son of another *Marcus Porcius Cato*, who died in *Africa*, in the Year of *Rome* 635, before his *Consulship* expired. *Cato the Censor* was Grandfather to the latter, by his eldest Son, whom he had had by *Licinia* his first Wife; and consequently was

Great-Grandfather to him here mentioned.

<sup>136</sup> *Cicero*, in his *Brutus*, reckons among these *Tribunes of the People*, one *Caius Scribonius Curio*, and one *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Celer*, who were but indifferent Orators. The first was of a *Plebeian* Family, which was divided into two Branches; one was that of the *Libones*, of which there were some *Tribunes of the People*, and *Prætors*, in the Time of the Republick, and some *Consuls*, under the first of the *Cæsars*. The other was distinguished by the Surname



Year of ROME DCLXIII. L. JULIUS CÆSAR, & P. RUTILIUS LUPUS, Consuls. *Pædianus in Comment. ad Orat. Cic. pro Cornelio.*

That all those *Romans* should be prosecuted, who had encouraged the *Allies* to demand the Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia*; and the Senate opposed the Execution of it. It was urged; *That if the Law had been just, it was not a proper Time to execute it with Rigour; That it would be highly imprudent to banish so many illustrious Romans, who might perhaps join the Rebels; and That it was not proper to exasperate the Allies themselves, who began to cool; since it could not be expected that they would bear with Patience the Indignities which would be offered to all their Protectors in the Capital.* In short, the Affair was warmly debated, between the *Tribunes*, and Senate; and at length, Reason prevailed. It was determined, That all Judgments in the Prosecutions, on account of *The Varian Law*, should be suspended. And what is most surprizing is, that this *Varius* himself, the Author of this Law, who was a *Spaniard* by Birth, and whose Right to *Citizenship* was uncertain, was himself condemned by his own Law, as one of the chief Authors of the War with the *Allies*: And the Punishment of this seditious Magistrate, immediately restored Tranquillity in the City. The Assembly for the great Elections was held in Peace, in the *Field of Mars*; and *Cn. Pompeius* <sup>137</sup>, surnamed *Strabo* because he *squinted*, and *L. Porcius* <sup>138</sup> *Cato*, were proclaimed *Consuls*.

*Val. Max. L. 8 c. 6. App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.*

Year of ROME DCLXIV. Cn. POMPEIUS STRABO, & L. PORCIUS CATO, Consuls.

§. XLIII. Necessity obliged the Republick to neglect all Wars abroad, and apply her self wholly to that in *Italy*. This Fire was near home, and must be extinguished first, before she could attend to redress the Evils in distant Provinces. Tho' *Mithridates* now declared himself openly in *Asia*, and his secret Plots were broke out into open Hostilities; the Senate sent no new *Legions* to the *Prætor* who governed in *Asia*. They left him to sustain these first Attacks, with the Troops he could borrow of the *Asiatics*, who were Friends to the Republick; and the Provinces of the new *Consuls* were both in *Italy*. *Porcius Cato* had the Command of the Army, which *Marius* had commanded after the Death of *Rutilius* and *Cæpio*, and which he had afterwards resigned, under Pretence of Sicknefs. *Cn. Pompeius* put himself at the Head of the same Troops which he had left before *Asculum*, the Siege of which he had begun, before he was *Consul*; and he reinforced them with some new Levies, so as to make them, in the whole, a *Consular Army*. At the same time, *L. Cæsar*, the late brave *Consul*, was still employed, and his Troops not diminished; he only changed his Title of *Consul*, into that of *Pro-Consul*. Most of the other subaltern Generals, which *Rome* had nominated the last Year, were likewise continued in the same Offices, and very happily for his Country, *Sylla* was not recalled. His Exploits will soon put him upon a Level with his Rival; we shall see him acquire as much Glory in the War with the *Allies*, as *Marius* lost. But first, of the Motions of all the *Roman Forces*.

*App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.*

*Lucius Cæsar* hastened his Preparations for the Campaign, in the midst of Winter; and in the beginning of *January*, encamped on the Banks of the <sup>139</sup> *Clanias*, or *Liris*, near

of *Curio*; a Term which *Plautus* makes use of in his *Aulular*, to signify a thin Man devoured with the Spleen. Such a one perhaps was the Head of this Branch; or this Surname might have been taken from another *Scribonius*, who is said by *Livy*, B. 41, to have been created High-Priest of the *Curia*. *Pliny* and *Cicero* say, That in the Family of the *Libones*, there was a Succession of Orators famous for their Eloquence. Of this Number was one *Scribonius Curio*, to whom the *Romans*, according to *Val. Max. B. 9. c. 14*, gave the Nick-Name of *Burbuleius*, because he was in Stature and Gait like a Comedian of this Name. We shall hereafter see some of the *Curiones* invested with the first Dignities. As for *Quintus Metellus CELER*, he is thought to have been the Son of *Quintus Metellus Nepos*, who was *Consul* with *Titus Didius*, in the Year 655. *Plutarch* says of him, in his *Life of Romulus*, That he gave the People a Show of Gladiators, a few Days after the Death of his Father; and That from his Expedition in getting ready this Show, he had the Surname of *Celer*, which he transmitted to his Descendants.

<sup>137</sup> *Cneius Pompeius Strabo* was the Father of *Pompey the Great*. *Cicero* says, he first got himself some Reputation at the Bar, and then appeared for the Dignities of the Republick. In the Year of *Rome* 648, he obtained the *Quæstorship* of *Sardinia*, where *Titus*

*Albucius* was *Prætor*; and when he returned to *Rome*, he accused the *Prætor* of Oppression. But the Judges declared against the Accuser. They did not think proper to countenance, by a defamatory Decree, the Divisions that might arise between two Magistrates, whom Duty and the Interest of the Publick, ought to have united in the strictest Friendship; as *Cicero* observes, in his *Oration against Cæcilius*. The same Orator tells us, in his *Fifth Oration against Verres*, That *Cneius Pompeius Strabo* was *Prætor* in *Sicily*; and there is Reason to believe, That during his Office, he levelled the Road, that led from the Territory of *Messina*, to the Streight that divides *Sicily* from *Italy*. At least this Road was called from him, *Via Pompeia*. *Cicero* mentions it, in his *Seventh Oration against Verres*.

<sup>138</sup> According to *Aulus Gellius* and *Plutarch*, *Cato the Censor* had had *Marcus Cato Salonianus*, by his second Wife *Salonia*, as we have observed in the third and fourth Volumes. *Marcus Cato Salonianus* had two Sons: *Lucius Porcius Cato*, who was *Consul* in this Year 664, and *Marcus Porcius Cato*, who had been *Tribune of the People*, died when he was canvassing for the *Prætorship*, and was the Father of the famous *Cato of Utica*.

<sup>139</sup> *Appian* has by Mistake, confounded the *Clanias* with the *Liris*, which is now called *The Carigliano*. The



near *Acerræ*, a City of *Campania*. The General that opposed him, and besieged *Acerræ* for the *Allies*, was *Aponius*, a Man of known Valour. These two Commanders were long employed, only in intercepting each others Provisions, and disputing for Forrage; and in these Skirmishes *Cæsar* always had the Advantage. He was more advantageously posted than his Adversary, and the Plain he had behind him, was fruitful in Corn and Grass. He therefore delayed giving Battle, notwithstanding the Season; being persuaded, that Want would soon oblige *Aponius* to decamp and raise the Siege: and he judged right. The *Italian* did not continue long before the Place. *Cæsar* attacked him in his Retreat, routed his Rear-Guard, and killed him 8000 Men. By this Victory *Acerræ* was delivered; and the Conqueror did not continue idle one Moment. He knew, that *Pompeius*, who was yet detained in *Rome* by his Office of *Consul*, had begun the Siege of *Asculum*, a City which had given Birth to the War, and was obstinate in it; and he marched thither, to hasten the Reduction of it, and thereby finish this troublesome War, at one Blow. But a sudden and dangerous Fit of Sickness stopped him: He was forced to leave his Army under the Command of *Caius Bæbius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, and repair for his Health to the City; where we shall see amends made him, for the Opportunities of signalizing himself in the Field, which his Sickness made him lose. In the mean time, *Pompeius*, tho' the Season was rigorous, took upon him the Command of the Troops before *Asculum*, and carried on the Siege. The *Picentini* were not able to withstand him; and it was Obstinacy only, and the Hopes of Succours, that kept up the Spirits of the *Asculani*. And indeed, a great Army of *Marfi* at length took the Field, under the Command of their General *Francus*. As soon as the besieged were informed of the Arrival of these Succours, they could not contain their Joy, but very precipitately and inconsiderately opened their Gates, and marched out against the Besiegers. The *Consul* drove them back within their Walls; and then they gave him Time to meet *Francus*, and give him Battle; in which he gained a memorable Victory over the *Marfi*, who had never yet received so great an Overthrow. 18000 of their Men with their General, were left dead upon the Spot; and Heaven is said to have declared it self in favour of the *Romans*. The Cold is said to have increased to that degree, that 4000 of the Fugitives who fled to one of the *Apennine* Mountains after their Defeat, to spend the Night there, were found the next Day frozen to Death, and standing, some with their Backs against the Trees, others resting on their Javelins, in form of a Battalion under Arms. But I rather believe, That the Troops which came to relieve *Asculum*, and which *Pompeius* defeated, were an Army tumultuously assembled on the Coasts of the *Tyrrhenian Sea*; That the *Consul* killed 5000 of them; and That the rest perished by Hunger, Sickness, and Cold.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIV.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US STRABO;  
& L. PORCI-  
US CATO,  
Consuls.

Orof. L. 1.  
c. 18.

App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

§. XLIV. However, *Asculum* still held out against the *Consular* Army, and Despair only increased the Rage of the Inhabitants. Their only Resource was in *Judacilius*, the Chief of the *Picentini*, and the most intrepid General the Rebels had. He was an *Asculan* by Birth, and one of the chief Authors of the Revolt, which had first broke out in his Country. He was in the Field, at the Head of eight *Cohorts*, a moderate Army in point of Number, but formidable for the Valour of their Leader: And he was affected with the Misfortunes he had brought on his native City. He foresaw the Murmurs, which the many Enemies he had there, would raise against him; and he resolved to force his Way into it, in spite of all the Vigilance of the *Romans*. To this end, he gave his Countrymen notice, That, upon the first Motion they should see him make, they should march out of the City in order of Battle, and he would take Care of the rest. An Enterprize, tho' somewhat rash, yet not impracticable; but the besieged themselves prevented the Success of it. The Enemies of *Judacilius* stopped the *Asculani*, who were ready to have made a Sally, to forward the Relief designed them; so that, the General, when he came to force the Trenches of the *Romans*, found, to his great Surprise, that he was not seconded by the Garrison. However, his Vexation increased his Courage; and the brave General forced his Way, through the *Consul's* Entrenchments Sword in Hand, and reached one of the Gates of the City, which he found open. A glorious Action, not inferior to the Illustrious Exploits of the bravest *Romans*! And what follows will farther shew the greatness of his Courage.

The latter rises in the Country of the *Volsi*, above *Sora*, near *Atino*; and after it has divided old *Latium* from the Country of the *Samnites* and *Campania*, it falls into the *Tyrrhenian Sea*. Whereas the *Clanias* waters part of *Campania*, and falls into the *Tuscan Sea*.

Indeed, the *Liris* was anciently called *Clanias*, according to *Pliny* and *Strabo*. But the *Clanias*, or *Clanis* here spoken of, has nothing in common with the *Liris*. See Vol. 3. p. 155. Note 93.

The



Year of The Cohorts *Judacilius* brought with him, raised a little the Courage of the be-  
 ROME sieged, but struck Terror into the Enemies of their Leader; and he assembled the Peo-  
 DCLXIV. ple, and reproached them with their Unfaithfulness, or their Delays in putting his  
 Orders in execution. *I have, said he, looked Death in the Face without Fear, in the*  
 CN POMPEI- *midst of the Roman Legions; but I cannot be unmoved at the infamous Behaviour of my*  
 US STRABO, *Countrymen. You cannot pretend Ignorance of my arrival; I gave you notice of it. You*  
 & L. PORCI- *have no Excuse for your Cowardice, but that Cowardice itself. Was the Danger then so*  
 US CATO, *great, that you should sink under it? Could not you have done with my Assistance, what*  
 Consuls. *I have done without you? Romans, you have no Reason any longer to fear these Ascu-*  
*lani, who were once so formidable to you! They are now grown more timorous than Wo-*  
*men. What is become of those Men, who refused to be enslaved to you, under the specious*  
*Name of Allies? They are now grown quiet Victims, who tamely wait for the fatal*  
*Stroke. The Vengeance of Rome will soon be executed here. Unfortunate Asculum!*  
*Thou must fall under the Swords of thine Enemies! But my Eyes shall never see the*  
*Ruin of my Country. I will fall by my own Hands before Asculum is destroyed; and*  
*will also take care, that due Punishment shall be inflicted on my Enemies; who are more*  
*so to their native City than to me.*

This said, *Judacilius* ordered his Cohorts to seize such of the Inhabitants as had most vigorously opposed the Sally; and they were all cut in Pieces. His Joy at this cruel Execution was visible in his Countenance, and he immediately invited his Friends to a great Entertainment; and when Wine and good Eating had raised their Spirits, he very unexpectedly accosted them thus; *I promised two Things, in the Speech I made to the People. One, that I would not leave the scandalous Treachery of those, who left me alone in Danger, unpunished. The other, that I would not survive the Ruin of my Country. The first of these Promises I have performed. I have purged Asculum of her perfidious Enemies, and mine. And oh! that I could preserve her from the Arms of the Roman Consul! However, this at least I resolve, that I will not be an Eye-witness of his Victory, the Massacre of my Countrymen, the Violence done to our Wives and Children, the Prophanation of our Temples, the Destruction of our Houses, and the Demolition of our Walls. To you, O ye Gods, who have given me Life, I surrender it; and happy it is for me, that I am not immortal, as you are! Let him that would go to the Elysian Fields follow me!*

As soon as he had spoken these Words, he called for the Cup, which he had himself prepared; and as soon as he had drunk the Poison, he ordered himself to be carried to the Temple, where he had prepared a funeral Pile. His Friends followed him with great Applauses, but none of them had the Courage to imitate him. Empty Praises were all his Reward; and his Death filled the Rebels with melancholy Reflexions on the danger of having offended the Romans. After his Death, the Consul found less Difficulty in the Siege; and he vigorously pressed the Place, which was now disheartened, both by the Loss, and the Predictions, of the bravest of its Defenders.

§. XLV. Nevertheless, the War with the *Allies* was not finished with that Expedition which the Romans desired. The publick Treasury was exhausted; and private Persons could scarce get any Thing from their Farms, which were exposed to the Incursions and Ravages of the Enemy. The only Persons that got by the Wants of the Publick were the Usurers. The Creditors and Debtors encreased without number. The former were greedy Extortioners, the latter insolvent as long as the War should last. The Interest of Money caused almost as great Disorders in the City, as the Desire of sharing the Government of the Republick with the Romans had raised in the Italian Provinces. The Lenders were daily demanding their Debts with very large Interest; and *Aulus Sempronius* <sup>140</sup> *Asellio*, who was *Prætor Urbanus*, found it a troublesome Thing to hear the Causes of those whom they prosecuted. Indeed the ancient Laws had forbidden all <sup>141</sup> Usury, but these Laws were abolished by Custom; and

Epit. Liv.  
 App. Bell. Civ.  
 L. 1.  
 Val. Max.  
 L. 9. c. 7.

<sup>140</sup> The surname of *Asellio* gives room for a Conjecture, that the *Prætor Aulus Sempronius*, descended from *Sempronius Asellio*, who served in the *Numanian War*, in quality of *Legionary Tribune*, under the famous *Scipio Æmilianus*. *Dion. Hal.* ranks him among the most famous Annalists of old Rome; and

*Cicero* speaks of this Writer, in his first Book Of Laws; as does *Aulus Gellius*, who quotes the 4th Book of his *Annals*.

<sup>141</sup> In order to prevent or suppress the Abuse of Usury, the *Decemviri* had, in the Year of Rome 302, decreed, That the Interest of Money should not exceed



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIV.  
C. POMPEI-  
US STRABO,  
& L. PORCI-  
US CATO,  
Consuls.

and the Necessity of Commerce for the Conveniencies of Life, had introduced a Con-  
nivance, at what the severe Manners of the Ancients made almost impracticable.  
Nevertheless, the Debtors, when pressed by their Creditors, pretended that they owed  
them nothing more than the Sums lent; and it was left to the Equity of the Judge  
to take a due Medium between the Pretensions of both. But *Sempronius* inclined too  
much to Compassion for the poor People. He declared against the Creditors, and con-  
demned them to lose all the Interest of the Money lent. This raised Diffensions and  
Animosities. The Usurers forged Debts, which they maintained to be true, even by  
Perjury; and the Debtors found out many Artifices, to evade paying those Debts that  
were just. In order to extricate himself out of this Labyrinth, which the Falshood  
of both Parties made almost impenetrable, the *Prætor* often nominated Commissioners  
to search the Affair to the Bottom, and discover where the Right lay. But still Means  
were found out to puzzle Matters by Chicanery; and in the Judgments *Sempronius*  
gave, the Presumption was almost always made in Favour of the Debtors, and the  
Creditors were fined. Though the latter were rich, and had great Credit in *Rome*,  
the *Prætor* was inexorable. He meant well; and had it been in his Power, would  
have entirely extirpated all Usury. But these unseasonably severe Proceedings exaspe-  
rated the greatest Part of the People; and it was said, That to forbid all Interest for  
Money lent, would absolutely ruin Trade. Hence the Clamours of the Multitude in  
the *Comitium*, chiefly at the Instigation of a *Tribune of the People*, named *L. Cassius*;  
nor did the Populace stop at Murmurs. Being informed that the *Prætor* was offer-  
ing Sacrifice in Honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*, in the *Forum Romanum*, near the Tem-  
ple of <sup>142</sup> *Concord*; they immediately assembled together, armed themselves with Stones,  
and threw them at the *Prætor*, who with the Cup in his Hand, was going to make  
Libations. He immediately felt himself wounded in the Head, dropped the sa-  
cred Cup, and endeavoured to take Refuge in the Temple of *Vesta*. But the Muti-  
neers intercepted him, forced him to enter into a miserable *Publick-House*, which was  
built in the Form of a Tent, in the Middle of a *Forum*, and dragging him out  
from thence, tore him in Pieces, without any regard to the Dignity of his Office,  
or the Habit of a Sacrificer, which he then wore. Such was now the Insolence of the  
*Roman* People. They made nothing of massacring their Magistrates. Their Liberty  
shewed itself in sudden Insurrections, accompanied with Murders and Assassinations;  
and what was still more deplorable was, that this notorious and scandalous Iniquity  
was not punished. Indeed the Senate ordered Enquiries to be made after the Authors  
of it and their Accomplices; but the Money of the rich Usurers stopped the Mouths  
both of Witnesses and Accusers.

§. XLVI. However, all the *Tribunes of the People* were not so abandoned as *Cassius*.  
There was one among them, who abhorred the Insurrections and Violences that were be-

ceed one *per Cent.* under the Penalty of paying  
four Times the Sum lent. This is the Sense of  
one of the Laws of the XII. Tables, which runs thus:  
SI QUIS UNCIARIO FOENERE AMPLIUS FOENE-  
RASSIT QUADRUPLIONE LUTO. *Cato*, in his Pre-  
face to his Piece on a Country Life, has a Remark  
which ought not to be omitted here. Our Ancest-  
tors, says he, thought Usury a more unpardonable  
Crime than Theft. By the Law of the XII Tables,  
an Usurer was condemned to pay four Times the  
Sum lent; whereas a Thief was only obliged to  
pay double the Thing stolen. *Majores nostri sic ha-  
buerunt; & ita in legibus posuerunt, furem dupli con-  
demnari, feneratorem quadrupli. Quanto pejorem civem  
existimarent feneratorem quam furem, hinc licet existima-  
ri.* But the Severity of the Law-givers was not a sufficient  
Guard against the Avarice of the great Men at *Rome*.  
In the Year 396; that is, 94 Years after the Promul-  
gation of the XII Tables, *Duilius* and *Mænius*, two  
*Tribunes of the People*, undertook to restrain the Co-  
vetousness of the rich. Usury had then long been  
arbitrary; and to put a Stop to this Evil, the Laws  
that limited Interest to one *per Cent. per Annum*, or  
*per Mensem*, were revived, at their desire. In the  
Year 405, the Consuls *Plautius* and *Manlius*, affected  
with the Complaints of a great Number of Citizens  
who were oppressed by their greedy Creditors, reduced

Interest to a half *per Cent. per Annum*. And in the  
Year 411, none were permitted to take any Interest  
at all. But these Laws could not long subsist, amidst  
the Diffensions that troubled the Republick. They  
generally expired with the Authority of them that  
made them; and others were made in their room,  
according to the Caprice, or Interest of the Factions,  
that, each in its turn, prevailed in the *Comitia*.

The *Calends* of each Month, was according to  
*Plutarch*, *Horace*, and *Ovid*, the Time that the Cre-  
ditors appointed, for the Payment of the Interest  
their Debtors had agreed to give them; and then  
the Debtors constantly came to a Place near the  
*Puteal*, which was remarkable for the Statutes there  
erected to *Janus*, and there paid it. See the Law  
concerning Money lent and the Right of Creditors.  
Vol. 1. p. 445. Note 40.

142 The Romans first worshipped *Concord*, about  
the Year of *Rome* 387. *Camillus* had built a Tem-  
ple to her, on the Declivity of the *Capitol*. Sixty  
two Years after, that is, in the Year 449, *Flavius*  
dedicated another Temple to her Honour, in the open-  
ing before the Temple of *Vulcan*. And we find her  
represented on Medals, sometimes by an human Fi-  
gure, and sometimes, by Symbols, as we have ob-  
served. Vol. 2. p. 304. Note 35.



Year of come too common in the Assemblies of the People. This was *M. Plautius Silvanus*; *ROME* who to put a Stop to the Licentiousness of a Populace who were always ready to shed *DCLXIV.* the Blood of the most venerable Men, made a Law, whereby it was declared capital for the *Citizens* of Rome, *Either to bear Arms in the Comitium; Or to seize the Emi-* *cn. POMPEI-* *US STRABO,* *nencies that overlooked the Forum in Parties; Or to beset private Houses, with Swords* *& L. PORCI-* *US CATO,* *or Torches in their Hands; Or to disturb the Judges when sitting in their Courts; Or* *Consuls.* *to raise any Disturbances in any juridical Assembly.* Nor did the wise Tribune stop there. The Iniquity of the Judgments given by the *Roman Knights* was become so crying, that it was no longer supportable; and *Plautius* therefore abolished this infamous Tribunal. He proposed a Scheme for choosing the Judges, and got it confirmed by the People, to this Effect. That each *Tribe* should every Year choose 15 Persons out of its own Body, to whom the Judgment of civil Causes should be committed. By this Means, some of the Senators, *Knights*, and the best of the Commons, were admitted to be Judges, and Justice was impartially administered; and it is said, that one *C. Julius Cæsar*, who had been *Curule Ædile*, assisted *Plautius* much with his Eloquence, in getting his Law passed.

The same Tribune *Plautius* put the last Hand to the Ordinance, the Consul *Lucius Cæsar* had made under Arms and in a Camp, in favour of the *Allies*. In order to its being established in due Form, it wanted to be confirmed by the People assembled in *Comitia*. *Plautius* therefore, in Conjunction with *Caius Papirius Carbo* his Colleague, got it ratified, and published in these Words. *All the Citizens of the allied Cities which shall be in Italy, at the Time of the Promulgation of this Law, shall be deemed Citizens of Rome, provided they register their Names, with one of the three Prætors, Q. 143 Metellus, App. 144 Claudius, or P. 145 Gabinus, within 60 Days.*

§. XLVII. Then the People crowded to Rome with such Eagerness, from all Parts of Italy, in order to enjoy the Privileges granted by this Law; that the new *Citizens* soon became abundantly more numerous than the old Inhabitants of the Capital. And lest this should make Strangers the Masters of Elections, and in effect of the Republic; and produce Disorders and Confusions in all the Assemblies, whether by *Centuries, Tribes, or Curia*; it was resolved, That new *Censors* should be chosen, on this Occasion, though five 146 compleat Years were not expired since the last Election. *Lucius Cæsar* lately recovered from his Sickness, and 147 *P. Licinius Crassus*, who was already famous for a *Triumph*, were thought worthy to fill this important Post; and they shewed their Ability, by the Expedient they found out to satisfy the new 148 *Citizens*, without Prejudice to the Rights of the old. They took great Care not to incorporate the *Italians* into the 35 *Roman Tribes*; but formed them into new *Tribes*, who would not have their Turns of entering into the Inclosure of Voting till after the old ones. So that, the Business was carried by a Majority of Voices before the new *Tribes* came to vote. The new *Citizens* probably were sensible of this Artifice; but nevertheless they dissembled their Discontents, resolving to put them-

143 *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, one of the three *Prætors* for the Year 644, was the Son of the famous *Metellus Numidicus*. He had the Surname of *Pius*, which he shewed he deserved, in the fullest Sense, by the tender Concern he shewed for his Father, when he solicited the People to recall this great Man, whom the *Marian* Faction had banished. Nor did he degenerate from the known Virtue of his Ancestors. According to *Aurelius Victor*, his Virtue as well as his Birth, paved the Way for his attaining the Honours of the Republic; and he was promoted to the *Pontificate*, though he had some *Consular* Men, who were esteemed for their Services to the State, for his Competitors. And *Aurelius* adds, That he was elected *Prætor*, before he was at the legal Age for it. Nevertheless, *Sallust* affirms, That he was twenty Years old, when he attended his Father to the *Numidian* War, in the Year 645; and if so, he must have been, in the Year 664, which was that of his *Prætorship*, 39 Years old; which was very little short of the Age required of those who stood for that Office.

144 This *Appius Claudius*, who inherited from his Ancestors the Surname of *Pulcher*, was the Father

of *Publius Claudius*, who was a severe Enemy to *Cicero*; who says, in his *Oration for Plancius*, That when he first stood for the *Ædileship* he was disappointed; but appeared again for it, the next Year, and succeeded.

145 It is conjectured, that this *Publius Gabinus Capito*, was the Father of a *Roman Knight* of this Name, who was one of the Accomplices in *Catiline's* Conspiracy. There were several *Tribunes of the People* of the *Gabinian* Family, from which he descended, and therefore has been thought *Plinian*.

146 We have elsewhere observed, That the *Romans* reckoned five Years from one *Lustrum* to another; and That the Authority of the *Censors* expired in a Year and half.

147 *Publius Licinius Crassus* was the Father of *Marcus Crassus*, who is so famous in the *Roman* Story, for his unfortunate Expedition against the *Parthians*.

148 Of this number was *Archias* the Poet, whose Defence *Cicero* undertook, against those who disputed his Right of *Citizenship*.



selves upon a Level with the old ones, upon the first Opportunity. However, the Year of  
*Censors* continued to discharge their Office in Peace, reformed the Manners of the *ROME*  
 City, banished the Luxury that reigned there notwithstanding the Indigence of the *DCLXIV.*  
 Republick, and prohibited those exquisite Perfumes which were bought in foreign Coun-  
 tries, at a great Price. They ordered, that for the future, no more *Greek* or *Amminean* *CN. POMPEI-*  
 Wine should be bought at the Rate of eight *Asses*, the Measure <sup>150.</sup> The Wants *US STRABO,*  
 of the Publick produced all these Reformati-  
 ons. The Treasury was so much exhausted, *& L. PORCI-*  
 that the *Quæstors* were forced to turn the Priests and Sacrificers out of the Houses the *US CATO,*  
 Publick gave them round the *Capitol*, and let those Houses to hire, for the Use of the *Consuls.*  
 Publick. Nay, the Distress was so great, that to supply the present Necessity, they *Plin. L. 14.*  
 made use of some of the Money that *Numa Pompilius* had deposited in the Temple of *Vesta.* *C. 11.*  
 The *Censors* therefore did not think proper to undertake any new Works in  
 such difficult Times; but contented themselves with a *Lustrum*, which was not attended  
 as usual with a *Census* of all the *Roman Citizens*. And this *Lustrum*, which was  
 reckoned the 67th from the Institution of them in the time of King *Servius Tullius*,  
 was thought unfortunate by the *Romans*, because made without the Knowledge, or a-  
 gainst the Consent, of the *Augurs*. *App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.*  
*Orat. L. 5. 18.*  
*Florus in Terra-*  
*nis.*

§. XLVIII. Whilst these useful Regulations were making in the City, the War was  
 still carrying on in the Provinces. The *Allics* were as full of Animosity as ever, and  
 their General filled all the East of *Italy* with Troubles and Hostilities. However,  
 the *Consul Pompeius* was not so much confined to the Siege of *Asculum*, but he some-  
 times turned it into a Blockade, and went to meet the Enemy in the open Field. The  
 Country of the *Vestini*, which was near that of the *Picentes*, still persevered in the Re-  
 volt. *Vettius Cato* was at the Head of the Rebels, and covered the Country with a  
 great Army. The *Consul* therefore led the best of his Troops against him, and defeated  
 him in a pitched Battle; and then the *Vestini* were struck with Terror. They had already  
 deliberated among themselves, whether they should not have recourse to the Clemen-  
*Cic. Phil. 11.*

149 The *Amminean* Wine was, in *Virgil's* Opinion, the best that grew in *Italy*. He commends it for its  
 Strength, and bearing Age; and prefers it to those of  
 Mount *Tmolus* in *Phrygia*, and of the Promontory  
 of *Phanæus* in *Phrygia*, though reckoned the best:  
 and to that of the white Grapes of *Greece*, which were  
 famous for their yielding a great deal, and keeping  
 long.

*Sunt etiam Ammineæ Vites firmissima Vina,  
 Tmolius affurgit quibus, & Rex ipse Phanæus,  
 Argitisque minor, cui non certaverit ulla  
 Aut tantum fluere, aut totidem durare per annos.*

Georg. 2.

*Pliny, B. 14.* declares himself to be of the same Opi-  
 nion; and says, the older it was the better it grew.  
*Principatus datur Ammineis, propter firmitatem, se-  
 nioque proficientem ejus utique vitam. Cato, Theophras-  
 tus, Varro, and Columella,* do likewise extol the Va-  
 lue and Delicacy of it; and the latter, as well as *Pli-  
 ny*, mentions several sorts of Vines, which were called  
*Amminean*. That which bore little Grapes, was called  
*Minor Amminea*, in Opposition to that which bore  
 greater and was therefore called *Major Amminea*; and  
 there was a third Sort, that bore double Grapes,  
 and was therefore called *Gemella Amminea*. The lat-  
 ter produced a rough, but very lasting Wine. There  
 was a great deal of this Sort grew in the Territory  
 of *Capua*, and on the Sides of Mount *Vesuvius*, and  
 of *Sorrentum* in *Campania*. To which *Columella* adds  
 a fourth Sort, whose Leaves were covered with a  
 Down, like Cotton. It produced pretty good Wine,  
 but it could not be kept long. It decayed immedi-  
 ately after it came to its Maturity.

*Macrobius* pretends, that these Wines were called  
*Amminean*, from a Part of Mount *Falernus*. *Ammi-  
 nea scilicet a regione; nam Amminei furrunt, ubi nunc  
 Falernum est.* But because *Virgil* has plainly distin-  
 guished the *Amminean* from the *Falernian* Wine; a  
 learned Man of our own Age is of Opinion, that we

ought to read here *Falentum*, instead of *Falernum*.  
 And some conjecture, not without some probability,  
 that, in *Virgil's* time, a Plant of the best Sort, which  
 was cultivated in several Parts of *Italy*, was called  
 by this Name. And indeed, *Phylargius*, on the  
 Credit of *Aristotle* in his *Politicks*, says, That the  
 Wines here spoken of, were brought by the *Ammi-  
 means*, a People of *Thessaly*, into *Italy*. This at least  
 is very certain, That in *Gallienus's* time, the Term  
*Amminean* was used, to signify any good Wine what-  
 soever, whether it grew in *Greece* or *Italy*. *Colu-  
 mella* says moreover, That the Ancients knew no other  
 Vines but the *Amminean*, and always called the oldest  
 by that Name. The bold Etymology of *Servius*, is as  
 false, as it is puerile. He says, All that is meant by  
 the Word is, that the Vines so called did not bear black  
 Grapes. *Amminea, quia sine minio, sine rubore.* It  
 happens unfortunately that *Pliny* says the direct con-  
 trary, in his 14th Book. Nor is the Opinion of *Al-  
 ciatus* of more weight. He thinks, without any Proof,  
 That the Word *Ammineum*, only answered to the *Greek*  
 Word ἀμνινον, and was used only to signify that the  
*Amminean* were the best of Wines.

150 *Pliny* tells us, *B. 14.* That the Measure here  
 spoken of, was the *Amphora*, or *Quadrantal*. It  
 contained three *Roman Modii*, which contained each  
 26 Pounds; or in other Words, it was equal  
 to two *Urnae*, or eight *Congii*. See Vol. 2. p. 597.  
 It will doubtless seem strange, that in the most po-  
 pulous City in the World, where there was such Plen-  
 ty of Gold and Silver, Provisions should be sold so  
 cheap. But it ought to be considered, That in a de-  
 mocratical State, the Dearthness of Provisions was the  
 most usual Pretence for Insurrections. The Magi-  
 strates were in great Danger from an indigent and star-  
 ving Populace; and therefore the *Ediles* made it their  
 chief Business to take care, that Things should be  
 cheap and plenty. In some barren Years, the *Consuls*  
 and Senate were obliged by the Clamours of the  
 People, to supply the Wants of the poor Citizens  
 with Money out of the publick Treasury.



Year of  
ROME  
DCLXIV.  
CN. POMPEI-  
US STRABO,  
& L. PORCI-  
US CATO,  
Consuls.  
Epit. Liv.  
L. 75. c. 19.

cy of the *Romans*, or whether if they laid down their Arms, they might not claim the Privileges granted by the late Law, to such of the *Allies* as should return to their Duty; and *Pompeius* thought these Dispositions favoured a Reconciliation, with a Nation which he had almost subdued. He granted General *Vettius* a Conference, between the two Camps; at which *Cicero* who was making his first Campaign under the *Consul*, was present. *Vettius* at first mixed some Roughness with his Civilities; but after he had saluted *Pompeius*, he saluted likewise his Brother, who was lately come from *Rome*. And when *Sextus Pompeius* very kindly replied to him, *And what Name shall I give you?* *Vettius* civilly answered, *Call me your Friend by Inclination, and your Enemy by Necessity*. How this friendly Conference ended we are not told; but Historians give the *Consul Pompeius* the Honour of subduing the *Vestini*; and he afterwards returned from before *Asculum*, the Reduction of which had been his favourite Point through the whole Campaign.

Vell. Pater.  
L. 2.  
App. Bell. Civ.  
Epit. Liv.

§. XLIX. On the other hand, the *Consul Porcius Cato* was signaling himself in the Country of the *Marfi*; though a Curse seems to have attended the <sup>151</sup> Army that was fallen to his Lot. The *Consul Rutilius*, who had first commanded it, and after him *Cæpio*, had lost their Lives. *Marius* himself had gained but little Glory after he had taken upon him the Command of it, and had resigned it. But it must be confessed, that it was employed in that Part of *Italy*, which abounded most with brave Soldiers. Nevertheless, *Porcius* had hitherto gained many Advantages over these formidable *Marfi*; and in a Transport of Joy, after a considerable Victory, he is said to have gone so far as to say, that his Exploits had surpassed those of the renowned *Marius*, in his last Campaign. We are also told, that this Rhodomontade was told to young *Marius*, and so strongly affected him, that he was from that time wholly bent on revenging the Contempt the *Consul* had shewn to his Father. In the mean time, *Porcius*, still greedy of Glory, drove the Enemies as far as to the Lake *Fucinus*, and resolved to force their Camp. The Victory was ready to declare for him, the *Marfi* beginning to make but a very weak Resistance; but at the instant that he was promising himself an entire Conquest, he was killed by a Dart from an unknown Hand. It was indeed never well cleared up, whether the Dart was thrown from the Rampart, or the *Roman Army*: But the Suspicion of killing the *Consul* was cast on young *Marius*. He already began to shed *Roman Blood*, and revenge his own, and his Father's Quarrels, on his Country. The *Marfi* took Advantage of this unforeseen Accident; and, though ready to sink, recovered themselves, chased the *Romans*, and cut them in Pieces, in their Retreat.

The Loss of a *Consul* would have again thrown *Rome* into a Consternation, if she had not been comforted by the News she received from her other Generals. The *Pro-Consul Cosconius* <sup>152</sup> had forced the *Samnites* to retire into *Japygia* <sup>153</sup>, to the Borders

<sup>151</sup> According to *Dio Cassius*, whose Fragments *Monsieur le Valois* has collected, the Army of *Porcius Cato* was, in a great Measure, a Collection of idle Men, without Experience, or Courage, who had been raised in haste, in *Rome*; and with them were incorporated some old Soldiers, whose great Age and Infirmities made them incapable of military Labours. So that the General was forced to continue in Inaction. It would not have been prudent in him, to have run the Hazard of a Battle with such ill chosen Troops; and being uneasy at having the Command of Men who so little regarded the Glory of the *Roman Name*, and the Interests of their Country, he came to Threatnings and Reproaches with them. But these Cowards, who knew not what Obedience was, grumbled at the Reprimand; and dispersing themselves abroad sought for Stones to kill the *Consul*. But it fortunately happened, that the Field they were in had lately been ploughed, and they could find nothing but Clods of Earth to throw at him. The chief Author of the Revolt was *Caius Titius*; who before he turned Soldier, had spent his Youth at the Bar. He had been a mercenary Orator, ready to appear for any one that would pay him; and retained nothing of his former Profession, but an unbridled Impudence, which supplies the Place of Merit, with such Sort of Men. Having been accustomed to throw out Invectives against the most valuable Men, he did not spare the

*Consul*, and thereby blew up the Fire of Rebellion in his Army. *Porcius* being informed of his seditious Discourses, had him brought to *Rome*; but he found Favour with his Judges, and was acquitted.

<sup>152</sup> It is uncertain, whether the *Cosconian* Family was originally *Patrician*, or *Plebeian*. We find the Name of one *Marcus Cosconius Epicurus*, on one of *Gruter's* Inscriptions. *Livy*, B. 30, mentions one *Marcus Cosconius*, a *Military Tribune*. Another of the same Name was *Prætor*, in the Year of *Cicero's* Consulship; as he informs us, in his *Oration for Publius Sylla*. He speaks likewise, in his *Epistola ad Familiares*, of one *Caius Cosconius Calidianus*, who had been adopted from the *Calidian* Family into the *Cosconian*; which the Surname of *Calidianus* seems to shew. We have but one Medal\*, or *Denarius*, of this Family, the Face of which is, a *Rome*, wearing an Helmet. The Reverse is, a Chariot drawn by two Horses; the usual Impression of the *Denarii* called *Bigati*, as we have elsewhere observed. On both Sides, are the Names of one *Lucius Cosconius*, one *Lucius Licinius*, and one *Gnæus Domitius*. They were probably the *Triumviri Monetales* on that Occasion; that is, were a Sort of Commissioners appointed by the *Consuls*, or *People*, to inspect the Mint; as we have observed. Vol. 3. p. 523. Note 82.

<sup>153</sup> Old *Japygia* contained in length, *Apulia-Dauniana*,

\* See Pl. 10.  
No. 6. Page  
253.



of the *Adriatick* Sea. There the *Romans* defeated in a pitched Battle that *Marius Egnatius*, who had signalized himself so much among the Rebels. He lost his Life in the Battle, and left his Troops to *Trebatius* the *Samnite*, who took upon him the Command of the vanquished Army. It was still large enough to keep the Field, and *Trebatius* encamped it on the Banks of the <sup>154</sup> *Aufidus*, over-against the *Roman* Camp, with the River between them. *Trebatius*, was full of Ardour, as is usual with young Generals, to raise a Reputation, by beginning with some signal Action; and he challenged *Cosconius*, and gave him his Choice which of the two Armies should cross the River. *Let Trebatius then come to us*, replied the *Roman*, *since he is in such haste to be beaten! And we will, receive the vanquished Enemy like Conquerors!* Upon this the *Samnite* passed the *Aufidus*, and drew up his Troops in Battalia along the River side. But the *Romans* would scarce give them Time to form themselves. They attacked them with Fury, pressed them hard, and drove them into the River; and in short, made a terrible Slaughter of them. *Trebonius*, after the loss of 15000 Men, had much difficulty to get safe with the Remains of his shattered Army into *Canusium*; and the Fruit of this Victory was, that *Cosconius* ravaged the Countries of the *Larinales* <sup>155</sup>, *Venusii* <sup>156</sup>, and *Pediculi* <sup>157</sup>, whom he at last subdued, and forced to obey the *Romans*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIV.  
CN. POMPEI-  
US STRABO,  
& L. PORCI-  
US CATO,  
Consuls.  
Dio Cass.  
Epit. Liv.

§. L. These Losses led on the Confederates gradually to their Ruin; and they now began to be in Pain for *Corfinium*, the Capital of their new Republick, which they made a Rival to *Rome*. They deserted it, and removed their Senate and Magazines, to *Esernia*, in the Country of the *Samnites*. And in order to repair the Misfortunes of their tottering Confederacy, they sent an Embassy to *Mithridates*, to *Pontus* in *Asia*. This Monarch <sup>158</sup> had already begun to declare War with the *Romans*, and the Treaties he had made against them, with the neighbouring Kings, seemed to promise him the Conquest of all *Asia*, if not the speedy Ruin of the imperious Republick. And whilst the Deputies were in their Voyage, *Pompædus* made it his Business to secure a Sea-port, by which he might keep up a Communication with the East, and facilitate his Passage into *Sicily*, whither he intended to extend the Revolt. A Design mighty well laid, and it would perhaps have succeeded, if the good Fortune of *Sylla*, and the Constancy of the Consul *Pompeius*, had not prevented these pernicious Designs, and rendered them abortive, before the Year expired. *Sylla*, of whom we have said little hitherto, was the Hero of this Campaign. Though only a Subaltern, honoured with the Title of a *Pro-Consul*, he easily effaced the Glory of his Rival *Marius*, who had hitherto eclipsed him. As soon as *Marius* had left the Army, *Sylla*, with the Troops he commanded, overran all the Countries of the Rebels, staying in no particular Place, but hastening wherever Victory called him.

Diod. Sic. Ecl.  
L. 17.

He first besieged the City of *Stabiae*, in *Campania*, took it by Assault, and gave it up to be plundered by his Soldiers. Then he went to join one of the *Roman* Armies, which had just killed its General *Postumius*, in a Mutiny, under Pretence, that he had some treacherous Design in view. This *Roman Pro-Consul* had been nominated to command the Fleet, and endeavoured to force his Soldiers to embark. But the Haughtiness of his Conduct, and his ill Usage of them made him hated by his Troops; and in a Fit of Rage, they knocked him down with Stones, and finished him with Staves. As soon as they had done this, *Sylla* appeared at the Head of his little Army, and his Appearance filled the Mutineers with Terror. They took it for granted, that he would make severe Examples of them, and vigorously punish the wicked Violence offered to the Person of a *Pro-Consul*. But *Sylla's* true Character was not yet known. He was naturally cruel, but he at present concealed his inhuman Disposition, under the Appearances of good

Plin. L. 3.  
c. 1.  
Epit. Liv.  
Plut. in Sylla.  
Orosius. L. 5.

*niana*, *Apulia-Peucetiana*, and *Messapia*. In this Country, which is now a Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, were comprehended *Calabria*, some Part of the *Basilicata*, the Land of *Bari*, that of *Otranto*, and the *Capatinata* towards Mount *Garganus*, between the Rivers of *Fortore* and *Cervaro* on one Side, and those of *Cervaro* and *Offanto*, on the other.

<sup>154</sup> According to *Polybius*, this is the only River, that divides the *Apennines*. See Vol. 3. p. 120. Note 6.

<sup>155</sup> The *Larinales* inhabited the City of *Lari-*  
Vol. V.

*num*, in the Country of the *Frentani*, on the Frontiers of *Apulia*.

<sup>156</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 376. Note 58.

<sup>157</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 195. Note 35.

<sup>158</sup> *Mithridates* was then at least 30 Years of Age. He had ascended the Throne, after the Death of his Father, in the Year of *Rome* 631, at the Age of 10 Years according to *Strabo*, or 12, according to *Eutropius*. *Memnon* gives him a Year more. So that, in this Year 664, he must have been about 44, or 45.

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Nature.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIV.  
CN. POMPEI-  
US STRABO,  
& L. PORCI-  
US CATO,  
Consuls.

Nature; and regulating his Clemency and Cruelty by his Interest, either spared or sacrificed Men, as the State of his Affairs required. His Aim at this time was to acquire so much Glory, as to force the Republick to promote him to the *Consulate* the next Year; and with this View, when he came up with the Troops, whose Hands were stained with the Murder they had committed, he, to their great Surprise, treated them with Moderation. He only added the Criminals to his own *Legions*, and made them one Body; and when he was reproached with such extraordinary Clemency, replied, *I have my Views. These Men, to whom I have given Life, will be ready to sacrifice it for the Good of their Country. Either their Rebellion will soon be punished with Death in Battle, or they will wipe off the Shame of it by a glorious Victory.* Whereas Sylla's real Intention in it was, to get himself a Party against the Jealousy of *Marius*, and to procure Votes against the next Election.

Fell. Patere.  
App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

§. LI. When his Army was thus doubled, Sylla went on new Enterprizes. He ventured to lay Siege to a strong City, called *Pompeii* <sup>159</sup>, not far from *Stabiae*, and in the same Province. A General of the *Allies*, named *Cluentius*, hastened to the Relief of this important Place, and encamped about 400 Paces from the Roman Army. The Multitude of his Soldiers increased his Confidence, (for it was common for the *Italian* Troops to exceed the *Roman* in number) and he marched out into the Plain in order of Battle. Sylla, who would not decline the Challenge, fell on the Enemy with Precipitation, tho' a great part of his Army was then busy in foraging: But he found that Valour cannot always prevail over Numbers. He gave way, and was very near being routed, when his Cavalry very seasonably returned from foraging. Then the Action was renewed, the repulsed recovered their Courage, the Victory, which was not long in suspense, declared for the *Romans*; and the Army of the Rebels retired with Loss, in order to return soon to the Charge.

*Cisalpine Gaul* was not free from that Spirit of Revolt, which prevailed in the East of *Italy*; and *Cluentius* soon received a Reinforcement of *Gauls*, which repaired his Loss in the last Battle. And now, being stronger and more resolute than ever, he appeared again in the Plain, and came and insulted Sylla, within reach of his Entrenchments. The *Pro-Consul* was not very patient; and he assembled his Troops round his Tent, and harangued them thus. *I know your Valour, and you know the Enemy; but perhaps you have not yet a sufficient Knowledge of me. However, since a great Part of you owe your Lives to my Clemency; Go, Soldiers, and merit the Pardon I have given you, by a Victory. Don't be sparing of those Lives which the Publick has still a Right to take from you, by the Hands of the publick Executioner. It wholly depends on your Bravery, whether your Crime shall be buried in Oblivion, or not. I have been indulgent to you, in hopes of seeing you conquer; but if you are beaten, I will execute the Law upon you with the utmost Severity.* The Army seemed exceeding well disposed to do their utmost; and they assured their General of it by repeated Acclamations.

App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

Whilst all Things were thus getting ready for the Action, a *Gaul* of a gigantick Stature marched out of the Enemy's Squadrons, and by way of Prelude to the Battle, challenged the bravest of the *Romans* to fight him, in single Combat, at the Head of the two Armies. Sylla, to shew his Contempt for the *Gaul*, sent out against him a young *Moor*, who was little, ugly, and squat; but brave, a good Horseman, and very expert at throwing a Javelin. With the first he threw, he struck the *Gaul*, and laid him dead on the Sand; and this slight Affair was both the Cause and Prognostick of one of the most memorable Victories the *Romans* had ever gained. The *Gauls* were struck with a Pannick. They dispersed, and their Flight produced that of the Confederates whom *Cluentius* commanded. The *Romans* took Advantage of their Disorder, pursued them faster than they fled, and cut 30000 of them in pieces. Nevertheless, *Cluentius* with some difficulty reached *Nola*, with the Remains of his Army, there rested for some Days, assembled all the Troops he could, and encamped near the City, still obstinately adhering to the Confederates. On the other hand, Sylla no longer delayed attacking him in his new Post, than was necessary, to make himself Master of *Pompeii*. As soon as that City had surrendered at Discretion, he, in haste to prosecute his Victory,

<sup>159</sup> *Pompeii*, or *Pompeium*, as *Sallust*, *Seneca*, and *Tacitus* call it, or *Pompæa*, as *Strabo*, was formerly a maritime City of *Campania*. In the Reign of *Nero*,

it was almost buried in its Ruins. *Cicero* had near it a Country-House which he calls *Pampulanum*. See Vol. 2. p. 283, Note 90.



advanced towards *Nola*, and encamped at a due distance from the Enemy, designing to put an end to the Expedition he had so happily begun. There the Prefages were taken upon the Altar, which was always built before the *Prætorium*, in the Place called *The Augural*<sup>160</sup>; and then *Postumius*, who performed the Office of *Aruspex* in the Army, declared that Heaven promised *Sylla* some uncommon Piece of good Fortune. No sooner was the Sacrifice begun, but a Snake came out from the Foot of the Altar, and twisted his Body round it; and then all the Soldiers depending<sup>161</sup> on this lucky Prefage, ran to Arms without hesitation. This Prepossession raised their Courage, and the Enemy were immediately intimidated, and routed upon the first Onset. In their Fright, they thought to have found an *Asylum* in *Nola*; but the Inhabitants opening only one of their Gates, for fear the *Romans* should enter their City with the Fugitives, the *Romans* made a terrible Slaughter of them near *Nola*; and which seems very incredible, we are told, that *Sylla* did not lose one Man in this bloody Battle. But *Cluentius* perished in it, and with him 20000 of those *Samnites*, who had formerly been formidable to the *Romans*. In short, *Sylla* reduced this fierce Nation so low, that it durst not appear again in the Field; his victorious Army gave him near *Nola*, one of these *Obfidional Crowns*<sup>162</sup>, which had nothing to recommend them, but the Honour the *Romans* were pleased to annex to them. Nevertheless, *Sylla* was so pleased with it, that he ordered the Ceremony to be painted in his fine House at *Tusculum*, as the most glorious Monument of his Life.

§. LII. After he had plundered the Camp of the *Samnites*, *Sylla* did not tarry to enjoy the Repose his Victories procured him; but first granted a general Pardon to his Troops, and rewarded the bravest of them, and then led them on to new Exploits. *Campania* being subdued, he crossed it without Opposition, and brought his *Legions* into *Hirpinia*; and as this Country was wholly devoted to the Rebels, he made it his Business to fill it with Terror. The first Place he invested there was *Asculana*<sup>163</sup>, whose Fortifications being only Wood and Turf, were not strong enough to hold out long against a victorious Army: But the Inhabitants expected an Army of *Lucani*<sup>164</sup> to come immediately to their Relief, and endeavoured to suspend the Attacks of the *Pro-Consul*, and amuse him with Negotiations, till their Friends arrived. *Sylla* therefore, who saw through the Artifice, granted them only one Hour to deliberate about surrendering; and in the mean time, surrounded the Walls with combustible Matter, and threatened to burn both them and their City to Ashes. Then Fear prevailed over Obstinacy; and *Asculana* capitulated, tho' all the Favour the *Roman* would grant the Inhabitants, was their Lives. He gave up their Houses to be plundered by his Soldiers; and by this Example of Severity, made the *Hirpini* more tractable. They came in Crowds to offer the Keys of their Cities to the *Pro-Consul*, imploring him to favour them so far, as to lessen the Rigour of military Executions; and he made his natural Cruelty give way to his Ambition, contented himself with subduing *Hirpinia* without ruining it, and immediately fell upon *Samnium*.

§. LIII. The *Allies*, as we have observed, had removed their Senate and Magazines from *Corfinium* to *Esernia*, and consequently had settled their last Bulwark among the *Samnites*; and *Sylla* believed the good Fortune which every where attended him, would

<sup>160</sup> In this Place were kept the sacred Pullets, and here the *Roman* Generals always consulted the *Auspices*, before they gave Battle, or set out on any important Expedition. See Vol. 2.

<sup>161</sup> According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla* in the Memoirs he wrote of his own Life, gloried in this sort of Events, whether true or false. He loved to give himself out for a Man whom the Gods foretold to the World, and whose future Grandeur they prefaged by Prodiges. Like an able Politician, he took advantage of the Credulity of a superstitious People, to bring them into his Interest. And it was with this View, he made a pretended Phænomenon, whether real or fictitious, to serve the Purposes of his Ambition. *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Sylla*, relates it thus. When the Republick had given him the Command of a *Roman* Army, against the *Allies of Italy*, he had no sooner begun his March, but the Earth opened, and vo-

mitted out Flames, which reached to the Skies. The Diviners, when consulted on this Occasion, answered, That the Republick was bringing up an Hero who was already remarkable for his beautiful Face; That this great Man would one Day be a Sovereign; and That he would only use his Power, for the Happiness and Tranquillity of *Rome*. Upon this Description, says *Plutarch*, *Sylla* could not mistake himself. He was handsome, and had remarkably fine white Hair. As for his Valour, it was known to all the World. He gave signal Proofs of it, in *Africa*, *Italy*, and the East.

<sup>162</sup> See Vol. 1. p. 415. Note 51.

<sup>163</sup> *Asculana* was anciently one of the Cities of *Hirpinia*. It is now known by the Name *Fricento*, an Episcopal City in *The Further Principality*, about 20 Miles from *Benevento*.

<sup>164</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 156. Note 33.



Year of follow him <sup>165</sup> into this Country likewise, which was full of Mountains, Forrests, and Rocks, and pave the Way under his Feet. But Experience shewed him, that as fortunate as he was, he could not change the Nature of the Places that led to *Ejernia*. He found the Roads impassable; when he was in the middle of a narrow Pass, *Aponius*, the famous General of the *Samnites*, in a manner surrounded him; and then the *Caudian Forks* came to his Remembrance. Nevertheless, he found Means to recover this false Step, but more by Address than good Fortune. He soon resolved what to do; for he confessed, that he had always found Instinct a better Guide, than long Deliberations; and under Pretence of a Treaty, procured several Interviews with *Aponius*, and agreed to a Truce. But when the Cessation of Arms had made the *Samnites* more negligent, he filed off his *Legions*, one by one, in silence, and in the dark; quitted his Camp himself, leaving only one Trumpet in it, to proclaim the Watches of the Night; and last of all, the Trumpet likewise escaped, and followed the Rout of the *Roman Army* cross Woods and Mountains. The *Pro-Consul's* new March was likewise as well judged, as his Departure. After he had taken a large Compass, he came and fell upon the Rear of the Enemy, who were busy in plundering his deserted Camp, so vigorously, and so unexpectedly, that the *Samnites* were seized with Fear, and fled without making any Resistance. There was a great Slaughter made of them, and *Apollonius* himself escaped with great difficulty. He was inconsolable at his Defeat, and wounded in the Head; but he found a safe Retreat in *Ejernia*, which was too strong and too inaccessible for *Sylla* to besiege it; and he therefore determined not to attempt it, but turned another Way.

*App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.*

CN. POMPEI-  
US STRABO,  
& L. PORCI-  
US CATO,  
Consuls.  
*Plut. in Sylla.*  
*Frontin. Strat.*  
*L. 1. c. 5.*

§. LIV. On the Banks of the <sup>165</sup> *Tifernus*, which runs at the Foot of the *Apennines*, there stood a considerable City named *Bovianum* <sup>167</sup>, which disputed the Right of being the Capital, with all the other Cities in *Samnium*. It was situated partly on the Declivity of the *Apennines*, and partly in the Plain, as far as to the River, and was defended by three Citadels, which made it one of the strongest Places in *Italy*. Towards the Side of the Hills, it was guarded only by a single Rampart; but on the side of the Valley, by three Forts; and when *Sylla* came up to it, he pretended to attack only the weakest Part of the City, which drew the besieged thither to withstand the Assault. But he had likewise given Orders to another Body of the *Pro-Consular* Troops to storm one of the Forts, whilst himself made a Diversion for the Forces in the City; and as soon as the Detachment had scaled one of them, they gave the *Pro-Consul* notice of it, by Fires on the Platform. Then *Sylla*, with incredible Expedition, enlarged the Breach he had begun; and the Enemy, after they had disputed it with him three Hours, gave way, and surrendered at Discretion.

§. LV. After the Reduction of this City, the Rebels had only two Places of Importance left, *Ejernia* in *Samnium*, and *Asculum* in the Country of the *Picentes*. This last City had long been besieged by the *Consul Pompeius*; and a great deal of Blood had been spilt in attacking and defending it. The Besieged had from their Walls seen 75000 *Romans* engaged with above 60000 *Italians*; the former endeavouring to reduce, and the latter fighting to preserve it. But now, about the Time that *Sylla* reduced *Bovianum*, *Pompeius* entered *Asculum*; and punished the Inhabitants of this very guilty City, with all the Severity they had deserved. They had first set up the Standard for the Revolt, and signalized their Rebellion by the Murder of a *Roman Prætor*; and therefore Vengeance was executed upon them without Mercy. *Pompeius* saved only a few of their Chiefs to grace his *Triumph*; the rest, whether *Præfecti*, *Tribunes*, or *Centurions*, all fell by the Axes of the *Lictors*; and all the Slaves that were found in the Place, were sold, for the Benefit of the Republick. To the rest of the Burghers, the *Consul* granted Life and Liberty; but confiscated their Lands, and gave all their Furniture for Plunder to the Soldiers. And now, after the Surrendry of *Bovianum* and *Asculum*, we may look upon the War with the *Allies*, which had cost so much *Roman* Blood, and had considerably depopulated *Italy*, as finished; and it may be affirmed, That the Rebels who begun it, reaped the greatest Advantage from it. They were all

<sup>165</sup> *Sylla* boasted, that he knew how to fix the Instability of *Fortune*. She was his Favourite Divinity, and he seemed not to acknowledge any other; and therefore he used to say, that he owed all his Successes to her.

*ni* from old *Apulia*; and the neighbouring Mountain and City borrowed their Names from it; as appears by *Livy*, B. 8 and 10. See Vol. 2. p. 297. Note 18.

<sup>167</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 265. Note 45.

<sup>166</sup> This River divided the Canton of the *Frenta-*

made  
1.



made *Citizens of Rome*, some sooner, some later. So that, *Rome* reaped nothing but Glory from a two Years War, which almost reduced her to the last Extremity. The only Benefit she gained was, That she thereby taught her Neighbours to dread the Forces of a Capital, which was able to give Law to the rest of *Italy*, and indeed to the whole World.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIV.  
CN. POMPEI-  
US STRABO,  
& L. PORCI-  
US CATO,  
Consuls.

§. LVI. And now, Autumn far advanced, and the first Frosts being come in, it was necessary for the Generals to lead back their *Legions* to *Rome*; and *Sylla* came thither some Days before his Army. This Hero, had acquired such an uncommon Share of Glory in the Campaign, that the People could not well refuse him the *Consulate*. He therefore put on the white Robe, enrolled himself among the Candidates, appeared before the People in full Confidence, or rather with a Right, of prevailing over his Rivals; and the Assembly did him the Justice to nominate him *Consul*, almost unanimously. He had also Interest enough to get his Friend *Q. Rufus* <sup>168</sup> *Pompeius*, whose Son had lately married his Daughter *Cornelia*, chosen his Colleague. It may seem strange, that so great a General should not attain to this Dignity, till so late in Life, being 49, when he was promoted to the *Consulate*. But it must be remembered, that it was one single Enemy, who retarded his Advancement to high Stations. Tho' a very great General, he could not obtain them, till he had entirely eclipsed the Glory and Credit of *Marius*; and when he was come to the highest Station, he took care to be effectually revenged of his Rival. He made use of all the Weight his new Office gave him to destroy *Marius*, and to recover the Glory, which he had been forced to lose, when a Subaltern. We shall soon see the Eyes of the Republick, and indeed of the whole World, fixed upon him. All Men extolled his Bravery; his Friends said that his Prudence even surpassed his Valour; and his very Enemies agreed, that *Rome* had never had a more fortunate General. And so far was he from being offended, at ascribing his Success to his good Fortune, that he himself boasted that he had Fortune at his Command. I own, said he, that I am the Favourite, and the Creature of that Goddess. I owe all my Prosperity to her. And indeed he adopted no Title with more Pleasure, than that of the Fortunate. But if he was always fortunate in War, he was not so in his Wives. *Ilia*, and *Julia*, his two first, died very young, and left him only Daughters. *Cælia* <sup>169</sup> his third was divorced for Barrenness. And as he had always been a good Husband, he contracted a great Alliance, as soon as he was nominated *Consul*. He married for his fourth Wife *Cæcilia* <sup>170</sup> *Metella*, whose Birth, and Beauty, had made her the Ambition of all the young Noblemen in *Rome*; and this Preference raised great Jealousy against him. Great as *Sylla* was, he was not thought worthy of so fine a Lady; which is likewise another Proof as of the Merit of the Wife, so likewise of the good Fortune of the Husband.

Di. L. 40;

Velleius L. 2.

Plut. in Sylla,

But, tho' the *Roman* People had just put him at the Head of the Republick, he did not disappoint *Cn. Pompeius* of the Honours he had deserved. When the latter had presided at the Election of *Sylla* and his Relation *Q. Pompeius*, he had nothing more to desire, but to obtain a *Triumph*. Indeed the Republick might likewise have granted that Honour to *Cosconius*, *Sylla* himself, and all the Generals, who had distinguished themselves in the War with the *Allies*; but none of them had commanded in Chief. Besides, it was *Pompeius* only, who, invested with the *Consular* Dignity, had put an end to the troublesome Hostilities of these Neighbours. It was the taking of *Alex'um*,

<sup>168</sup> We find together on two Medals \*, the Names of *Quintus Pompeius Rufus*, and *Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, with the Title of *Consul*, and the *Curule Chair*. The Dart, Palm-Branch, and Crown on the second Medal, are Symbols of the highest Dignities with which they were invested. The Augural Staff on the Reverse, inscribed with the Name of *Lucius Sylla*, shews that he was an *Augur*. We see on the first, the Images of both *Consuls*. Tho' we have elsewhere observed, that in the first Ages of the Republick, no Magistrate was suffered to have his Picture set on the current Coin. This was a Branch of Royalty, the very Name of which was odious to the *Citizens* of *Rome*, after the Expulsion of *Tarquin the Proud*, their last King. The Senate first granted this Prerogative to *Julius Cæsar*. Afterwards, the succeeding Emperors assumed it as an inseparable Right of Sovereignty. From whence it is evident, that the Medal

on which we see the Heads of *Lucius Sylla*, and *Pompeius Rufus*, must have been the Work of some of their Descendants. These, as Inspectors of the Mint, or *Triumviri Monetales*, as they were then called, ordered this *Denarius* to be struck, to perpetuate the Memory of their Ancestors, and the Nobleness of their Families. Or perhaps, *Sylla*, when become absolute, in his *Dictatorship*, might assume a Power of coining what Money he pleased, as a mark of the sovereign Power he had usurped.

<sup>169</sup> Nevertheless *Sylla*, according to *Plutarch*, did Justice to the Virtue of *Cælia* his third Wife; gave her publick Marks of his Esteem; and was not divorced from her till he had loaded her with Honours and Presents.

<sup>170</sup> *Cæcilia Metella* was the Daughter of one *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, who had had the Honour of being *Pontifex Maximus*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIV.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US STRABO,  
& L. PORCI-  
US CATO,  
Consuls.

Aulus Gell. L.  
15. c. 4.

for which the Republick was indebted to him, that had removed all Fear at home; so that the Revolt was no longer felt, but in some distant Provinces. To which we may add, that if many others had likewise *triumphed*, it would have been a kind of Insult on the Nations of *Italy*, which the Republick was willing to bring to, or keep in, their Duty, by gentle Methods. All these Considerations, induced the Senate to permit him, and him alone, to enjoy that Honour. The sixth <sup>171</sup> of the Calends of January, which was a little before he quitted the *Consulate*, was the Day fixed for his Proceffion; and the Prisoners he had taken from the *Allies*, were the only Ornaments of it. Among them, *P. Ventidius* <sup>172</sup>, and his Wife, walked before the Victor's Chariot in Chains; and the Mother carried in her Arms, her young Son, who tho' now a Captive so early in Life, afterwards became a *Consul* in *Rome*, and rode himself in *Triumph* to the *Capitol*, after he had conquered the *Parthians*. This famous <sup>173</sup> *Ventidius*, who was afterwards one of the most renowned Generals *Augustus* had, was a Slave to the *Romans*, almost from his Birth. He was the Sport of *Fortune* for some Time; and after she had first used him ill, he became her Favourite. But we must return, and not anticipate Events; and therefore shall only observe farther, That the *Pompeius Strabo* who now *triumphed*, was the Father of *Pompey the Great*.

<sup>171</sup> The Sixth of the Calends of January, answers to our 26th Day of December. So that *Pompeius Strabo* triumphed six Days before his Successors took Possession of the *Consulate* on the *Capitol*.

<sup>172</sup> *Appian* ranks this *Publius Ventidius* among the chief Commanders of the Troops of the Confederates. *Aulus Gellius* on the contrary, speaks of him only as a very mean Person; and adds, That his Son surnamed *Bassus*, was reduced to the vile Condition of a Muleteer, till *Julius Cæsar* first, and after him *Augustus*, put him in the Way of rising to great Preferments. This gave rise to the satirical Verses mentioned by the same Author, L. 15. c. 4.

*Concurrere omnes Augures, Haruspices;  
Portentum inusitatum constat est recens;  
Nam mulos qui fricabat, Consul factus est.*

Come ye Augurs and Aruspices, and tell us the Meaning of this new Prodigy. He that cleaned Mules is become a Consul.

<sup>173</sup> The Roman Writers who mention the *Triumph*

of *Cneius Pompeius Strabo*, are divided, as to *Publius Ventidius Bassus*. *Dio Cassius* says, That the Conqueror who triumphed over the *Parthians* in the Reign of *Augustus Cæsar*, was the Father of young *Ventidius*, the same Man who appeared with his Wife, in the humble State of a Captive, in the triumphal Proceffion of the *Consul Strabo*. But it is not easy to reconcile this with the space of 52 Years, which the Historians agree there was, between the Year of *Rome* 664, and the Time which the *Romans* made their Expedition against the *Parthians*, which was the Year 716. So that, at this rate, the Father of young *Ventidius* must have been 82. This is the least that can be allowed, considering that he must then have had the Experience and Ability of a General, since he was one in the Confederate Army, according to *Appian*, *Bell. Civ. L. 1*. It is therefore more reasonable to adopt the Opinion of the other ancient Authors, who all, except *Dio*, give this same *Ventidius* the Honour of having vanquished the *Parthians*, and of having raised himself, by his Merit, to the highest Offices in the Empire.





# T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K LVI.

§. I. **A**S soon as *Sylla* was entered on his Office, with *Q. Pompeius*, his Colleague, he laid aside the Thoughts of applying himself any more to the War with the *Allies*. He had already signalized himself enough in it, and what remained to be done was not enough to satisfy so great a Mind. He had formerly been the chief Actor against *Mithridates* in *Asia*, and had settled *Ariobarzanes* on the Throne of *Cappadocia*; and his Inclination now led him to the Country, where he promised himself a very plentiful Harvest of Glory. *Mithridates* had thrown off the Mask, and shewn his ill Intentions to *Rome* by open Hostilities. In short, *Sylla's* Heart was set upon going into *Asia*; and whether by Agreement between the *Consuls*, or by Lot, the War with *Mithridates* was assigned him. But it was not without much Opposition, that he was at last able to lead the *Roman Legions* thither. It was not till after he had spilt a great deal of *Roman Blood*, had taken *Rome*, and given his Country the fatal Precedent of turning his Arms against her, in order to support his private Interest. This is a Piece of History which ought to be set in a just Light; and when truly represented, it will shew us the Character of the *Romans* of this Time, the strong Inclinations they had to Sedition, and the Necessity there was of their being governed by one Man.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXV.

L. CORNELI-  
US SYLLA, &  
Q. POMPEIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

When *Sylla* stood for the *Consulship*, he was opposed by a Competitor, who was supported by Intrigues, but had not passed through the usual Steps to the first Dignity. This was one *C. Julius Cæsar*, of the same Name with the Destroyer of the Republick, but very different from him in Age, and Merit. The Conqueror of the World was at this Time but twelve Years old. The *Cæsar*<sup>2</sup> of whom we speak, was proud

<sup>1</sup> The *Caius Cæsar* here spoken of, was the Son of *Popilia*; who had had, by her former Husband, *Quintus Lutatius Catulus*, who shared the Honour of having defeated the *Cimbri* with *Marius*.

<sup>2</sup> The Ancients agree, That the *Julian Family* came originally from *Alba Longa*. We have observed, Vol. I. That after the total Destruction of that City the *Julii* were transplanted to *Rome*, in the Reign of *Tullius Hostilius*. Nevertheless it is true, according to *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* that one *Julius Proculus* had followed the Fortune of *Romulus*, and been honoured with the Title of Senator, immediately after his removal. Whence it follows, that only *Proculus* of the *Julian Family* had a Settlement in *Rome*, when the others of the same Family came to people the rising Colony. From that time the *Julii* held the first Places among the *Citizens* of *Rome*. In the first Ages of the Republick, we see several of this Family raised to the Dignity of *Consuls*, and *Military Tribunes*. The *Libones*, and *Mentones*, two Branches of the *Julian Family*, had their Share of the first Dignities. And soon after the *Iuli* appeared. This

Surname in which they gloried, shewed the Antiquity of their Origin, by carrying it back to *Iulus*, the Son of *Æneas*, and Grandson of *Venus* and *Anchises*, according to the fabulous Traditions of those Times. This last Branch was perpetuated, or rather revived in the *Cæsars*. The most general Opinion is, That this Surname was given them, because the first of them could not be brought into the World without cutting open his Mother. Hence the Surgeons to this Day call that *The Cæsarean Operation*. Some have thought, with less Probability, that one of the *Julii* had long *Hair*, and that they were so called from the *Latin Word Cæsaries*. Others chuse to say, That he had blue Eyes, and was therefore called *Cæsar*, *a cæsis Oculis*. Nor is the Conjecture of *Servius* less frivolous. He says, That the Word *Cæsar* signified in the ancient *Punick Language*, an Elephant; That *Caius Julius*, the Grandfather of the first *Roman Emperor*, killed one of these Beasts in *Africa*, with his own Hands; and That from thence he assumed the Surname of *Cæsar*, and transmitted it to his Descendants. *Servius* did not consider, that this Nick-name is more ancient



Year of proud of his Nobility which he traced up to <sup>3</sup> *Æneas*, beloved by the People for the fine Games he had given them in his *Ædilisbip*, and esteemed for his Wit, and for an easy, pleasing kind of Eloquence; and he thought it in his Power to obtain not the *Consulship* only, but likewise the Command of the Army designed against *Mithridates*. But they who were zealous for the old Regulations opposed him. The ambitious *Cæsar* desired to be *Consul*, before he had been *Prætor*; and contended, that the Roman People had always granted such kind of Dispensations, and might now shew him the same Favour which they had formerly shewn to the two *Africani*. But, as it was a kind of Presumption in him to offer such a Petition in the *Comitia*, it is easy to imagine that it was rejected. His most zealous Opposer was <sup>4</sup> *P. Sulpicius*, a Tribune of the People, who was otherwise his Friend. The Republick could not now be at a Loss for Generals to send against *Mithridates*. Not to mention *Sylla*, who began to be very eminent, many other Generals had been formed in the War with the *Allies*. Upon these Considerations, the unreasonable Desires of the Candidate were rejected; and *Sulpicius* had the Honour of having supported with Steadiness, the ancient Customs of Rome.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, &  
Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS, Consuls.

Thus *Sulpicius* began his Office of Tribune, with an Act of Equity which gained him some Reputation; but he soon tarnished it, by giving himself wholly up to a Spirit of Faction. He devoted himself to the seditious *Marius*, and consulted him only, whose former Glory still imposed on a few Incendiaries. He prevailed on the young Tribune to concur with him in endeavouring to supplant *Sylla*, and by the Authority of the People deprive him of the Commission he had from the Senate, to lead the Roman Legions into *Asia*, and bring *Mithridates* to Reason.

§. II. It is surprising indeed, that *Marius* at his Age, should still be forming Schemes of Glory and Ambition; since his Infirmities had forced him in the last War, to lay down the Command of the Army he led against the *Marfi*. But though fat and heavy, and worn out with Gouts and Rheumatisms, yet he was still desirous of appearing at the Head of an Army beyond Sea. Such Strength can Emulation, or ra-

ancient than the Man he speaks of. *Livy* mentions one *Sextus Cæsar* who was *Prætor* in *Sicily* in the Year 545, after the Battle of *Cannæ*, and commanded a Roman Army, in that quality.

That the *Julii*, especially the *Libones*, *Mentones*, *Iuli*, and *Cæsars*, had been *Patricians* of the first Order, *Majorum Gentium*, is not to be doubted. All Authors agree in it. Nevertheless we must except one branch, which was not so noble, if it be true, That one *Appius Julius* had been Tribune of the People, in the Year 304, as some MSS of *Livy* affirm. But we have proved, Vol. I. p. 489. Note 137, that the Copyists, either through Ignorance, or Haste, put the Name of *Julius* instead of that of *Villius*.

\* See Plate 10. No. 9. Page 253.

To supply the defect of the Historians, a \* *Consular* Medal has preserved the Memory of a fifth Branch, which is distinguished from the others, by the Surname of *Burjo*, which is on the reverse. The winged *Victory*, which holds a Crown in her Hand, and guides a triumphal Chariot, the Head of *Mercury*, the Trident, and the two Darts, allude to some remarkable Action, of which we have no account in History.

3 This was thought the certain Origin of the *Julian* Family among the Romans. And therefore *Julius Cæsar* boasted of being descended from the Gods. He was sonder of this Imagination than any of his Ancestors; and loved to declare to the World, That the Blood of the Gods ran in his Veins, and That he was descended in a right Line from *Venus*. He talked thus, in the funeral Oration he made for *Julia* his Aunt. *Amitæ meæ Julię maternum Genus ab Regibus ortum, paternum cum Diis immortalibus conjunctum est. Nam ab Anco Martio sunt Marci Reges quo nomine fuit mater; a Venero Julii, cujus gentis familia est nostra.* In most of the Medals he caused to be struck, in his *Dictatorship*, he was altogether as careful to transmit to Posterity the Grandeur of his Family, as his Victories and Triumphs. We sometimes see them bear the Figure of *Æneas*

carrying his Father on his Shoulders, as in the Medal mentioned Vol. I. p. 3; But oftner, a *Venus* in different Attitudes, as in the Medal N<sup>o</sup> 10. in Plate 10, Page 253. The Face of it, is an Head wearing an Helmet, and the Reverse, the Goddess riding in a Chariot, and drawn by two winged Loves.

4 One of the Tribunes of the People named *Publius Antistius Labeo* joined with his Colleague *Publius Sulpicius*, against *Caius Cæsar*. The Quarrel ran high, and *Asconius* says, the *Comitium* had very like to have been turned into a Field of Blood. But the Candidate chose rather to sacrifice his private Interest to the Tranquillity of the Publick, and desisted.

We may form some Judgment of this *Antistius*, by the account *Cicero* gives of him, in his *Brutus*. He says, he was a contemptible Declaimer, who at first discovered no Talent, but that of impudently barking at his Adversaries, and stunning the Judges with his Clamours. Till at length, being weary of reaping no other Benefit from his wretched Speeches, but the Shame of being hissed at, and ridiculed, he condemned himself to silence for some Years. But when he was become a Tribune of the People he appeared on the Stage again. Then he found Means to impose on the Multitude, and gain himself the Reputation of an Orator of Consequence. And it may be said, to his Praise, That by constant Use he acquired so easy a manner of Speaking, that he excelled the two famous Orators *Pomponius* and *Carbo* in this particular; and this was what gained him so much Credit among the People. He became the Oracle of the Bar, and was employed in most great Causes. But *Cicero* adds, that he wholly owed this great Character to the Misfortunes of the Times. Rome was then a Prey to the Factions of *Marius* and *Sylla*. Merit and Virtue durst not appear in open Day-light. The Laws and Eloquence could not be heard amidst so much Noise and Confusion.



ther Jealousy, give to ambitious Minds! He could not bear to see *Sylla* gather the Laurels in the East; and his Rivalship was more effectual, than any other Remedy, to cure, or at least to make him dissemble, his Infirmities. The old General appeared again in the <sup>5</sup> *Field of Mars*, and mixed with the Youth there, as if he intended again to be instructed in, and inured to, bodily Exercises. Which, no doubt, was to give the People to understand, that he was still inclined, and had Strength enough, to bear the Fatigues of a War in a foreign Country.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXV.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, &  
Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS, Consuls.

At the same time, the *Tribune* <sup>6</sup> *Sulpicius* supported the Pretensions of his Friend *Marius*, with his Eloquence, and with many Artifices. His Point in view was to get the Command of the Armies in *Asia* transferred from *Sylla* to his Friend; and he applied himself to it with very great Address. In the first Place, he gained himself Credit among the People by several Laws which were contrary to the publick Good; and never mentioned *Marius* in the *Comitium*, till his own Authority there was well established. The only way to make his Court to the People being by mortifying the Senate, his first *Plebiscitum* was against them. It prohibited any of the *Conscript Fathers* to borrow more than 2000 *Drachmæ* <sup>7</sup>; which, considering that Money was scarce at *Rome*, and at the same time all Things venal there, was in effect putting it out of their Power, to carry on their Intrigues, or buy Votes. By another Law, the *Tribune* got it enacted, That the Strangers, who were lately come for the Right of *Citizenship*, should be blended together with the other *Citizens* even in the *Country-Tribes*; and consequently should have the very same Right of voting, each in his *Tribe*, as others had, without any Distinction. This was effectually making himself Master of a Majority of Votes on any Occasion. He had great Reason to conclude, that all these new *Citizens* would be under his Influence, and vote as he should desire. So that this was strongly establishing his Authority, and making himself formidable. And when this was done, he ventured to be a little more open in his Declarations in favour of *Marius*. All his old Friends, who had been the Pests of the Republick, had been banished, when Tranquillity reigned in *Rome*: And some *Tribunes*, of the *Marian* Party, had made some Attempts to get them recalled, which *Sulpicius* himself had opposed. He had not then entered into so strict a Friendship with those seditious Men, as to sacrifice the publick Peace to them. But, since his giving himself up blindly to his Friend *Marius*, he had much altered his Sentiments and Conduct. He now, regardless of the Discourses and Reproaches of Men of Honour, demanded the recalling of those who, he said, had been banished without a Hearing; and, being Master of the People, he obtained what he desired. All the Ancients have lamented the Ascendant which the Orators then assumed over the common People. Their Art, and their Speeches contributed more to the Ruin of the Republick, than Arms. *Sulpicius* may justly be said to be the Trumpet, who by his Eloquence sounded the Alarm to the civil Wars, and stirred up *Citizen* against *Citizen*, Father against Son, and Brother against Brother.

Plut. in *Sylla*.

Pædian in  
Corn.  
Appian.  
Epit. Livian.

§. III. During these Shocks, which *Marius*, with the Assistance of the factious *Tribune*, gave to the publick Liberty, the two *Consuls* were preparing to take the Field. Tho' the Commotions of the *Allies* were much lessened, they were not entirely quelled in all Places. *Lucania* obstinately persisted in the Revolt. It was therefore thought proper to send thither a large Body of *Romans*, under the Command of a Lieutenant-General named *Gabinus*. He was a brave Officer, who, in the two preceding Years, had signalized himself against the *Marfi*, by taking several Cities. But the War with the *Lucani* proved fatal to him. As he was pursuing the Enemy, whom he had routed, he received a mortal Wound, which sunk him to the Ground, and raised the Courage of the Rebels. However, another Expedition against the *Marrucini*, was more successful. *Ser. Sulpicius* overcame them, and brought the whole Country into Subjection to *Rome*. And this Advantage was followed by another of greater Import-

Epit. Liv.  
App.

<sup>5</sup> See Vol. 3, p. 540. Note 85.

<sup>6</sup> *Sulpicius Rufus* was scarce arrived at the Age of Manhood, when he entered the Lists with the famous *Marcus Antonius*, in the Oration he made against *Caius Norbanus*. According to *Cicero*, he had all the chief Qualifications of an Orator, an Energy of Expression, a Majesty in his Sentiments, a Vehemence of Style, a Grandeur in his Action, and great Gracefulness in his Eloquence. He wanted nothing to have made him

a compleat Orator, but the Delicacy, Wit, and Gaiety of *Lucius Crassus*, whom he took for his Pattern. *Cicero* speaks of *Sulpicius* in several Parts of his Works.

<sup>7</sup> *Sulpicius*, says *Plutarch* in his *Life of Sylla*, was so far from obeying the Law he had made himself, that he died 3000000 of *Drachmæ* in Debt; which at 10 *Sols* to each *Drachma* make 1500000 *French* <sup>96875 l. Ster. Arbuth.</sup>



Year of tance. The <sup>8</sup> *Vestini*, and *Peligni* came voluntarily, and submitted to the old Consul  
 ROME Cn. Pompeius, who was returned to his Camp at *Asculum*, after his *Triumph*. But  
 DCLXV. Pompeius had promised them Peace, and an entire Amnesty, only upon this Condi-  
 tion, that they would deliver up to him *Vettius*, the Ring-leader of their Rebellion;  
 L. CORNELI- and they were dragging this General, after he had been basely treated by his own Sol-  
 US SYLLA, & diers, to the Roman Camp in Chains, when one of his Slaves, moved with Compassion  
 Q. POMPEIUS at his Misfortunes, and warmed with a generous Zeal for the Honour of his Master,  
 RUFUS, Con- thought it his Duty to deliver him, from the Slavery to which he was destined. To  
 suls. this end, he fell furiously on one of the Guards that attended *Vettius*, snatched away  
 Mac. Saturn. his Sword, and plunged it into the Body of his Master, who by his Looks and Ge-  
 L. 1. stures expressed his Gratitude to this faithful Servant. He instantly died of the Wound;  
 and the Slave, who immediately stabbed himself with the same Sword, did not sur-  
 vive him many Minutes, So true is it, that noble Sentiments, and what the prophane  
 Authors call true Magnanimity, is not excluded from the Breasts of the meanest  
 Persons!

After the surrendry of the *Vestini* followed that of the *Marsi*, among whom the  
 Revolt had begun. L. *Licinius Murena*, and Q. *Cæcilius Pius* obliged them to sue for  
 Peace. But *Pompeius* still supported the sinking Cause, in the Country of the *Sam-  
 nites*. He had just armed 20000 Slaves, as his last Effort, and had retaken *Bovia-  
 num*, which *Sylla* had reduced. *Æmilius Mamercus*, Lieutenant-General to *Sylla*, in  
 his Absence fought *Pompeius* with the Troops left under his Command, and killed  
 6000 of the Enemy. But the utter Ruin of this famous General of the *Allies*, was  
 the Work of *Cæcilius Pius*; who, after he had taken *Venusia*, turned his Arms against  
*Pompeius*. The latter had had the Assurance, to decree himself a *Triumph*, and to  
 enter *Bovianum* in a Chariot, amidst the Acclamations of his Army. After this he  
 encamped near *Teanum*, and was meditating new Exploits, when *Cæcilius* and *Servius  
 Sulpicius* gave him Battle, in which he was vanquished, and himself and another Ge-  
 neral of the Confederates killed. His Death put an End to all the Hostilities among  
 the *Italians*, and the War was then no where continued but in a Corner of *Lucania*,  
 which it was easy to pacify, and in and about *Nola*. So that *Rome* again enjoyed some  
 Serenity, in the first Months of the *Consulate* of the fortunate *Sylla* and his unfortu-  
 nate Colleague, who not many Months after was cut off by a Hand, from whom he  
 had least Reason to expect it. Such were the Manners of the *Romans* at this Time.  
 When their Ambition was to be gratified, they had no regard to Law, or Religion,  
 or Relation, or Principles of Honour, or even to Humanity itself.

§. IV. In the mean time, *Sylla* came to take Possession of the Troops which he  
 was to command in his Year, and marched towards *Campania*. His Design was to  
 finish the Reduction of his Province, and settle it in perfect Peace; and to dispose his  
 old Soldiers to go with him into *Asia*. *Nola* was still to be reduced; and *Sylla* had al-  
 ready formed the Blockade of this rebellious City, when he was obliged to leave his  
 Army, and return to *Rome*. The Cause of his sudden Departure was this. The *Tri-  
 bune Sulpicius*, at the Head of the Party *Marius* had raised up, caused terrible Disor-  
 ders in the Capital. The Consul *Pompeius* complained of it; but he had neither Au-  
 thority nor Spirit enough to withstand the Enterprizes of the audacious *Tribune*. *Sul-  
 picius* carried all before him in *Rome*, not by Persuasion, but by Violence and Force  
 of Arms. Neither the *Gracchi*, *Saturnini*, nor any other furious *Tribunes*, had ever  
 carried their Insolence to such Excess as *Sulpicius* now did. He was a Monster of Im-  
 pudence, Avarice, and Inhumanity. He had taken into his Pay 3000 armed Men,  
 who guarded him in all Places Sword in Hand, and among these he chose out 300  
 Plut. in Sylla. *Knights*, whom he called the *Anti-senate*. Surrounded continually by these desperate  
 Men, he publicly and deliberately exercised the most unjust Tyranny in *Rome*. He  
 had opened publick Offices in the *Forum*, where the Right of *Citizenship* was sold to  
 the meanest Strangers, and to *Freedmen* just come out of Slavery; and the Profits of  
 these Sales were applied to his own Use. Besides, he would have no publick or private  
 Causes tried at any Tribunal but his own. In short, he would have been deemed a  
 real Sovereign, if he had not been a Vassal to *Marius*, a greater Tyrant than himself.  
 The latter, tho' he kept behind the Curtain, influenced *Sulpicius* in all he did, and

8 It ought to be remembred, that the *Vestini* inha-  
 bited that Part of Further *Abruzzo*, which lies be-  
 tween the Rivers of *Piomba*, and *Pescara*. But the *Pe-*

*ligni* possessed that Part of *Hither Abruzzo*, which is  
 near *Sermona*, and borders on the Rivers *Pescara*, and  
*Sangro*.



had brought him to be only a Tool, to execute his Fury. *Sylla* therefore returned to *Rome*, to oppose the Violence of the *Tribune*, with the Authority of the *Consul*.

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As soon as arrived, *Sylla* joined his Collegue, and both endeavoured to find Means to lay the Storm which *Marius* had raised by summoning the People, in order to propose to them the Law for incorporating the *Allies* into the 35 Tribes. In the first Place, they suspended, for some Days, the assembling of the People, in the *Comitium*. It was there that *Sulpicius* had erected his Throne, the *Rostra* being the Place from

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whence he loded it over the Multitude, partly by the Liveliness of his Orations. The *Consuls* therefore ordered several *Feriae* to be kept; that is, they forbad the Judges to

App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

hold their Sessions, and the People to repair to their *Tribunals* on these Days. And this short Vacation would have calmed the Storm, if *Sulpicius* had suffered his Party to keep it. But it was no sooner proclaimed than broken. The *Tribune* immediately left his House, attended by his Guards, whom he ordered to hide Daggers under their Robes; and marched cross the City to the Temple of *Castor*, where the *Consuls* were haranguing the Senate, who were assembled by their Order. The *Conscript Fathers* were terrified when they saw *Sulpicius* enter; and more so when they heard him insolently command them to disannul the *Consular* Decree, which ordered the Courts of Justice to be shut up. The *Consuls* refused to repeal their own Ordinance; and there instantly arose a general Murmuring through the whole Assembly. Then, upon the first Appearance of Resistance, the *Tribune's* Partisans drew out their Ponyards, and fell on the defenceless Senators, with great Fury. The *Consul Pompeius* was surrounded the Assassins, and narrowly escaped with his Life. His Son, a young Senator, who had lately married *Sylla's* Daughter, was wounded by the Villains in a thousand Places, and died in the Temple, which ought to have been his Protection. As for *Sylla*, he, with an Intrepidity worthy of him, made his Way through the Murderers, and got out of the Temple. But he was pursued by *Sulpicius's* Men, and whether it

was that he could find no other Retreat, or that he had a Mind to consult with *Marius*, he entered his House. In all Probability, nothing but extreme Necessity could

Plut. in Mari-  
us & Sylla.

oblige him, to lay himself at the Mercy of his most inveterate Enemy. However, *Marius* thought himself obliged to keep within some Bounds, and to save Appearances; and did not care for being reproached with having stained his House with the Blood of a *Consul*. He only forced *Sylla* to swear, that he would disannul the Decree, concerning the Vacation, and abolish the *Feriae* he had appointed. After exacting this Oath, *Marius* himself let *Sylla* escape by a back Door; and *Sylla* kept his Word. He went directly to the *Comitium*, and in the Presence of the People, recalled the Order for interrupting the Administration of Justice, and the usual Assemblies. By this Act of Moderation, or Policy, he so far pleased *Sulpicius* himself, that the *Tribune* suffered him to return to his Army in *Campania*, without depriving him of his Office. But he did not use *Pompeius* so tenderly. He made the People, whose Suffrages he had at his Command, to pass a Decree, whereby they declared this *Consul* deprived of his Office and Authority.

§. V. Thus would *Sylla* have been alone at the Head of the Republick, if this Decree had taken Place; and he repaired in all haste to his Camp near *Nola*, where he wholly employed himself in preparing for his Departure for *Asia*. During these Preparations, *Sulpicius* exercised in *Rome* a more absolute Authority than ever; and at length the Time came for his disclosing the Scheme, which he had long since concerted with *Marius*. This was, to transfer to that old Warriour the Commission which had been granted *Sylla*, to make War with *Mitbridates*, in the East. At this Point all his Enterprizes, during his whole *Tribunate*, had been levelled; and with the same Impudence, which he had shewn in all his Proceedings, he assembled

9 *Plutarch* does not say that the Senate assembled in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. According to him, the *Conscript Fathers* were deliberating in the *Forum*, over against that Building, when *Sulpicius* came upon them, attended with his Guards.

10 According to *Appian*, young *Pompey* attempted to suppress the Audaciousness of *Sulpicius* and his Company, and the Threatenings he used increased the Fury of these Villains. They all joined against him, and were not afraid to murder the Son of the chief Magistrate in the Republick.

11 *Sylla*, in the Memoirs he wrote of his own Life, relates this Matter somewhat differently. He does not allow, that he chose to retire into *Marius's* House, to save his Life. But only says, That he was so surrounded on all Sides with this Company of armed Men who were in Pay with *Sulpicius*, that he was forced to do it. And adds, That when he was there in the midst of naked Swords, he could not help giving Way for a Time to the Fury of these Banditti, by subscribing the most unjust Laws.



Year of the Roman People, and extorted from them a Decree in favour of Marius; and against ROME Sylla. They passed a Law, enacting, That the Consul should continue in Italy, and DCLXV. Marius, tho' now only a private Man, should go and command the Roman Legions in Asia. Sulpicius did not consider, that this was pushing Sylla to the Wall; and must therefore put him out of all Patience. Party-Zealots seldom use any Discretion; they are generally very fond, upon the least Success, of mortifying their Adversaries as much as possible. On the other hand, Sylla, who was sensibly affected with this Blow, and thought it Time to exert himself, upon the first Rumour of this Alteration, assembled his Soldiers, and made them a very artful Harangue, which he better understood how to compose, than the most famous Orators of his Age. Without declaring his Intention of leading them to Rome to suppress the Audaciousness of the furious Tribune, he managed so, as to bring his Soldiers themselves, to pray him to march them to the Capital, Colours flying, and Sword in Hand.

Plut. in Syll.  
App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.

Brave Romans, said he, *I understand by Fame, that it is designed you shall cross the Seas, and fight the eastern People, under the Command of another General. All Things are now in great Uncertainty at Rome. The Tribune Sulpicius is daily bringing about more Changes there, than the Winds raise Storms upon the Seas, over which you are to pass. Sylla then, whom your Victories the last Year have advanced to the Consulate, will no longer command you! I shall be deprived of my dear Children, who have been my Glory, and in whom I placed my Happiness! Marius will bring you under another kind of Discipline, than the gentle Treatment which you have experienced. Can you bear his Looks, or hear the Thunder of his Voice, without Terror? Will Victory it self make you amends for the Rigours and Hardships, which you must suffer in his Camp? Besides, Marius is not now the Hero he formerly was; tho' he was even then brave; more from a Severity of Nature, than true Valour. Age has now chilled that martial Vigour, which enabled him, to become with me, the Conqueror of King Jugurtha, the Teutones, and the Cimbri. You saw him degenerate in the last Campaign, and conceal his timorous Inaction, under the Pretence of want of Health. But what is it to you, whether he be grown a Coward, or infirm? The Question is, Whether he can now lead you on to Glory? I could have done so, and made you Masters of the Dominions and Spoils of Mithridates. A Happiness, which the Fates indeed once promised me: But Sulpicius, by his unjust Proceedings, and Marius, by his Intrigues, have deprived me of it. They have extorted a Decree from the People, against their Will, whereby Marius is made your General. Adieu then, my dear Companions in Battles and Victories! Adieu for ever! All I can do is to regret my Loss, and lament my Misfortune.*

Plut. in Syll.

Had it been decent for Soldiers to weep; Tears might probably have dropped from their Eyes, at this Speech; at least their Fury was very visible in their Looks. During these Transactions, two military Tribunes, one of which was Gratidius, a Relation of Marius, arrived in Sylla's Camp, with notice to the Troops that their General was changed, and with Orders, to lead them to Marius, who was waiting to embark them. And then the Rage of the Legionaries could be kept within no Bounds. They buried the two Messengers from Marius, under an heap of Stones, and unanimously cried out; *Let us march to Rome! It is there, that we ought to avenge the Injuries done to the Consular Dignity, and the Oppression of our Liberties!* The Consul, as may well be imagined, did not oppose the Ardour of his Soldiers; it was Time their Hatred should break out. Nevertheless, he pretended only to comply with the Impetuosity of his Legionaries, and give way to the Force of the Stream. In the mean time, Rome was divided between Sylla and Marius, with regard to the disputed Commission. Men of Sense, thought it a ridiculous Thing, for a Man of no Birth, who was past 70, and whose Body was a mere lump of Flesh, to undertake a War beyond Sea, and to pretend to take from a Consul who was strong and in his Vigour, an Office that was his due. And the Pretence he<sup>12</sup> made use of to disguise his Ambition, was laughed at. He pretended,

<sup>12</sup> The boundless Ambition of an infirm, decrepid old Man, was Matter of Ridicule among Sylla's Party. A Man, said they, of his Infirmities, and ready to sink under the Weight of old Age, has nothing to do but to go to the warm Baths at Baiae, to cure him of his Rheums and other Complaints. He has nothing else for preserving the Remains of an expiring Life, which will

very soon bring him to the Grave. And indeed Marius had a fine Country-House near Bayæ, and Misena; and there the old Warrior, who was hardened with military Fatigues, gave himself up to Effeminacy, and indulged himself in base Pleasures, unworthy of his Age and Profession. Plutarch tells us, That before this House came to Marius, it belonged to Cornelia, the



pretended, that he desired it only for the Instruction of young *Marius*, his Son; where- as every one knew, that a low Jealousy of *Sylla* was his chief Motive. It was this that had led him to act that mean Part in the Field of *Mars*, of mixing with the Youth, and pretending to learn afresh the Use of Arms.

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§. VI. But *Rome* was no less alarmed at the Approach of *Sylla*, than displeased at the ill-judged Ambition of *Marius*. The Senate were struck with Terror at the News. *What a Precedent is this!* said the wisest among them, *We have never yet seen a Consular Army treat Rome as an Enemy. Will Sylla dare to lay Siege to it? Shall we shut the Gates against a Consul? Or will he march his Army into the City? What then will become of our Temples, Houses, Wives, and Children?* The Conscrip<sup>t</sup> Fathers therefore ordered two *Prætors*, *Brutus* and *Servilius*, to meet *Sylla* upon the Road, and stop him in his March. But the proud Consul was more exasperated than ever. He had been informed that *Sulpicius*, at the Instigation of *Marius*, had massacred all his Friends in *Rome*, by way of Reprizal for the Murder of *Gratidius*; and therefore gave the two Deputies from the Senate a coarse Reception. His Troops broke the *Fasces* of these *Prætors*, tore off their Cloaths, and it was with Difficulty that they escaped the Cruelty of the Soldiers. The Road from *Rome* to *Nola* was now always full of People, going and returning, to and from the Camp, and City; and all the Officers of the Consular Army, except the *Quæstor*, either for fear of disobliging *Marius*, or perhaps from Principles of Honour, deserted. On the other hand, all that disliked the Violences of *Sulpicius* left *Rome*, for fear of being involved in a general Massacre. So that, the Consternation was universal. The most earnest to have recourse to *Sylla*, was his Colleague, *Q. Pompeius*, whom *Sulpicius* had deprived; and he joined him with all the Troops he could get together. With this Reinforcement *Sylla's* Army consisted of six Legions; and they, warmed with his Spirit, breathed nothing but Vengeance and Plunder. At the Head of these formidable Legionaries, the two Consuls advanced towards the Capital; and then, the Evil was too near, to suffer *Marius* to continue unactive. He made what Preparations he could, and invited the Slaves to take up Arms in defence of *Rome*, in hopes of Liberty. But finding it difficult to get Men to follow his Standards, he continually sent Messenger after Messenger, to amuse the Consul with rambling Proposals, in the Name of the Senate; and at last, *Sylla* pretended to comply. He declared himself ready to suspend Hostilities, but upon Condition, that *Marius* and *Sulpicius* should immediately leave *Rome*, and come and confer with the Heads of the Republic Face to Face. Knowing, That these Authors of this Tempest in the State, would never venture to appear in the Plain, and That they only pretended to capitulate, to gain Time; in order therefore to elude one Artifice by another, he promised to wait for them, at the Village of *Pictæ Tabernæ*, between 25 and 30 Miles from *Rome*, in the *Lavican Way*: and the better to carry on the Deceit, he immediately

Plut. in Sylla.

App. Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.

the Mother of the *Gracchi*, who had bought it for 65000 *Drachmæ*, or 37500 *Livres*; and that afterwards *Lucullus* gave for it 2500000 *Drachmæ*, that is the Value of 1250000 *Livres*. And this considerable difference in the Price will appear less surprizing, if it be considered, that the Riches and Luxury of the *Romans* daily increased; and consequently the Price of Things must in Proportion. Or perhaps, the House might be so much advanced in Price, only on account of some Embellishments, or Appendages that *Marius* had added to it.

13 According to *Plutarch*, *Sylla's* Army consisted of 30000 Foot, and 5000 Horse.

14 *Marius* and *Sulpicius* had only a few factious Men, to oppose a powerful and enraged Enemy, and therefore their only Means to stop *Sylla* in his March, was to interpose the Authority of the Senate. The two Deputies that came to him from this august Body, did all they could to prevail on the two Consuls to suspend their Resentments, and not suffer their Army to come nearer the City than five Miles; and *Plutarch* says, That *Sylla*, not knowing what Part to choose, had recourse to the Sacrifice usually offered up before great Expeditions. He consulted the *Auspices*, and sought for some Sign of the Will of the Gods, in the Entrails of the Victim. *Postumius*, one

of the *Auspices*, promised Success in his Enterprize, with such Confidence, that he offered to be bound, and suffer Death, if his Prediction did not prove true. The next Night, adds the *Greek Historian*, made the Truth of the Presage more manifest, and fully confirmed *Sylla* in his Design of marching his Army to *Rome*. In his Sleep, he thought *Bellona*, or some other warlike Deity, appeared to him, and put Thunder into his Hand, that he might throw it at *Marius's* Party; and he imagined he saw the Goddess herself directing his Aim, and his wounded Enemies expiring at his Feet. Upon the Credit of this Vision, which he related to his Colleague, he promised himself a compleat Victory, and resolved to continue his March.

15 This Village is called in *Latin* by the ancient Geographers, *Pictæ Tabernæ*, or *Picta Diversoria*; whence it is conjectured that some Inns were built here for the Reception of Travellers. Instead of *πικτæ*, as we read in *Strabo*, we find in most of the Copies of *Plutarch*, *πικτæ*, which is a Mistake of the Copyist.

16 The *Lavican Way* was so called, because it led from *Rome* to *Lavicum*, an ancient Colony from *Alba Longa*, which was in the Neighbourhood of *Zagaruolo*, or *De la Colona*, according to *Holstenius*. It lay between the two Aqueducts, one of which was



Year of immediately ordered his Pioneers to pitch a Camp there. But all this was only to deceive  
 ROME those who wanted to amuse him. As soon as the Deputies from *Marius* were gone, he  
 DCLXV. doubled his Pace, and marched his *Legions* with such Expedition, that they were within  
 fight of *Rome* in a few Hours. Many noble *Romans*, who were retiring to their Country-  
 Houses, asked *Sylla* upon the Road, what he was going to do at *Rome*? and his Answer  
 was, to deliver the City from her Tyrants.

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App. Bell. Civ.  
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In short, at a Time when it was least expected, a Detachment from the *Consular*  
 Army, commanded by *Caius Mummius*, came and seized *The Esquiline* <sup>17</sup> Gate. *Sylla*  
 soon followed, and posted a whole *Legion* there. *Pompeius* led another to the Gate <sup>18</sup>  
*Collina*, and made himself Master of it. A third *Legion* was posted at the Head of  
 the Bridge <sup>19</sup> *Sublicius*, and shut up the Entrance into the City, on the Side of the Ri-  
 ver. A fourth *Legion* did the Office of an Army of Observation without the City, by  
 patrolling about the Walls near the Gate <sup>20</sup> *Cælimontana*, and defending the Approach-  
 es to it. And lastly, the two other *Legions* were ordered to march into the Heart of it.  
 When they came to the End of the Street that faced *the Esquiline Gate*, they met with  
 some Resistance. *Marius* appeared, followed by a Company tumultuously assembled,  
 and offered to fight the *Consular* Troops. Sudden Emotions had often been seen in  
*Rome*, and Battles had sometimes been fought, without Order, or Preparation. But  
 now a Battle was fought there, in due Form, by regular Troops, and with sound of  
 Trumpets. Upon hearing them, the *Citizens* who were all formed to War, were sei-  
 zed with a martial Ardour; and having no Arms, their first Impetuosity led them, to  
 go up to the tops of their Houses, and throw down Stones indifferently on the Troops of  
 both Sides. *Sylla* ran to the Head of his two *Legions*, ordered them not to retire, and  
 with a Flambeaux in his Hand, threatened the *Citizens* to burn their Houses, if they  
 did not <sup>21</sup> desist from all Hostilities. This appeased the Inhabitants, who became only  
 Spectators of the Battle; and then *Sylla* drove <sup>22</sup> *Marius* from Street to Street, as far as  
 to the Temple of the Goddess <sup>23</sup> *Tellus*; where the Attack was renewed, and the Ad-  
 vantage equal. *Sylla* therefore sent for some of the *Legionaries* which he had left at one  
 of the Gates; and at the sight of this Reinforcement his Ardour increased. *Marius*  
 and his Troops had like to have been surrounded, and they retired as they fought, to-  
 wards the *Capitol*, which ought to have been an *Asylum* for them; and as *Sylla* was pur-  
 suing Sword in Hand, he saw some of his Soldiers plundering an House. Upon this,  
 he immediately suspended further Action, posted Guards in all Quarters of the City to  
 hinder the like Disorders, and very deliberately punished the Robbers, in the Place  
 where the Robbery was committed. In the mean time, *Marius* made his escape, and  
 posted himself in the Citadel of *Rome*; but *Sylla* had now gained the Confidence of the  
*Romans*, by so exemplary and seasonable an Act of Justice.

§. VII. He and his Colleague were in motion all Night, labouring to preserve *Rome*  
 from Pillage: And they at length prevailed on their Soldiers to agree, That no *Citizen*  
 should be injured in his Goods. As soon as it was Day, they assembled the People in  
 the *Comitium*, and there harangued them in as much Tranquillity, as if there had been  
 no Blood shed in *Rome*, the Day before. Did you, said they, elect us to be your su-  
 preme Magistrates, in vain? The Evils the Republick has long suffered, called for a  
 speedy Remedy; and we were of Opinion, that they could not possibly be cured without the  
 Loss of some Blood. And what yet remains to be done, after this little bleeding, which

called *Aqua Marcia Tepula*, and the other *Aqua*  
*Claudia*; and it ended at *Anagnia*, where it joined *The*  
*Latin Way*.

<sup>17</sup> Some think, this Gate stood where *Porta Ma-*  
*ior* now does. See Vol. 1. p. 212. Note 59.

<sup>18</sup> See Vol. 1. p. 212. Note 60.

<sup>19</sup> The Bridge *Sublicius* is now no longer in Being.  
 See the preceding Volumes.

<sup>20</sup> The Gate *Cælimontana* took its Name from  
*Mount Cælius*. It was called *Quirquetulana* from the  
*Oaks* that covered this Hill. It is now called *St. John's*  
*Gate*, because *St. John* was thrown into boiling Oil  
 near it. Some Moderns confound this Gate with an-  
 other which was called *Asnaria*. The latter, which  
 is much less than the former, was near *The Baptistery*  
*of Constantine*, and led to a Street which terminated in  
 the Gardens of *Asinius Pollio*, at the Foot of the Hill

*Aventinus*. Add to this, that *Festus* places the begin-  
 ning of *The Asnarian Way*, pretty far from the Gate  
*Cælimontana*, between *The Latin Way*, and that  
 which led to *Ardea*.

<sup>21</sup> *Plutarch* says, That *Sylla* ordered his Archers  
 to throw burning Darts, to the tops of the Hou-  
 ses.

<sup>22</sup> *Sulpicius* and *Marius* in vain called the Mul-  
 titude of *Citizens*, that were Spectators of the Battle,  
 to their Assistance; no Body stirred. And it was with  
 as little Success, that they promised Liberty to the  
 Slaves that should take up Arms against *Sylla*: none ac-  
 cepted the Offer.

<sup>23</sup> Under the Name of *Tellus*, the Pagans wor-  
 shipped the Earth, or rather Nature, as the common  
 Parent of all Beings. See Vol. 2, and 3, of *Isis* and  
*Cybele*.



may give some Relief to this gross Body, is this. To search the Evil thoroughly to the bottom, and purge off that Heap of Corruption which infects us. The Cause of all this has been the exorbitant Authority of the Tribunes. What Right had they to assume a Power of bringing what Petitions they thought proper before the People, and of drawing up Laws without communicating them to the Senate? By what Artifices have they enervated the Senatorial Body, by filling it with weak Men, who had not Courage enough to support the Authority of their own Rank? Why have our Comitia degenerated from their first Institution? King Servius Tullius established them by Centuries: But the Tribunes have taken care that they shall assemble <sup>24</sup> only by Tribes. And this has made them Masters of the Questions of most Importance. The common People who are governed by their Passions, have often out-voted the most sensible and most illustrious Parts of the Republick. Hence these terrible Confusions and Disorders. Let us therefore reform three Particulars, and then our Distractions and Oppressions will cease with the Violences of the Tribunes. Make it a Law for the future, Roman People, 1st, That no Law shall ever be brought before you, till it has first been seen and approved of by the Senate; 2dly, That the Comitia in the Field of Mars, shall not, for the future, be held by Tribes, but by Centuries; and 3dly, That the Senate shall hereafter be filled with none, but Men of the greatest Families and Reputations of any in the Republick. To which I must add, That we desire, by way of Preliminary, That the Laws of the Tribune Sulpicius be annulled <sup>25</sup>.

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The Consular Authority made some Impression on the People; and the Arms of Sylla made them perfectly tractable. They enacted whatever the Consul desired, and thereby Sylla was at liberty to go to Asia, and make War with Mithridates. But this did not content him. He thought it necessary to extinguish the Firebrand of Discord, in the Blood of Marius and Sulpicius; and to that end, he invested the Capitol, and forced them to leave that and the City too, for fear of falling into the Hands of their Pursuers. After this, the Consuls, now Masters of the People, and more so of the Senate, proscribed by a Decree of the Conscript Fathers, twelve of the most seditious Tribunes, or their most zealous Friends. The first was P. Sulpicius, then P. Cethegus, D. Junius Brutus, Curius and Quintus Granius, P. Albinovanus, M. Lætorius, Q. Rubrius Varro, and lastly, the two Marii, Father and Son, with two Senators, who had taken up Arms against the Consuls, and had solicited the Slaves to rebel. But after all, Sylla's greatest Resentment was against Marius and Sulpicius; and after he had confiscated their Estates, he set a Price upon their Heads. The twelve proscribed Persons endeavoured to hide themselves, to escape the Rigour of the Decree; and Sulpicius, whom Sylla's Hatred caused to be pursued with most Care, was first found, concealed in his Country-House, in the midst of the Laurentin Marshes. One of his Slaves betrayed him, in hopes of the promised Reward. So that the Wretch was the Death of his Master, through a fordid Avarice. One of Sylla's Guards beheaded Sulpicius; and his Head was brought to Rome, and fixed upon a Stake over against the Tribune of Harangues, where he had made so many seditious Speeches. And then the treacherous Slave received at once, both the Reward, and the Punishment, of his Treason. Sylla ordered the Money to be paid him for the Discovery of Sulpicius; and at the same time commanded, that he should be thrown down from the Tarpeian Rock, for betraying his Master. A just Punishment! and Sylla thought to do himself Honour by it.

§. VIII. As for Marius, Sylla's Emissaries pursued him with as much Zeal, as they had fought Sulpicius; and the People murmured at it, from the natural Compassion always shewn to Heroes, when fallen into Misfortunes. The Mischiefs they have done are then forgotten, and nothing remembered, but their present Sufferings and past Glory. The Senators themselves, tho' rejoiced to see the People humbled, yet murmured at the Decree that proscribed Marius and his Accomplices. Most of them, jealous of the Honour of their Body, were grieved to see their Collegues condemned to Death, like Villains and Robbers. Nay, the Romans in general shewed a Coldness to

<sup>24</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 336. Note 11.

<sup>25</sup> Sylla added, That the Tribunes must be forbidden their continual Harangues, whereby they spread the Fire of Sedition; and That in order to set Bounds to the Audaciousness of these Plebeian Magistrates, it was proper to make a Law, expressly enacting, That those Citizens who had been Tribunes should not af-

terwards aspire at the Curule Offices. After which, says Appian, he proceeded to the Choice of 300 of the most illustrious of the Roman Citizens, who were incorporated into the Senate; that Body having been then reduced to a very small Number, either by Death, or the Desertion of those who had sided with Marius.



Year of *Sylla*, when the next Elections came on. It was of great Importance to him, to have *ROME* two Persons chosen *Consuls*, who were of his Party, and devoted to his Interest. He *DCLXV.* had little to fear from the *Tribunate*, which he imagined, he had brought into Contempt. The succeeding *Consuls* only were formidable to him; and he therefore presented two of his own Friends, for Candidates. One was *Nonnius* <sup>26</sup> his Sister's Son, the other *Servius Sulpicius*, who had long served under him. But the *Roman People* were not disposed to follow his Inclinations.

L. CORNELIUS CINNA, & Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS, *Consuls*.

The politic *Sylla* therefore dropped the Canvass for the two Persons he had proposed. Tho' he had the Power in his Hands, he chose rather to conciliate to him the Minds of the People, than to oppose their Desires; and he declared he would not disturb the Freedom of the Elections. *L. Cornelius Cinna* was then in great Esteem, and the popular Party had set him up for the *Consulship*. The Attachment he had always shewn to *Marius* made him agreeable to the Multitude; tho' he was suspected of all the Vices that then infected *Rome*. He had neither Sincerity, nor Truth, nor any real Love for his Country. He knew no other God but Fortune, nor any other Virtue, but a brutal Constancy in supporting a seditious Faction, by which he expected to advance himself. Nevertheless he, by his Diffimulation, deceived *Sylla*; who in a private Conversation found no difficulty in prevailing on him to renounce his former Engagements to *Marius*. But that alone did not satisfy the *Consul*, who brought him to the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and there, in the Presence of some common Friends, he swore an inviolable Attachment to the Party of the Senate. He submitted to the common Ceremonial, in all appearance, with Chearfulness; and letting fall a Stone which he held in his Hands, pronounced the usual Form of an Oath; *May the Gods reject me, as I throw away this Flint, if I break my Word!* Yet still the Oath of a Cheat was a poor Security. And therefore *Sylla* thought it proper to take another Precaution; which was, That the second *Consul* should be a Man of Integrity; whose Love for the publick Good was the governing Principle of his Life. This was *Cn. Octavius*, whose Wisdom *Sylla* believed would be a proper check to *Cinna's* Sallies, if he should discover any Inclinations to vary from these Engagements.

*L. Cornelius Cinna*, and *Cn. Octavius* <sup>27</sup>, were proclaimed *Consuls* for the next Year; some Months before *Sylla's* Office expired: And he soon perceived, that the bare Hopes of having one of *Marius's* Friends in the *Consulate*, put many People in Motion. A great Number of rich Men, and Women, who were devoted to their Pleasures, were afraid the popular Faction would sink. If the Senate prevailed, a Reformation would infallibly follow, and an Enquiry be made after the Goods that had been usurped from the State. And therefore the Women assisted the Rich with their private Intrigues, in order to procure the recalling of the Exiles. An Interest was secretly made in *Rome*, for *Marius*, tho' a Fugitive and proscribed. Whilst, on the other hand, *Sylla* was wholly intent on making the best use of the little Time, he and his Colleague *Pompeius* were to enjoy the *Consulate*; and their chief Aim and Endeavour was to get the *Marii*, Father and Son, seized, and to rid the Republick of them. They sent out some Squadrons of their Horse to search for them in all Places, and bring them to *Rome* alive, or dead; and *Sylla* set a Price upon their Heads. One of the Historians makes it a Crime in him, to have thus excessively persecuted an Hero, who, tho' his Enemy, had saved his Life, when he fled to his House for Refuge, in a popular Tumult. But there was a great difference between the two Cases. How could *Marius* expect to escape with Impunity, if he had offered Violence to the Person of a *Consul*? When *Sylla* fled to his House for Refuge, he had all the *Insignia* of the *Consular* Dignity, and had not been condemned by any judicial Assembly. But *Marius* had now been proscribed by a Decree of the Senate; and it could not be pretended, that the Sentence was unjust. *Sylla's* Conduct therefore in this Affair was blameless.

§. IX. The Dangers *Marius* ran, during his Flight, were indeed such, as would even melt us into Tears, if we could forget his Crimes; and remember only his Victories. As soon as he had left *Rome*, all the World, his most intimate Friends not ex-

*Plut. in Sylla.*

*Plut. in Mario.*

<sup>26</sup> The Family of the *Nonnii* must have been *Plebeian*, since, as will appear hereafter, several of them were made *Tribunes of the People*.

<sup>27</sup> *Cn. Octavius* was the Son of another *Octavius* who was *Consul*, in the Year of *Rome*, 625; and the Grandson of him, who was *Consul* in the Year 589, and

was honoured with a naval *Triumph*, after the Victory he had gained at Sea, over the Fleet of *Perseus*. According to *Cicero*, he deserved the Reputation of a great Orator, by the eloquent Speeches he made at the Bar, and before the People assembled in *Comitia*.



cepted, forsook him. Attended only by young *Marius* his own, and *Granius* his Wife's Son by a former Husband, he retired to one of his Country-Houses, called *Solonium*, not far from <sup>28</sup> *Lanuvium*. From thence he sent his Son for Provisions to the House of *Mucius* <sup>29</sup> his Wife's Father, whose Estate was near his own; and young *Marius* found no body there, but the Slave who took care of the Farm. In the mean time, *Sylla's* Cavalry invested the whole Canton, whither the *Marii* were thought to have fled for Refuge; and a sudden Fear seized the Father, and made him leave *Solonium*, without waiting for his Son's Return. He immediately set out for *Ostia*, accompanied by *Granius* only. In this Port, which was not far off, he found a Bark, which his Friend *Numerius* had provided for him against all Events, and went a-board. A favourable Wind springing up, he set Sail, without any manner of Provisions, and steering from West to East, coasted along the *Italian Shore*. The City of *Terracina* <sup>30</sup> would have been a safe Retreat for him; but *Geminus*, one of his most furious Enemies, commanded there; and *Marius* therefore ordered the Master of the Bark, to avoid a Port which might prove fatal to him, and keep from the Shore. Soon after, a violent Storm arose, and drove the weak Vessel into the main Sea; they were forced to return to the Shore, to get Refreshments in the Neighbourhood of <sup>31</sup> *Circaum*; and *Sylla's* Party had already Possession of that Port. What then was to be done? The great *Marius*, oppressed with Hunger, exhausted with the Fatigues of the Sea, and surrounded with Perils both by Land and Water, chose to ramble about the Fields, in equal Dread, whether he met People there, or met them not.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXV.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SYLLA, &  
Q. POMPEIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
sul.  
Plut. in *Mario*.

On the other hand, *Marius* the Son ran no less Hazards at the Country-House of his Father-in-Law *Mucius*. *Sylla's* Soldiers broke into it, and searched every Corner of it; but the Slave who took care of the Farm, advised him to an Expedient to save his Life, which succeeded. He packed him up in a Bundle of Beans, loaded him on the Cart to which the Horses were ready put, and brought him to *Rome*. His Wife *Mucia* immediately prepared Provisions for his Departure; and after a few Hours rest, he left the City, repaired to the next Port, went on board a Vessel which was ready to Sail, and had a good Passage. He arrived safe in one of the Ports of *Africa*, where the great *Marius* was known and revered.

Whilst the Son was enjoying this seeming Tranquillity, in a friendly Country; the Father supported his Weakness by his Courage, and walked a great Pace cross the Fields, notwithstanding the heaviness of his Body. As he went, he begged Bread of some Cowherds he met, who had none for themselves; but they advised him to take care to avoid the Scouts, who were hovering about in that Neighbourhood. He therefore crawled on as well as he could, tho' ready to faint with Weakness, to a Wood, and there spent the Night. The next Day he continued his Walk, and amused *Granius* and the Domesticks that were with him, with several Stories, to lessen their Fatigues, and encourage them. He told them, that when a Child, seven young <sup>32</sup> Eagles fell down out of the Air into his Lap; and that the Diviners had foretold that he should be seven times Consul. Courage therefore, Compositions, said he, my Destiny is not yet fulfilled. Let us preserve our selves for better Times! These Words much encouraged his People;

<sup>28</sup> The City of *Lanuvium* was 20 Miles, that is about 7 Leagues from *Rome*, on *The Appian Way*. The *Italians* now call it *Civita Lavina*, and *Civita Fudovina*. We have elsewhere mentioned the Worship its Inhabitants paid to *Juno Sospita*.

<sup>29</sup> This *Mucius* was the famous *Quintus Scaevola*, who was one of the most virtuous and most learned Citizens in *Rome*. We have already seen him successively raised to the first Dignities in the Republick, and honoured with the Title of *Augur*. This venerable old Man was still alive, when *Sylla* appeared in *Rome* as a Conqueror, after the Defeat of *Marius*. And when all Things gave way to the Will of the victorious, *Scaevola* did not forget what he owed to the Father-in-Law of his Daughter *Mucia*. He alone dared oppose, in *Sylla's* Presence, the Sentence of Condemnation, which the Senators were going to pass against *Marius*. When he was called on in his Turn to vote, he kept a profound Silence. And when he vouchsafed to speak, it was only to insult the Conqueror, who threatened him with the severest Ven-

geance, if he refused to subscribe the Decree of Proscription. It is in vain for you, said he, (according to *Val. Max. B. 3.* from whom we have taken this Account) to attempt to intimidate me by Threatenings. You may let out, if you please, the little Blood that is left in my Veins. Neither the Sight of the armed Soldiers that surround you, nor the Fear of any Punishment that you can design for me, shall ever force me to declare that I am an Enemy to his Country, to whom *Rome* is indebted for her Safety, and for her most glorious Conquests.

<sup>30</sup> *Terracina* stood in the Country of the *Volsi*, which is now a Part of the *Campagna di Roma*. See Vol. 2. p. 147. Note 21.

<sup>31</sup> The City of *Circaum*, according to *Cluver* and *Father Brint*, stood where *Civita Vecchia* now does, near the Village of *San Felice*.

<sup>32</sup> This Fable was no doubt the Invention of *Marius*, if it be true, as *Plutarch* observes, that an Eagle never brings more than two young ones at a Time.



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Q. POMPEIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

and they travelled on by the Sea-side, near the Strand; but when they were got within about 2500 Paces of <sup>33</sup> *Minturnæ*, they saw Horsemen at a great distance riding full speed towards them. And then, as intrepid as *Marius* was, he was afraid to die out of a Battle. Nevertheless he took Courage at the Sight of two *Felucca's*, which were under Sail near the Shore; and he and his Company immediately threw themselves into the Water, and swam to the Ships. They were scarce got a-board, when the Squadron who were in quest of him, came to the Strand; and the Commander of it called out, and commanded the Mariners to set the Proscribed ashore, or cast them into the Sea. Upon this, the Master of the Barks long deliberated, whether he should deliver up *Marius* to his Enemies, or secure his Escape; and at last, Compassion prevailed. The *Felucca's* continued their Course, and one of them landed *Granius* in the Island of <sup>34</sup> *Ænacia*; the other put into the Mouth of the *Liris*, there to wait for a good Wind to put out to Sea.

There his Trouble and Weariness forced *Marius* to go ashore, to try to get a little Rest. The Mariners and Domesticks pressed him to take some Refreshment, but in vain. His Grief and the Motion of the Ship had given him such a loathing to Meat, as he could not conquer. However, he lay down upon the Turf, endeavoured to get some Rest, and slept very soundly. In the mean while, a Gale arose and filled the Sails; the Ship unmoored, and left him asleep on the Grass; and when he awoke, he found himself, to his great Surprise, entirely deserted. No Ship at Anchor; no Domestick about him; all disappeared. The Solitude was horrible, and his Fears increased, and he had scarce Strength enough to express his Grief in Sighs. However, in a little Time, he recovered his Spirits, and resolved to seek his Fortune where he could. To this end, he walked cross the Marshes at the Mouth of the *Liris*; and finding no beaten Path, he often fell into the Mire and Water up to the Waist; but at length, arrived at the Hut of a Peasant, who was at work in clearing the Marshes. The honest Man was struck with the Air of *Marius*, whom perhaps he likewise knew; and he said; *If you want Rest, my Hutt is pretty quiet; and if you would hide your self from your Enemies it is scarce accessible.* But Fear made *Marius* desirous of being hid in a more private Place. His Host therefore led him to a Place in the Marsh which was full of Weeds, made him lay down in a Ditch, and covered him with light Stuff; and the Precaution soon appeared not to be vain. He was scarce laid down, e're he heard a great Noise round the Hutt. *Geminus* had sent armed Men from *Terracina*, upon a Suspicion that *Marius* had fled for Refuge to the Marshes of *Minturnæ*. These Men intimidated the Peasant, with threatening him for harbouring an Enemy to the Republick, who was proscribed by a Decree of the Senate; and *Marius* hearing this Discourse, was afraid of being discovered. In order therefore to deceive, both the Man that hid him, and the Soldiers that fought for him, he left the Ditch in which he had been in a manner buried, pulled off his Cloaths, and ran and plunged himself into the middle of the Lake of <sup>35</sup> *Marica*, up to the Mouth in Water, and covered his Head with Reeds. Nevertheless, he could not after all escape the Searches of his Pursuers. The Water was muddy, in the Place where he threw himself into it, which made it not difficult to discover him; and they drew him out of his new hiding-place, tied a Cord about his Neck, and led him naked to *Minturnæ*, there to be executed according to the Decree of the Senate, which had already been published, in all the Cities in *Italy*.

Vell. Pat. L. 2.  
App. L. 1. De  
Bell. Civ.  
Plut. in Mario.

§. X. But Heaven had not determined that this melancholy Day should be the last of his Life. Providence preserved him, to be its Instrument in punishing the Iniquity of *Rome*. The Magistrates of *Minturnæ* would not immediately shut him up in their Prisons. The *Roman* Senate had indeed condemned him; but his Faction was still formidable. That of *Sylla* might soon decay, especially since his *Consulship* was near expiring; and it was therefore dangerous to prefer either Party to the other. The *Minturnenses* therefore were divided in Opinion, many of them being afraid of bringing on themselves the Reproach of having spilt the Blood of one of the Heroes of the Republick; and whilst they were deliberating what to do, the Publick entrusted him with

<sup>33</sup> *Minturnæ* stood in the *Terra di Lavoro*, a little above the Mouth of the *Liris*, now known by the Name of the *Carigliano*. This City is now buried in its Ruins. See Vol. 2. p. 168. Note 66.

<sup>34</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 205. Note 58.

<sup>35</sup> The Marsh or Pool of *Marica* took its Name from a Divinity, to whom the Inhabitants of *Minturnæ* paid great Honours. We have spoken of her and her Worship, Vol. 3. p. 468. Note 93.



one <sup>36</sup> *Fannia*, a rich Woman, who was separated from her Husband. One *Tinnius* Year of had formerly married her, tho' no Stranger to the Debaucheries of her Youth. Her *ROME* Incontinence it self had been his Motive to it. He concluded, that Marriage would not *DCLXV.* cure her of her violent Inclination to Licentiousness; and having nothing in View but to *L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, & Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS, Consuls.* get her great Fortune, he gave her more Liberty, than Husbands usually did. All he wanted was to surprize her in such a manner, as to be able to prosecute her for Adultery; and it was not long, before he had the Proofs he desired. Then he prosecuted her at *Rome*, and the Cause was heard by *Marius*, who was *Consul* the sixth Time. *Val. Max. L. 8. c. 2.* The Husband to corroborate his Evidence of the Debaucheries of his Wife, exaggerated her Gallantries before Marriage; and tho' the Accusation was just, *Marius* saw through his Intentions. The *Consul* found, that he had had nothing in view in marrying a rich Wife, of an infamous Character, but to get her condemned by Law to lose her Fortune, and to have that Fortune adjudged to himself, by way of Reparation for the Dishonour he had suffered by her; and he made an equitable Decree. He convicted *Fannia* of several infamous Practices, separated her from her Husband, at Bed and Board, and condemned her to pay a small Fine of 4 *Drachmæ*; but he ordered her Fortune to be returned her. *Plut. in Mario.*

The People of *Minturnæ* therefore took it for granted, that she would use her new Guest ill; but it proved otherwise. She, like a truly abandoned Woman, was less affected with the Mark of Infamy he had set upon her, than with the Restitution of her Estate, which he had procured for her. And she therefore caressed him, entertained him sumptuously, and advised him to take Courage; which was all she could do for him. She could not possibly contrive his Escape, in the little Time the Magistrates were deliberating about his Fate; and the Result of their Deliberations was, That they must obey the Decree of the Senate, and send him to the publick Prison, to be executed there. But the *Minturnenses* were unwilling that any of their Citizens should disgrace himself by taking away the Life of so glorious a Conqueror; and they chose out an Executioner among the Troops of the Garrison. Some say he was one of the <sup>37</sup> *Cimbri*, others, that he was by Birth a *Gaul*; and he entered the Dungeon where *Marius* was shut up, with a naked Sword. But then it appeared, what surprising Impressions the Glory of great Men sometimes make, on the Hearts of the most barbarous. The *Cimber* saw the Eyes of *Marius* sparkle, in this gloomy Place, as in a Day of Battle; and he pretended at least, that he heard a Voice which said, *Stop Wretch! How darest thou take away the Life of Marius!* This filled the Soldier with Horror; and he immediately came out of the Prison, and declared, *It shall never be said, that Marius perished by my Hands.* This led the *Minturnenses* to examine again their Resolutions; Compassion made them repent, of having delivered so great a Man into the Hands of an Executioner; and they cried out, *Let him be gone from our City, and seek his Fate elsewhere! It will be very happy for us, if we are not one Day severely punished, for the ill Treatment we have already given him.*

§. XI. After this the *Minturnenses*, to make amends for their Fault, carried him to their Port, which was only a few *Stadia* from their City; but in order to get thither, they were obliged to pass through a Wood consecrated to the Nymph *Marica*, in which all Strangers that entered it were condemned <sup>38</sup> to spend their Lives. This was the

<sup>36</sup> *Plutarch* adds here an Accident, which he says raised the Hopes of *Marius*. The Moment *Fannia's* Door was opened to receive the Prisoner, an *As*, which had run away from its Keeper, made a full stop, and looked stedfastly at him; and then, after several bounds round *Marius*, it went to drink at a neighbouring Fountain. This was enough to raise the Spirits of the unfortunate proscribed General, who thought he had nothing to expect but Death. *Marius* was superstitious, even to Childishness. What was purely accidental, often passed with him for some mysterious Event. And he now fancied, that the meeting of this *As* shewed him the Will of the Gods, and that the jumping of the Animal foretold him a more happy Destiny for the future. The *As*, says *Val. Maximus*, had left its Pasture to go to the Water; and *Marius* took this as an Admonition from Heaven, that the Water would be more favourable to

him, than the Land. And therefore, when the *Minturnenses* resolved to save him from the Pursuit of his Enemies, he conjured them to conduct him to the Seaside, where he found a Bark which brought him to the Island of *Ænaria*. Thus was every Thing among the Pagans stamped with Marks of their Superstition. The most sensible of their Historians, are not free from these lamentable Prejudices. They love to deceive themselves, with Things that are merely natural, and have no Relation to the Event in question.

<sup>37</sup> This Man, according to *Vell. Paterculus*, had been taken in the famous Battle, where great Part of the *Cimbri* were cut in pieces. After the Battle the rest of them were sold to the best Bidder by *Marius*. This Historian makes him to have been one of the publick Slaves of the Magistrates of *Minturnæ*.

<sup>38</sup> We cannot guess what private Motive of Religion could induce the *Minturnenses* to subject themselves



Year of the Custom of the Place, and the Superstition of the Country. But an old Man soon  
 R O M E solved the Difficulty, and rectified the Mistake. He pronounced, That *when the sa-*  
 DCLXV. *ving the Life of Marius was the Point in view, whatever they did must be agreeable to*  
 L. CORNELI- *the Gods*; and then the whole Company marched through the Wood <sup>39</sup> towards the  
 US SYLLA, & Sea. There they had prepared a little Ship at their own Expence, loaded it with Pro-  
 Q. POMPEIUS- visions, and Presents to *Marius*; and when all Things were ready, a good Wind  
 RUFUS, Con- arofe, and they stood looking on the Hero, whom they had condemned to die, till he  
 suls. was out of sight. Nevertheless, the illustrious Exile was not yet come to the end of his  
 Labours. He first ordered his Pilot to steer for the Island of *Ænaria*, where he arrived  
 safe; and there he rejoined his <sup>40</sup> Son-in-Law *Granius*, and took with him some of his  
 Friends who had voluntarily retired thither. Then he weighed Anchor, and sailed for  
*Africa*, which he would have reached in a few Days, if the Crew had not unfortunately  
 wanted Water. But they were forced to turn towards *Sicily* on that account, and they  
 landed some Men near the City of <sup>41</sup> *Eryx*. The Senate of *Rome* had sent Orders to  
 the Governors there, not to receive any of the Proscribed, but treat them as Enemies  
 to the Republick; and to this end, all the Coast was lined with Soldiers. As soon  
 therefore as the *Quæstor* who commanded them understood, that *Marius* was in the  
 Ship, he fell on the Sailors who were busy in drawing Water in a neighbouring Spring,  
 and killed sixteen of them; but *Marius* escaped, and went to seek his Fortune else-  
 where. After some Days Sail, his Ship arrived at the Island of <sup>42</sup> *Meninx* near the <sup>43</sup>  
*Little Syrtis*; and from thence it was but a short Passage to the Continent of *Africa*.  
*Marius* therefore landed <sup>44</sup> there, and sought Refuge in the Territory of *Carthage*.  
 Here he thought himself safe; and had now sufficient Leisure in his Solitude to reflect on  
 the Frailty of human Grandeur. The Sight of the Ruins of one of the most stately  
 Cities in the World, now level with the Dust, gave him a little Comfort under the Va-  
 riety of his own Misfortunes. And whilst he was there, giving himself up to Sor-  
 row, a Rumour was spread in *Utica*, that he had landed at the old Port of *Carthage*.  
*Sextilius* <sup>45</sup>, who then governed the *African Province* for the *Romans*, in Quality of  
*Pro-Prætor*, was a politick Man; and he neither cared to disobey the Orders of the  
 Senate, nor to incur the Hatred of all the *Marian* Party, by putting this great Man  
 to Death. He therefore immediately sent to him one of his *Lictors* in whom he could  
 confide, to signify to him, That he must seek a Retreat elsewhere, and That  
*Sextilius* would not embroil himself with the Republick. The *Lictor* had likewise  
 Orders to shew him personally great Civilities, but oblige him to remove, if he would  
 avoid worse Treatment. At this News, the brave *Roman* was ready to sink under the  
 Weight of his Calamity; and he said to the *Lictor*, Go tell your Master, that you

selves to so unreasonable a Restraint. They who make  
*Marica* and *Circe* the same Goddess, have conjectu-  
 red, that by this odd Law, they proposed to sympa-  
 thize with the Goddess, in her Grief at the Escape of  
*Ulysses* whom she loved: Perhaps they thought to re-  
 pair her Loss, by dedicating every thing to her that  
 came within her Wood.

<sup>39</sup> *Marius*, according to *Plutarch*, thought him-  
 self indebted to *Marica*, for the good Offices the  
 Inhabitants of *Minturnæ* did him, in the Extremity  
 to which he was reduced. And therefore, as soon as he  
 returned to *Rome*, at the Head of a great Army, his  
 first Care was to hang up in the Temple of this God-  
 dess, a Picture which represented him in his Misfor-  
 tunes.

<sup>40</sup> *Appian* relates the Thing otherwise. He says,  
 That the Magistrates of *Minturnæ* looked on the  
 Terror and Confusion of the Slave, as the Effect of  
 the Providence of the Gods, who took Care to pre-  
 serve *Marius*; and from this religious Motive, set  
 him at Liberty, and gave him leave to go whither he  
 pleased. *Let him go, said they, and fulfill his Course;*  
*and suffer the Sentence of Death pronounced against him*  
*by the Senate, any where else rather than here. We*  
*conjure the Gods to forgive us, if a superior Power*  
*forces us to deny an hospitable Retreat, to a Man, who*  
*formerly saved the Republick from the Incurision of the*  
*Barbarians, Marius; when at Liberty, was wholly*  
*intent in seeking a safe Retreat, and without keeping*

any Road, arrived at last at the Sea-shore. Near it  
 was a miserable Hut, open on all sides, and being ex-  
 hausted with Fatigues, he stalked on to it, and cover-  
 ing himself with Leaves, for the greater Safety, lay  
 down to sleep. But the Noise of some Horsemen who  
 pursued him, soon awoke him, and he fortunately  
 saw a little Bark moored on the Shore. He ran, and  
 with Precipitation threw himself into it, in spite of  
 the Fishermen to whom it belonged, cut the Rope  
 that held it, and abandoned it to the Winds and  
 Waves, which brought it to a little Island. There  
*Marius* found some of his Domesticks, who had de-  
 serted him; and they joining him again, went with him  
 into *Africa*, where he hoped for a safe Retreat from  
 the Fury of his Enemies.

<sup>41</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 475. Note 11.

<sup>42</sup> The Island of *Meninx*, on the Coast of *Barba-*  
*ry*, is the same which the ancient Geographers called  
*Lotophagitis*, because formerly inhabited by *Lotophagi*.  
 See Vol. 2. p. 585. Note 21.

<sup>43</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 585. Note 20.

<sup>44</sup> When *Marius* arrived in the Island of *Ma-*  
*nioux*, he was informed that his Son had landed there  
 with *Cethegus*, and had from thence gone to *Numi-*  
*dia*, to demand Succours of *Mitres*, who reigned  
 there.

<sup>45</sup> *Appian* gives this *Prætor* the Name of *Sex-*  
*tius*.



found Marius sitting on the Ruins of Carthage, and that his Fate is as deplorable, as that of this <sup>46</sup> unfortunate City!

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ROME  
DCLXV.

Whether the African Prætor was moved with this Message from the venerable old Hero, is uncertain; but Marius seems to have continued some Time there. His Son found him there, and gave him this Account of his Adventures. *I had a very good Voyage to Africa; and when I was landed on the Coast of Numidia, I found there a Prince, who owed all his Fortune to your Favour. This was Mandrestal, the Son of Hiempsal, the Remains of the Blood of the Numidian Kings, whom you had spared, after you had made your self Master of Jugurtha, and his Dominions; and to whom you had given a Part of his Father's Kingdom, with the Title of Sovereign. So that this little King received me in a very gracious Manner. But I soon perceived, that his Caresses were not sincere, and that he kept me so long at his Court, only to gain Time to learn from Rome the Cause of my Rambles. Cethegus, my Companion in Misfortunes, and myself began to suspect some Treachery lay concealed under his Civilities; and when we pressed for leave to quit his Dominions, his bad Designs discovered themselves by his affected Delays. I was watched Day and Night, and always kept in sight. In short, I was in a kind of Captivity; and Love was my Rescue. One of the finest Women in Mandrestal's Seraglio had entertained a great Respect for me. My Name, Youth <sup>47</sup>, and Roman Manners, affected her; and she shewed her Regard for me, almost as soon as she saw me. I at first neglected to enter into any Correspondence with her, from an awful Regard to the sacred Laws of Hospitality. But I afterwards found that her Concern for me, was not so much the Effect of an irregular Appetite, as of a virtuous Compassion for my Misfortunes. I therefore entered into a Friendship with the fair Numidian; and to her Care and Address I owe my Deliverance.*

L. CONNELI-  
US SYLLA, &  
Q. POMPEIUS  
RUFUS, Con-  
suls.

But, whilst young Marius was relating to his Father the various Circumstances of his Flight, as he was walking with his faithful Cethegus, on the Sea-shore, the old Hero saw two Scorpions fighting with one another with great Fury, and the Sight mightily alarmed him. Having the Weakness, to shew a great Regard for Auguries, and to turn into Prognosticks almost every Thing he saw; he was moved at the Sight of this unexpected Battle, and it afterwards happened, that what he apprehended proved true. *Let us flee, Son, cried he, let us flee; some great Danger threatens us here! Let us instantly embark, and leave a Shore which the Gods warn us to quit!* This said, he and his Company immediately entered into a Fisherman's Bark, cut the Cable, and were scarce got off, when they saw the Coast covered with Soldiers. Mandrestal had sent them, to retake young Marius, and sacrifice him to the Hatred of Sylla and the Senate. But by good Fortune, they were out at Sea, and out of reach; and they retired to the Island of Cercina <sup>48</sup>, which proved more faithful to them, than the Continent. They there found <sup>49</sup> Albinovanus, who was proscribed by the same Decree, and they four spent the Winter together, in travelling about the Islands near Africa, often by Water, but generally by Land.

Plut. in Mario.

§. XII. In the mean Time, Sylla's Consulship was ready to expire; and the Republick enjoyed a little Rest after so many Agitations, as long as Marius continued at a Distance from Rome. The two Collegues, Sylla and Pompeius acted in concert, and made it their whole Business to quiet the Minds of the People. And they would have succeeded in it, if the Republick had not appointed a Man to succeed them, who was ready to destroy the Work, which their Prudence and Constancy had raised. Nevertheless, Cinna yet concealed his bad Heart, and seemed resolved to continue true to his Oaths. The Consuls therefore resolved, in this seeming Calm, to take the Field. Pompeius Rufus had not yet appeared at the Head of his Legions. They were commanded by Pompeius Strabo, the late Consul, who had continued in his old Camp, with the Title of Pro-Consul. This General, who had had the Honour of one Triumph already, hoped to merit a second, by giving the finishing Stroke to the War with

<sup>46</sup> Marius, by comparing his Fall with the Ruins of this once powerful City, gave the Pro-Prætor an affecting Instance of the Instability of human Grandeur.

<sup>47</sup> Plutarch says, That the Beauty and fine Stature of young Marius had captivated the Heart of this Woman.

<sup>48</sup> The little Island of Cercina, lays near the Lit-

tle Syrtis, and towards the Coast of the Kingdom of Tunis. It is now called Cercara, or Cercare. Its Soil is very dry, and will scarce supply the Wants of a small Number of Inhabitants.

<sup>49</sup> According to Appian, Cethegus, Albinovanus, Lætorius, Granius, and some others of the proscribed, had left Numidia, in order to join Marius.



Year of the *Allies*, and concluding an advantageous Peace with them; and this made him extremely desirous of continuing in the Office, in which he had acquired so much Honour. Indeed the *Consul Pompeius Rufus* seems by the Name to have been his Relation; but *Strabo* thought it hard to be deprived of the Generalship, by a Man whom he despised for his little Knowledge in the Art of War. Besides, Ambition was hereditary in the Branch from which *Strabo* came, and he transmitted it to his Son *Pompey the Great*. The *Pro-Consul* therefore resolved to have the *Consul*, who came to succeed him, assassinated. There had never yet been an Instance of so flagitious an Attempt in the Republick; but in these Times of Discord, Boldness and Force were too strong for the Laws. In order to succeed in this Attempt, *Strabo* applied himself artfully to his Troops, who loved him, and had procured him a *Triumph* the last Year; and he worked them up to a Resolution, not willingly to part with their old General. Nevertheless the *Consul* his Successor was quietly received in the Camp; and it being customary for the new General, to harangue the Troops when he took Possession of his Command, *Pompeius Rufus* assembled them round the *Prætorium* without Tumult, or Murmur. *Strabo* himself invested him with his Office, and the Ornaments of his new Dignity, without discovering the least Reluctance. But when the *Legionaries* were again assembled the next Day, to assist at the Sacrifice usually made by Generals, at their Installation, the Soldiers who had been hired by their old General, turned their Arms against the new one, while he was performing the Office of a *Pontifex*. *Pompeius Rufus* fell down dead, at the Foot of the Altar he had erected; his Guards were dispersed; and in the Tumult *Pompeius Strabo* appeared, and acted his Part with great Dexterity. He knew that no Crime could be more odious than for the *Roman* Soldiers to dip their Hands in a *Consul's* Blood; and therefore even shed Tears over the Dead, and broke out into violent Invectives against the Assassins. But nevertheless, his Conduct afterwards soon raised Suspicions of his being himself the Author of this cruel Act of Treachery. It was observed, That no Enquiry was made after the Criminals; and That, though he was continued in his Office, he took no Care to avenge the Death of his Relation, and the Injury done the Publick.

*Sylla* was terrified at the Death of his Collegue; and the more, because he knew he had not many Days to continue in Office. But the Decree which empowered him to go into *Asia* to make War with *Mithridates* was still in force; and he therefore resolved immediately to embark his victorious Troops, and carry them thither. His *Legionaries* were exceeding zealous to follow him, and all Things were soon in such Forwardness, that nothing could now stop him, except contrary Winds, or the Dilatoriness of those, who were ordered to provide the Ships and their Crews. Nevertheless he was forced to continue in *Italy* some Days after his *Consulship* ended; and had the Mortification to see the first furious Steps of that *Cinna*, whom he thought entirely come off from his mad Zeal for the *Marian* Faction.

Year of the *Rome* DCLXVI. *Cn. Octavius*, and *L. Cornelius Cinna*, entered upon the *Consulship*, on the first Day of *January*; and when arrived at the highest Pitch of Honour, *Cinna* soon forgot the Imprecations he had made at the Altars. Party-Zealots are seldom scrupulous of breaking their Words, or Oaths. They promise only in order to serve their Interests, and as soon as they have gained their Point, retract. And such was *Cinna's* Conduct. The first Step he took in his Office was against his Benefactor *Sylla*, to whom he had sworn an inviolable Adherence. At the Motion of *M. Virginus*, a *Tribune of the People*, he ordered him to be cited to appear before the People, to give an Account of his Administration, and Conduct. After a *Consulate* which had produced such Troubles, it was no difficult Matter for ill-designing Men, to find Causes of Complaint against him. He had despised the Decree of the *Roman* People, whereby they had transferred to *Marius* the Commission for making War with *Mithridates*; and had made a very ill Use of his Ascendant over his *Legions*, by carrying them to besiege *Rome*, and make himself Master of it by force; and in short, had exercised an absolute Authority, and made his Administration odious by Proscriptions. Indeed the good he had done his Country served him for an Excuse, but his Violences were a very bad Precedent; and both the *Consul Cinna*, and the *Tribune Virginus*, his Enemies, put the worst Construction on them, and condemned them. *Sylla* therefore, fearing the Consequences of this Citation, hastened his Departure for *Asia*. He knew, that the Law, which forbade the *Tribunes of the People* to cite any Officers to appear, who were actually employed in the *Roman* Armies in foreign Countries, was still in force;



force : And he immediately came to *Capua*, embarked his Troops, set sail for the East, Year of  
and left *Rome* at the Mercy of *Cinna*, and the *Marian* Party. The Province which *R O M E*  
he undertook was fruitful in Events. But before we come to the Relation of them, DCLXVI.  
it will be proper to take a View of the Situation of *Rome* under the Consulate of  
*Cinna*.

CN. OCTAVI-  
US, & L. COR-  
NELIUS CIN-  
NA, Consuls.

After *Sylla's* Departure, *Cinna* usurped an Authority in *Rome*, which immediately  
gave Umbrage to the Senate, and to all those who were not engaged in the Heat of  
Party. His first Attempt was in Favour of the *Italians*, to whom the Right of *Citi-  
zenship* had lately been given. It has been observed, that in order to lessen the Power  
they might acquire by their new Right of Suffrage, they had been ranked among the  
last and meanest *Centuries*, which were seldom admitted into the Inclosure to vote,  
and *Cinna* now undertook to have them blended with the most ancient *Citizens*, and  
placed as they were, in the oldest *Tribes*. His own Interest, and the ill-natured Plea-  
sure he took in destroying any Work of *Sylla*, might probably determine him to at-  
tempt this ; and some say, that the new *Citizens* paid him 7000000 <sup>50</sup> *Sesterces*.  
However, his Practices could not be kept so secret, as to be concealed from his Col-  
league *Octavius*, who with great Reason and Probity was attached to the Senate, as the  
most honourable and most just Party ; and who immediately foresaw, that this first Step  
tended to procure the Return of *Marius*, and of the other proscribed Persons. It was very  
visible, that by gaining the Affections of the new *Citizens* by this important Piece of  
Service, *Cinna* would secure their Votes for recalling the Exiles. *Octavius* had the most  
ancient and most honourable *Citizens* with him. They could not bear to see the new  
Comers enjoy the same Privileges which had been hereditary in their Families from the  
Rise of the Monarchy ; and this Dispute between the old and new *Citizens* soon  
broke out into open Violences.

App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.  
Florus.  
Velleius.  
Orosius.

§. XIV. When *Cinna* ordered the People to be assembled in the *Comitia* to pass the  
Law he intended to propose, he directed the new *Citizens* <sup>51</sup> to take Daggers under  
their Robes, to sustain the Attacks of the old *Citizens* ; and when the *Tribes* assem-  
bled, the old *Citizens* came likewise armed with Weapons which they concealed. *Cinna*  
appeared in the *Rostra*, began his Speech in such a Manner <sup>52</sup>, as shewed his Design  
was to get the Law passed in Favour of the new *Citizens* ; and, some venerable *Citi-  
zens* immediately went to the House of *Octavius*, to inform him of the Innovation.  
Upon this, *Octavius*, who having foreseen the Attempt, had prepared himself against  
all Events, immediately directed a considerable Number of old *Citizens* to attend  
him to the *Forum* ; and there a Battle ensued, in which much Blood was shed. The  
*Romans* when shut up within so narrow a Compass, did not spare their Blows ; and  
many of both Sides fell, but the old *Citizens* were strongest. Though they were  
comparatively few in Number, they over-powered the new *Citizens* ; are said to have  
killed 10000 of them upon the Spot ; and pursuing the rest to the Gates of the City,  
they at length forced them to leave *Rome*. *Cinna*, when driven from the Assembly  
where he presided, ran through the Streets, and called upon the Slaves to join and assist  
him. But no Body appearing, he was driven from Quarter to Quarter ; and at last  
he likewise left the Capital, attended by six *Tribunes* <sup>53</sup> of his Faction, and retired to  
the

<sup>50</sup> These seven \* Millions of Little *Sesterces*,  
at the Rate before mentioned, make near 875000  
*Livres*.

<sup>51</sup> The *Allies* were so numerous in the *Forum*, that  
the Inhabitants of *Rome* could scarce find room to  
range themselves, according to their *Tribes*.

<sup>52</sup> *Cinna*, in an artful Discourse, used all Argu-  
ments to prove, That the People of *Italy* could not  
be refused the same Privileges which the *Citizens* of  
*Rome* had hitherto enjoyed, without Injustice. He re-  
presented, That the *Latins* and *Italians* ought to be con-  
sidered as one Nation with the first *Romans* ; That  
they all spoke the same Language, and were Mem-  
bers of the same Body ; That the Safety of the Re-  
publick depended on their perfect Unanimity : That  
the better to cement this Union, it was necessary to  
retrench the eight last *Tribes*, and incorporate the  
new *Citizens* in the old *Tribes*, by lot ; and That this  
Harmony between all the Members of the Republick,

would add greatly to its Strength, and make the En-  
mies of the *Roman* Name tremble.

The *Allies* applauded the Consul's Speech, and with  
great Clamour insisted, that the Law should imme-  
diately be put to the vote. But the *Citizens* of the  
old *Tribes* violently exclaimed against their Preten-  
sions ; inveighed against the Consul ; and their bitter  
Reflexions upon him, were in effect the Signal of a  
Rebellion. The *Italians* and *Latins* immediately drew  
out their Swords from under their Robes, and fell  
with Fury on the old *Citizens*, and forced them to  
quit the Field of Battle. The greatest Part of them  
fled for Refuge to *Octavius*, *Cinna's* Collegue, and  
excited him to revenge this new Assault.

<sup>53</sup> *Cicero* gives us some Knowledge of two of these  
six *Tribunes*, in his *Brutus*. One was the same *Vir-  
ginius*, who had the Boldness to accuse *Sylla*, and cite  
him before the Tribunal of the People, to give an  
Account of his Administration. The other was *Pub-  
lius*

l. s. d.  
565 10 08 4  
Sterl.



Year of the neighbouring Cities. His first Recourse was to *Tibur* and *Præneste*, where he endeavoured to raise Men and Money, to support what he called the Cause of the *Allies*; and then he went over all *Campania*, as far as to the Neighbourhood of *Nola*. Besides the Friends he found in the Provinces round *Rome*, his Party was still considerable in the Capital itself. Another <sup>54</sup> *Caius Marius*, different from the Exile, one *C. Milonius*, and especially <sup>55</sup> *Q. Sertorius*, all of the Senatorial Order, had joined his Faction, upon some Disobligations which they ascribed to *Sylla*. The Senators having now a Right to be elected *Tribunes*, *Sertorius* had canvassed for that Office in the late *Consulship*; and upon failing of Success, had imputed his Disappointment to *Sylla*, and therefore joined the contrary Party. He was equally skilled in civil and military Affairs; was a Man of Eloquence and a brave Officer; and was therefore deemed exceeding well qualified, either to preside in the *Comitium*, or to command Armies. But these few Friends which *Cinna* had left in the Senate, could not secure him in that Assembly. As soon as he had left *Rome*, the *Conscript Fathers* declared him deprived of the *Consulate*, and chose one *L. Cornelius Merula*, then High-Priest, or *Flamen* of *Jupiter*, to succeed him.

*Epit. Liv.* §. XV. This new Insult increased *Cinna's* Desires of Revenge, and he fought every where among the Nations of *Italy*, for discontented Cities to espouse his Quarrel. Several of them furnished him with Money, to buy Troops, to punish those old Citizens of *Rome*, who were so proud of their Right of Suffrage, and so averse to communicate it to Foreigners; and he was soon rich enough to attempt the Fidelity of a considerable Body of *Roman* Troops which he found in the Neighbourhood of *Capua*. One *Appius Claudius* commanded them, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. Whether he had his Consent, or had only gained over the *Legionary Tribunes* of his Army without his Privy, *Cinna* came to the Army in his *Consular* Habit, and although deposed, insisted on his being a General legally appointed by the People; and the *Tribunes*, corrupted by the Money he had liberally distributed among them, readily acknowledged him for their General, and with their Acclamations prevailed on the Soldiers to do the same. And indeed, the Cause of *Cinna* was not altogether unjust. What Right had the Senate, to destroy what had been done by the whole Republick in the *Field of Mars*? In these Times of Confusion, nothing was lasting at *Rome*. The People disannulled the Laws made by the Senate; and the Senate abrogated those made by the

*ius Magius Chilo*, who was thought an eloquent Man, and his Speeches to the People were not contemptible.

<sup>54</sup> This *Caius Marius*, to whom *Cicero* and *Pædianus* give the Fore-name of *Marcus*, was the Son of *Gratidius of Arpinum*, who was killed fighting with the *Cilician* Pirates, under the Command of *Marcus Antonius*. Afterwards being adopted by old *Marius*, he took the Name of his adoptive Father, according to custom.

<sup>55</sup> *Quintus Sertorius*, though of an obscure Family, has made his Name famous among Posterity, by his great military Virtues. *Nursia*, a City of the *Sabines*, gave this great Man birth; and he lost his Father, when he was very young. *Rhea*, his Mother, took all Care, during her Widowhood, to give him a liberal Education; and he always had the Tenderness of a Son, for her. Under the prudent Care of this virtuous Woman, he prepared himself insensibly for Heroism. He was very young, when the Desire of Glory brought him to *Rome*, and he first applied himself to the Bar, where he acquired by his Eloquence, the Reputation of a great Orator. But the Profession of Arms was a readier Way to Glory, and more suitable to his Genius. He therefore made his first Campaign under *Quintus Servilius Cæpio* against the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, who had overrun the *Gauls*, and threatened *Italy* with a speedy Irruption.

After the entire Defeat of the *Roman* Army by these Barbarians, *Sertorius* owed his Safety entirely to his Courage. His Horse was killed under him, in the Heat of the Battle, and to compleat the Misfortune, he received a dangerous Wound, which seemed to reduce him to this Dilemma, that he must either sur-

render to the Enemy, or die. But, in this Extremity, he threw himself into the *Rhone*, armed with his Cuirass and Buckler, and swam to the opposite Bank of the River. Soon after, he appeared braving the greatest Dangers, under the Command of *Marius*, when General of the *Roman* Troops, in *Transalpine Gaul*. He ventured to go into the Camp of the *Cimbri*, dressed like a Woman of *Gaul*, in order to inform himself of the Strength and Designs of the Enemy. This bold Action gained him the Applause of *Marius*, and those military Rewards which were given only to the brave. When he was become a *Military Tribune*, in *Spain*, where *Didius* commanded the *Roman* Army, he there gave fresh Proofs of his Valour, especially at the taking of *Castulo*. Afterwards, when *Quæstor* in *Cisalpine Gaul*, he was a great Help to the Republick against the *Italian* Confederates. He signalized himself by many brave Actions during this War, and gained great Advantages over the Enemy. In the Heat of a Battle where he was exposing himself to all Dangers, he lost an Eye; which was Matter of Glory and Triumph to him. This signal Mark of his Courage greatly recommended him to the Citizens. The first Time he appeared in the *Circus*, after his Return from the War with the *Marsi*, he was received with the Acclamations of the People, who made the Amphitheatre ring with their Shouts and Applauses. Such was the Character and Conduct of *Sertorius* before he aspired at being made a *Tribune of the People*. But *Sylla*, jealous of his Merit, got him excluded; and from this ill Usage, he conceived an implacable Hatred against *Sylla*, which did not end but with his Life.

People



People. **Edicts** and Decrees were multiplied as each Faction prevailed ; were as easily disannulled, as they had been before enacted by Violence ; and the Republick already appeared to be on the Brink of Ruin.

*Cinna* immediately secured these Troops by the military Oath, which he administered to them with as much Authority, as if he had never been deposed ; and then the Cities of the *Allies* joined him with the less Reluctance, when he had already a Roman Army under his Command. All the *Italians* hoped, That, through his Protection, they should obtain the Right of *Citizenship* in as full a Manner, as any of the ancient Inhabitants of *Rome* enjoyed it ; and wanted to revenge the Death of their Sons or Brothers, who had been killed in the late Massacre at *Rome*. And when *Cinna* found his Army increased by the Concurrence of all the neighbouring Nations, he resolved to recal the proscribed from their Banishment ; and gave notice to *Marius*, who was yet confined in the Islands that bordered upon *Africa*, that he might return to *Italy*, without Fear of the Senate and its Decrees. *Cinna* had already assembled 30 *Legions*, which consisted partly of malecontent *Romans*, who were ill affected to the Government of the Senate ; and these Motions were too publick not to strike Terror into the old Inhabitants of *Rome*. *Octavius* and *Merula* had continued there, to preserve the Capital at least, from the Infection, that spread in the Provinces ; and they immediately fortified both the City, and Citadel, by placing all the *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ* in the Magazines, on the Ramparts. But this, though sufficient to enable them to sustain a Siege, was not enough either to drive away the Enemy, or to preserve *Rome* from a Famine ; and they therefore sent Agents into the neighbouring Cities, to assemble an Army sufficient to withstand that of *Cinna*. Indeed *Metellus* was at the Head of a Body of Troops in *Cisalpine Gaul*, which the *Consuls* might have commanded ; but he was a great Way from *Rome*, and the Want was pressing. *Octavius* and *Merula* therefore had recourse to *Pompeius Strabo*, who was at the Head of the great Army, the Command of which he had kept to himself by the Murder of a *Consul* ; and who was yet making War, with some small Remains of the revolted *Italians*, on the Coasts of the *Adriatick* Sea. But *Pompey* was a Politician ; and he did not think proper to choose his Party so soon, in a civil War. If he had pleased, he might with great Ease have immediately put a Stop to all *Cinna's* Attempts. But he affected Delays, and was willing the Trouble should increase, in Hopes of being made necessary to the Republick by that Means, and procuring himself new Honours.

§. XVI. In the mean time, *Marius*, pressed by the repeated Sollicitations of *Cinna*, and prompted by his own Desire of Revenge, readily left the Coast of *Africa*, and landed in one of the Ports of *Hetruria*. With him, were his Son, all the proscribed he had about him, and some *Maurusian* Horse. And indeed *Marius* himself was as good as a great Army, to the Party he espoused. His Experience and Valour promised certain Victory over his Opponents. So that, when *Pompeius Strabo* came to offer *Cinna* his Services and his Army ; *Cinna*, who depended on *Marius*, despised the Offer, and little regarded Succours which came too late, and which he did not want. *Pompeius* therefore, was now glad to be admitted among the Generals of *Octavius* and *Merula* ; though he did not appear on the Side of Justice, till he had first been rejected by the Rebels. In the mean time, the great Multitude, to which *Cinna* gave the Name of a *Consular* Army, was at first divided into two Bodies ; the one commanded by himself, and the other by the famous *Sertorius*, already a great Officer, tho' not arrived to the Height of his Glory, till the War he carried on alone in *Spain*. These two Generals had each his Province, in the common Work, of besieging and taking *Rome*, destroying the Senatorial Party, humbling the Nobility, and lodging all the Authority of the Republick only in the Hands of *Plebeians*. *Marius*, as soon as landed in *Hetruria*, immediately assembled there <sup>56</sup> such *Italians*, as the Fame of his Name brought to him, and then signified to *Cinna*, that he was ready to acknowledge him to be a true *Consul*, and to join him with his little Body of Troops. But, as *Marius* had been proscribed by a Decree, and neither Senate, nor People had yet taken off the Proscription ; *Sertorius*, who in some measure, shared the Command with *Cinna*, was not for receiving him among the Defenders of the People <sup>57</sup>.

<sup>56</sup> *Marius* enlarged his Company with Labourers, Shepherds, and all the Slaves, that crowded to him, upon the News of his Arrival in *Tuscany*. He first gave them their Liberty, and then enrolled them all ; and according to *Plutarch* and *Appian*, soon raised

himself a formidable Army : And he chose the most robust, and best made Men, of all the Volunteers that came to him, to be his Guard.

<sup>57</sup> *Sertorius*, say the Historians of his Life, who was naturally prudent and moderate, was afraid, that

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVI.

CN. OCTAVI-  
US, & L. COR-  
NELIUS CIN-  
NA, Consuls.

Oros. L. 5. c.  
19.

Oros. L. 5. c.  
19.

Plut. in Mari-  
o & Sertorio.



Year of **ROME** and I pretend not to dispute with him the Glory of what is past. But have not his Labours, and his great Age, diminished the Strength of his Body, and the Vigour of his Mind? Shall we not have Cause to repent of admitting into our Confederacy, a Marius, who is very different from him, whose Valour the Republick admired before our Civil Broils? What occasion have we, for a Man, who is insatiably covetous of Glory, and ever ready to envy it in his Competitors, and rob them of it? What will Cinna himself, at the Head of this fine Army, be, but a Subaltern to Marius? Shall we suffer him to assume to himself all the Success of a War, which is entered into for the publick Good? We cannot make him our Associate, without making him our Master. Besides, What addition of Strength will his weak Reinforcement bring us? Are five or six thousand Men more, such an Addition as to assure us of Victory? Let him carry them to our Enemies, if he pleases, and join Octavius and Merula. But what am I saying? He cannot possibly engage in any Alliance with the Nobility. He is too much abhorred by them, ever to enter into their Service. What remains then, but that we decline his Offer, in as civil a Manner as we can? Let us send him Word by his Messenger, That we are of Opinion, his Presence will only hurt his own Party; That since he is proscribed, he has nothing to do, but to keep himself concealed for the present, in some private Place in Italy; and, That after we have taken Rome, our first Care shall be to restore him both in Estate and Character.

CN. OCTAVI-  
US, & L. COR-  
NELIUS CIN-  
NA, Consuls:

Cinna heard Sertorius patiently, and approved of his Reasons; but had taken his Measures before he consulted him. I have, said he, already done all I could to bring Marius back to Italy. It was upon my Word only that he left Africa; and therefore I cannot avoid associating this great Man with me, and taking his Assistance to destroy the Senate. This Answer surprized Sertorius, but he put a good Face upon it, and said; Why then did not you tell me, you had determined in his Favour, before you asked my Opinion? However, since the Thing is done, let us say no more of it; but let him come and assist us with his Arms and Advice. Then Cinna immediately sent back the Courier, with Orders to offer his Master the Title of Pro-Consul, and a Power to choose <sup>58</sup> Liētors for his Guard. But Marius put on the Appearance of great Humility, on this Occasion. He refused to accept of the Title offered him, for Fear of raising Jealousies in Sertorius; and he came to the Camp of the Rebels, with a slow Pace, without Guards, and more like a Criminal or Suppliant, than with the Pomp of a General. The old Republican understood all the Artifices of the most refined Policy; and hoped, by beginning with this Diffimulation, to pave the Way for signaling his old Age with new Feats of Arms, and for acquiring new Dignities.

App. Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.  
Plut. in Mario.

§. XVII: And now, Cinna, Marius, and Sertorius, took each his Province, in the civil War which they determined to carry on, with Rome and the Senate; and resolved to march directly to the Capital. Cinna was to block it up on the Side of the Tyber; Sertorius, to do the same on the opposite Side; and Marius to intercept all <sup>59</sup> Provisions, surprize the maritime <sup>60</sup> Cities which might send any, and stop up the Passage of the Tyber from Ostia to Rome. Its only Defenders from within were the Senate, the old Citizens, and the two Consuls Octavius and Merula; and the latter were both good Men, and much better qualified to maintain the Laws and Religion in their Purity, than to sustain the Attacks of an Enemy, and repel them with Vigour. Octavius was so scrupulous an Observer of the ancient Customs, that he constantly refused, even in this Crisis, to arm the <sup>61</sup> Slaves to strengthen the Garrison. He was more intent on consulting

the wild and revengeful Temper of Marius would carry him to those excessive Cruelties, which the Historians lay to his Charge, and the bare mention of which is shocking.

<sup>58</sup> Plutarch says, That Cinna had sent Liētors to attend Marius, and That the latter had sent back the Guard and all other Marks of Distinction, as ill suited to his Fortune. On the contrary, he appeared in publick in an old coarse Habit; and his Hair and Beard in Disorder, his slow and negligent Walk, his gloomy and thoughtful Air, put People in Mind of his past Misfortunes. But it was easy to discover in his Looks, the Fury that raged within him, and the black Schemes he was forming to glut his Revenge.

<sup>59</sup> Marius had built Bridges over the Tyber, at

proper Distances, with design to stop the Merchant-ships that should bring Provisions to Rome; and forty Gallies, which were his Fleet, were at the same Time cruising on the Coast, to catch up all Ships with Provisions, and stop all Passes.

<sup>60</sup> In this Expedition, Marius made himself Master of Ostia, and either killed the greatest Part of the Citizens, or at least stripped them of all they had. But the different Sorts of Cruelties, which the barbarous General exercised in this unfortunate City, which was given up as a Prey to the Avarice of the Soldiers, were only the Preludes to the Misfortunes which he made his Country suffer.

<sup>61</sup> The most venerable Citizens of Rome in vain pressed the Consul Octavius, to arm the Slaves in defence



ing Diviners, than holding Councils of War; and had more Dependence on the Answers of the *Aruspices*, than on the Valour of the brave Soldiers, with which *Rome* was full. *Pompeius*, who had come over to the *Consuls*, after *Cinna's* Refusal, was encamped without the Walls, pretty near the Post which *Sertorius* had taken; and the first Act of Hostility began between these two Generals. It was rather a Skirmish or Rencounter than a general Action, but was remarkable for an Accident, which might well give the *Romans* an Abhorrence for civil Wars. Two Brothers had taken up Arms, one under *Sertorius*, the other under *Pompeius*; and in the Battle fought in the Evening between these two Generals, wherein only 600 Men were killed upon the Spot, it happened, that one of the Brothers gave the other a mortal Wound, without knowing him. But as soon as he heard the Voice of his dying Brother, he was not able to conquer his Grief. Turning towards himself the Sword which he had plunged into his Brother's Body, he cried out, *Alas, dear Brother, tho' different Interests have divided us, one common Funeral-Pile shall unite us!* and immediately killed himself. This moving Accident made some Impression on the Soldiers. But the Violence of Passion, and the Necessity of pursuing their Engagements, soon hardened all Hearts; and neither Party had any more regard for Relations and Friends.

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DCLXVI.  
Cn. OCTAVI-  
US, & L. COR-  
NELIUS CIN-  
NA, Consuls.  
Oros. L. 5.  
c. 19.  
Epit. Liv.

As the Siege was protracted, the Multitude of the Besiegers visibly increased; and *Cinna* formed a fourth Army, under the Command of *Papirius Carbo*. In the City was nothing but Dread and Confusion. The two *Consuls* were unable to preserve it against the Attacks that were going to be made upon it. *Octavius's* only Confidence was in the uncertain Prognosticks of Judiciary Astrology; *Merula's*, in the Protection of *Jupiter*, whose *Pontifex* he was; and there were in the City itself a great Number of People who were not much attached to the *Consular* Party. The Senate alone governed by their Councils, and laboured to preserve themselves by withstanding the Efforts of the Rest of *Italy*, who were entered into a Confederacy to destroy them. To this End, they resolved to endeavour to bring into their Interests one of the fiercest Nations in their Neighbourhood. The *Samnites* had not yet laid down their Arms, but continued in their old Revolt, because they had been by Name excluded from the Right of *Citizenship*. A Roman General of great Reputation, *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the Son of that *Metellus Numidicus* whose Exploits in *Numidia* we have related, commanded a Roman Army against those Rebels; and the *Conscript Fathers* thought it necessary to satisfy the *Samnites*, and recall *Metellus* to the Defence of *Rome*. But the Scheme succeeded only in part. *Marius* prevented the Senate with Regard to the *Samnites*, and gained them to himself, by more advantageous Promises than the Senators had made them. *Metellus* returned to the Capital, and thought it his Duty to adhere to the Nobility; and as soon as he appeared at *Rome*, all the Soldiery offered to serve under him in the Defence of the City. They were dissatisfied with the weak Indolence of the *Consuls*, despised their Orders, deserted them, and were rejoiced to have so much better a General in *Metellus*. It was the Misfortune of *Rome* at this Crisis, that all the Generals she had to defend her were Men of a rigid Probity, and too strictly observant of the old Customs and Laws. *Metellus* himself fell into that Mistake; by scrupling to assume the Office that properly belonged to the *Consuls*, and refusing the Offers of the *Citizens*. This threw many faithful Friends of the Senate into Despair; and they deserted by Companies, to *Cinna*. He, and most of his Generals, were not so scrupulously virtuous as their Enemies. *Sertorius* was the only one among them, that had any noble Sentiments, or valued himself on his Probity. The three others had neither Honour nor Virtue.

Plut. in Marius.  
Epit. Liv.

§. XVIII. However, though the Capital was weakened by these Desertions, *Octavius* found Means to raise an Army in it, and encamped under the Walls. *Q. Metellus* commanded the Roman Troops he had brought from *Samnium*, and *Pompeius Strabo* the *Legions* which *Cinna* and *Sertorius* had rejected. But these three Bodies together were not equal in Number to the four Armies of the Besiegers; and the latter had this Advantage, that neither *Cinna*, nor *Marius*, nor *Cn. Papirius Carbo*, scrupled any Attempt or Artifice that would serve their Cause, how villainous soever. *Cinna* un-

Plut. in Pomp.

defence of the City. They could get only this Answer, That it was beneath the Dignity of the Senate, to grant the Right of *Roman Citizenship*, to those vile contemptible Wretches. He was, it seems, unacquainted with this great Maxim, That all Laws are

to be over-looked when the Safety of the State requires it. *Octavius*, trusting to the Diviners and Astrologers, flattered himself, That he had no need of the Slaves; and That Things would end well for the Republick, without their Assistance.

dertook



Year of dertook to have *Pompeius Strabo* assassinated, in his own Tent; but his Son saved his *ROME* Life; which was the first remarkable Act of *Pompey the Great*, whose Exploits were afterwards admired, and his Misfortunes lamented, by the whole World. Young *Pompey*, who was making his first Campaign under the *Pro-Consul*, his Father, had chosen for his Companion, *Terentius*, a young Roman of his own Age; and *Cinna* had engaged this Youth to turn Traitor, kill the *Consul* and his Son, and debauch his Soldiers. Indeed, old *Pompey* was, through his Infolencies and continual Treacheries, become the Curse of his Soldiers; but never did Son less resemble a Father in his Dispositions and Behaviour. Young *Pompey*, whose very Looks had an engaging Sweetness in them, gained the Affections of all by his Affability and good Nature; but the Father was severe, cruel, and had no Kind of Merit to deserve Esteem or Regard, except considerable Talents for War.

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The treacherous *Terentius* therefore undertook to kill his General and his Son, and to carry the *Legions* he commanded to *Cinna's* Camp; and the Method he took to execute his cruel Design was this. He ordered some of the Assassins to surround the *Prætorium*, and set fire to it; others to run from Tent to Tent and cause an Insurrection among the Soldiers; and took it upon himself to assassinate young *Pompey*, his Companion. But in the Evening before the Night, when this Villany was to be put in Execution, a Friend of young *Pompey* came, and whispered him in the Ear, that *Terentius* had resolved to murder him and his Father, and draw all the Camp into a Revolt. The two Companions were then at Table, supping together in a very friendly Manner; and notwithstanding the Shock of such terrible News, young *Pompey* discovered not the least Concern, continued his Supper, as if he had heard nothing ill, and caressed *Terentius* as much as ever. Nevertheless as no Time was to be lost, he pretended, as soon as Supper was over, to want Sleep, and laid down. As soon as he perceived that *Terentius* was asleep, he stole out of their Tent without Noise, went and placed a faithful Guard round the *Prætorium* where his Father lodged, and watched all the Motions in the Camp. The *Pro-Consul*, informed of all, and well guarded, stirred not out of his Tent; neither durst any of the Incendiaries come near it, to set Fire to it; nor lastly, did the Son return to his own. In the mean Time, *Terentius*, who thought him in Bed by him, ran his Sword several Times through the Bedding, the Marks of which appeared the next Morning; whilst young *Pompey* was appeasing the Fury of the *Legionaries* by such Acts of Prudence and Magnanimity, as were worthy the oldest Commanders. The most mutinous had forced open one of the Gates in order to desert to *Cinna*; upon which the General's Son laid himself flat on his Back in the Way, and with that pleasing Air which charmed all that saw him, cried out, *Cruel Soldiers! If you will treacherously break your Oaths, walk over my Belly! I will not have the Mortification of surviving your Disgrace.* By this Means, he first suspended the Impetuosity of these furious Men; and afterwards wrought so effectually upon them by his Caresses, Bounties, and engaging Speeches, that he reconciled them to his Father; so that old *Pompeius* lost only 800 Men, who had made the greatest haste to flee to the Enemy. A Beginning worthy indeed of the Character of the *Great Pompey!* and a surprizing Presage of his future Grandeur!

§. XIX. Thus *Cinna* failed of this fatal Blow; but that did not lessen his Zeal in pursuing the Siege of *Rome*. The Design of the four Armies, of which he was Generalissimo was, to make the Garrison, and the three Bodies of Men which encamped under its Walls to defend it, perish with Hunger. *Marius* as the most experienced General, and most warm in taking the City, undertook to stop all Provisions by Water, whilst his Collegues shut up all the Avenues by Land; and chose himself a Body of Guards of about 6000 Villains, taken out of the Goals of all the Cities of *Italy*, and chosen among the most famous Debauchees of his Party. This was his favourite Company, whom he called his <sup>62</sup> *Bardiates*, an infamous Appellation, but made honourable by the Licentiousness of Arms; and when assisted with these Despera-

Plut. in Mario.

62 Some conjecture that this Company of Villains took their Name from the Greek Word *Bardis*, which, as *Hesychius* informs us, signified, in the Language of the *Ambracians*, a Man who offered Violence to Women: And if this Etymology seem too far fetched, this at least may be said, That these Brutes deserved the Appellation in every bad Sense of that Kind, by their infamous Debaucheries. *Strabo*, in

his Account of *Spain*, mentions some *Bardiates*, which he elsewhere calls *Bardyales*, who, according to him, were a savage and cruel Nation, who lived on the Banks of the *Ebro*. Whence some have thought that *Marius* gave his favourite Company, the Name of these People, because they imitated them in their Barbarity.



does, nothing was too bad for him to attempt. He seized the Cities of *Antium*, *Aricia*, and *Lanuvium*, which might have sent some Provisions to the Capital; and actually reduced it to extreme Want. All the Banks of the *Tyber* were also guarded by his Soldiers, lest the foreign Merchants should venture to send Corn that Way; and he barred up the River, both above and below the Bridge *Sublicius*, with strong *Staccadoes*. At the same time, *Sylla* posted a Detachment round *Ariminum*, to shut up the Passes against the Inhabitants of *Cisalpine Gaul*, who were well disposed to send Relief to *Rome*.

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Epit. Liv.  
Plut. in Marius.  
App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

However, the Besiegers with all their Efforts, had not yet been able to come near the City, neither had the *Ram* been applied to make a Breach; but it was nevertheless in exceeding great Danger of being taken, by the Treachery of *Appius Claudius*, a military Tribune. Indeed *Marius* could not corrupt him with his Money; but the Tribune had formerly been obliged to him, and he turned Traitor out of Gratitude. He was Governour of the Fort of the *Janiculus*, an important Post beyond the *Tyber*, at the Head of the Bridge *Sublicius*, which the Besiegers were very desirous of getting into their Possession; and one Morning he left the Gate half open, and gave *Cinna* notice to come and seize it. At the Hour appointed, the three Armies of *Cinna*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, all marched thither; but the Garrison, tho' surprized, made a brave Resistance; and upon this Alarm, the Troops of *Octavius* and *Pompey* instantly left their Camps, hastened over the Bridge to the Defence of the Fort, and there fought a Battle, which ended wholly to the Advantage of the Consuls. *Octavius* and *Pompey* repulsed the three Armies of the Enemy, and preserved the *Janiculus*, which might be deemed one of the Outworks of the Place. By this valiant Action, the Assailants saw that they who defended *Rome*, wanted neither Strength nor Courage; and from that Time, they had no Hopes of Success, but from length of Time, and particularly from the Famine which was already sensibly felt.

It must be owned, that *Pompeius Strabo* had manifestly distinguished himself by his Bravery, in this Action of the *Janiculus*. But nevertheless, it is probable, that he drew down the Wrath of Heaven on his Party. He was at bottom a very wicked Man, capable of the greatest of Crimes, if he could conceal them from the Publick. He had got a Consul assassinated before the Altars; and if he now defended his Country, it was not so much out of Affection to her, as out of Ambition, and a Spirit of Revenge against *Sylla*, who had despised his Offers. Besides, Providence seemed resolved to punish *Rome*, for the horrible Licentiousness that prevailed there; and began with *Pompeius* and his Army. A Plague suddenly broke out among his Troops, and with such Violence, that in a few Days it carried off 11000 of them. From thence it spread to the Army of *Octavius*, but with less Fury. Nor was the Plague alone thought a sufficient Punishment for so great a Villain as *Pompeius*. The Wretch, who was hated by all Parties, and very unworthy to be the Father of the Great *Pompey*, was killed by Fire from Heaven. A fiery Cloud covered his whole Camp, and terrified it first with Lightnings, and then with horrible Claps of Thunder; and at length the Lightning broke the Cloud, fell upon *Pompeius*, struck him dead, and darting through all the Streets burnt the Arms and a great many of the Men to Ashes. All *Rome* confessed the Vengeance of Heaven upon him; and his Body was drawn with an Iron Crook, through all the Streets of the City, like that of a Malefactor. A terrible Example for the Romans in general, and especially for the Generals who were besieging *Rome*, if they had known how to have made a good use of it. As for his Army, which had been but too long under his Authority, *P. Crassus* succeeded him in the Command of it.

Fell. Patere.  
L. 2. c. 21.  
Jul. Obseq.  
c. 116.  
App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

§. XX. As the Want of Provisions increased daily at *Rome*, *Octavius*, *Crassus*, and *Metellus*, the three Generals who defended it, went and encamped near *The Hill of Alba*, along *The Appian Way*, to facilitate the Passage of Convoys thither. The Consul *Merula* continued in *Rome*, to keep the People in order, and command the Garrison. But the new Encampment brought little Relief to the publick Distress. *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sertorius*, and *Carbo*, had joined their Forces, and posted themselves above their Enemies, twelve Miles from *Rome*, on the same *Appian Way*; which made it impossible

63 The Author of the *Epitoma of Livy* tells us, That the Expedition of the *Janiculus*, was preceded by a complete Victory which *Marius* and *Cinna* gained over one of the Consular Armies commanded by *Aulus Plautius*; and That this General was slain on the Field of Battle, with the greatest Part of his Army.



Year of to convey Provisions into the Capital ; and now Hunger, Faintness, and Despair, raised many Murmurs, and caused many Desertions. In short, the *Senatorial* Party had no Resource left, but to end the War by a decisive Action ; and as all the Armies were within reach of one another, and those that defended *Rome* were scarce inferior to those that attacked it, either in Number or Courage, it seemed no very hazardous Trial. But *Octavius* wanted Resolution. He was full of Scruples, and thought it a Crime to shed *Roman* Blood ; and this single Consideration suspended his natural Valour. Whereas, he ought to have foreseen, that his Inaction would produce much greater Evils, than that of hazarding the fighting, or even losing, a Battle.

*Rome* suffered greatly by his Irresolutions ; and *Cinna* thought this a very proper Season to solicit the Inhabitants of *Rome* to surrender to him. To this end, he treated under-hand with the *Citizens*, and sent faithful Men round the Walls to invite the Slaves to shake off the Yokes of their Masters, come to his Camp, and have their Liberty ; and upon these Sollicitations, the *Romans* of all Ranks left the Defence of the City, openly, and in large Companies. So that the Capital was soon deserted to such a degree, that the former Confusions in it were at an end ; and in the Camps of *Octavius* and *Crassus*, their Armies visibly decreased. *Metellus*, abandoned his, and despairing of saving *Rome*, went to seek Refuge in *Liguria*, from whence he soon after went over into *Africa* ; and the *Conscript Fathers* themselves, for whom the War had been undertaken, were no longer resolute in maintaining it. They were divided in Opinion, each voting according to his Fears or Courage. Some were for running all Hazards, whilst others were for satisfying the Besiegers by advantageous Terms. The audacious pretended to most Bravery, and the timorous to most Wisdom. The former insisted, That the Senate were obliged in Honour to maintain their Decree against the Exiles to the last ; That it was beneath their Dignity, to treat with rebellious Subjects as with foreign Enemies ; That *Cinna* and *Marius* would abuse their Condescension, and infallibly usurp a Tyranny in *Rome* ; That the only Reason why Desertions were so frequent, was the Timorousness of the Senators ; That after all, a Remedy might be found for the Famine which raised so general a Consternation ; That private Persons ought to deliver the Provisions they had secretly stored up, to the Publick ; and That for the future, the Provisions should be given out to every one by Measure. In short, added they, *What is become of that Love for our Country, which made our Forefathers so constant in defending the Capitol ? Are a Cinna, or a Marius more formidable Enemies than the Gauls formerly were ? Our Zeal for the publick Good is all degenerated into Selfishness ; our Mucius Scævola's, Horatius Cocles's, our Curtius's, and our Camillus's, are no more ; and it is the Decay of our Virtue, that is bringing on us the Ruin of our Republick. The few faithful Legions that are left us, are ready to shed their Blood, in the Service of their Country ; and even the Affections of our Allies are not yet alienated from us. Cisalpine Gaul is very zealous to join us. Let us then immediately open a Passage for that warlike People, who are desirous of coming to our Relief, by breaking through Cinna's Troops who oppose it.*

But the more fearful spake a very different Language, they aggravated the Miseries of a civil War ; pathetically lamented the Condition *Rome* would be in, when taken by Assault, or reduced to the last Extremity, and forced to surrender to the Enemy when it was too late ; gave very particular Accounts of the great Numbers of *Italians*, who had enlisted themselves in the four Armies which were under *Marius* ; and sighed after *Sylla*, tho' in vain. *Let us not then, said these timorous Men, delay coming to Terms with Cinna, till Hunger and Want have weakened all our Garrison. We have only the Bodies of those who seem faithful to us ; their Affections are with the Enemy. Besides, who knows, but we may be surrounded with Traitors, who will be very ready to save their own Lives, and Fortunes, and Families, at the Expence of the Heads of the most venerable of the Senators ? Let us then prevent the greatest of Misfortunes, by a little present Mortification. Let us send a Deputation to Cinna, and endeavour to avert the Misery that threatens us, by a Submission. When two great Evils are both inevitable, the least is to be chosen. Prudence and Caution ought to be preferred to a foolish and perverse Obstinacy.* And this Advice prevailed. The Love of the Republick had no longer the Ascendant over private Interest in *Rome*. Liberty was indeed an Idol which the *Romans* had long adored ; but the Tyranny of some of the *Tribunes*, and a few of the *Consuls*, had much abated her Worship : And tho' they had no Reason but to expect to see her trod under Foot by *Cinna*, and



# Book LVI. The ROMAN HISTORY.

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and his Accomplices, they resolved to give her up, rather than hazard their Lives and Estates.

Year of  
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US, & L. COR-  
NELIUS CIN-  
NA, Consuls.

§. XXI. The Senate immediately sent three venerable Senators to the Camp of the Beliegers, in the Habit, and with all the usual Marks, of Supplicants. *Cinna*, who had been deposed from the *Consulate* by these very *Conscript Fathers* whose Ambassadors now came to lay themselves at his Feet, affected to give them Audience, sitting on a kind of Throne, in his *Curule Chair* and *Consular Robe*, and surrounded by his *Lictors*; and the first Question he asked was, Whether the *Senate* acknowledged him to be *Con- sul*, and they were come to pay their Homage to him, as such? This Question, which they did not expect, surprized them; and as they had not Instructions how to answer it, they desired leave to return to *Rome*, to consult their Principals upon it. In the mean time, the *Citizens*, as may well be imagined, when they saw the Senators themselves were forced to capitulate, did not long continue faithful to them. The People daily left *Rome* more and more, and many of the most honest *Citizens* went to seek for Bread and Protection among the Besiegers. The Senate were at the same time much perplexed about the Answer to be given *Cinna*; because they could not acknowledge him for *Consul*, without displacing *Merula*, a wise Magistrate, whom they had in a manner compelled to leave his Office of High-Priest of *Jupiter*, against his Will. They were in doubt which to choose; whether to affront this good Man in so notorious a manner, and take upon themselves the Shame of not being able to support their own Act, or to hazard the Dangers that threatened them; and *Merula* himself removed the Difficulty. Like a good Citizen, he preferred the publick Good to his own Honour; freely offered the Senate to abdicate; and it being necessary to obtain the Consent of the People, he mounted the *Rostra*, and in a full *Comitium* declared, That in order to restore Peace to the Publick, he was as ready to resign the *Consulate*, as he had been unwilling to accept of it. A glorious Instance of a disinterested Virtue; and, as will soon appear, very ill rewarded!

App. de Bell.  
Civ. l. 1.  
Bell. Pat. L. 2.  
c. 22.  
Diod. Sic. ap.  
Vales.

As soon as he had resigned, the Deputies of the Senate returned to the Camp of the Confederates, with this single Instruction, That they should require an Oath of *Cinna*, That when he came to *Rome*, he would spare the Blood of the *Citizens*, and put no *Roman* to Death but by due Form of Law. *Cinna*, tho' little scrupulous about taking or breaking Oaths, thought it beneath his Dignity to have any administered to him in a juridical manner; but promised as much as they pleased, That when he entered *Rome*, no *Roman* of any Condition should lose his Life, or at least, that he never would give his Consent to the Death of any. And whilst *Cinna* was encouraging the Deputies by humane and kind Answers, *Marius* stood at the side of his *Curule Chair*, in a sullen Silence; and the Wildness of his Looks, and the Rage that sparkled in his Eyes, seemed to threaten the *Romans* with a terrible Massacre. However, *Cinna's* Promises were absolute, with this single Exception, That he would not be answerable for the Life of his Colleague *Octavius*, if he appeared in the City, and did not take care to hide himself till the Storm was blown over; and as soon as these Assurances were brought to the Senate, they immediately ordered the Gates to be opened to *Cinna* and *Marius*, tho' the Decree which proscribed the latter, was not yet repealed. Then *Cinna*, attended by *Marius*, who had the Impudence to return to the Capital, surrounded by his 6000 brutal Guards, who breathed nothing but Lust and Slaughter, and by *Sertorius*, *Carbo*, and all his Troops, immediately began his March, and first entered the City. *Marius* halted at the City Gates; and when he was pressed to advance, he replied with a sarcastical Tone, and a malicious Sneer, *Does it become an Exile to return to the Place from whence he was banished?* Not that the Villain had the least Regard for the Laws; but he wanted to be intreated, to go and make a cruel Slaughter of all the Authors of his Banishment.

Appian. L. 1.  
de Bell. Civ.  
Plut. in Marius.

§. XXII. Immediately after his Arrival, *Cinna* marched directly to the *Ferum*, assembled the People there, made it his first Business to disannul the Decree of Proscription against *Marius* and his Adherents, and then *Marius*<sup>64</sup> thought nothing unlawful. This sanguinary Man treated *Rome* like a City taken by Assault. The first Order he gave his Guards was, to slay without Mercy all those who should come to salute him,

64. According to *Plutarch's* Account, *Marius* did not so much as wait till the *Comitia* were ended. He was so impatient to shed the Blood of the *Citizens*, that he took off the Mask, when only two or three

*Tribes* had voted, and immediately fell upon the City, at the Head of his Guards, who had imbibed his own Spirit.



Year of and whose Salutes he should not return; so that this Signal was indeed a general Dead-  
 ROME Warrant, and accordingly not one of the many Flatterers who came to make their  
 DCLXVI. Court to the new Tyrant were spared, except those to whom he gave a favourable Re-  
 ception. *Q. Ancharius* the Senator, a Man of Distinction in the Republick, who had  
 been honoured with the *Prætorship*, chose to pay his Compliments to *Marius*, when he  
 was offering a Sacrifice in the *Capitol*; and the Tyrant casting a fierce Look upon him,  
 he was instantly cut in pieces, even in the Temple of *Jupiter*. *Cinna*, for the present  
 at least, appeared more moderate; and at first exercised his Cruelty only on his Col-  
 league *Octavius*, to whom he had given notice, before he came to *Rome*, not to ap-  
 pear there. *Octavius*, who could not submit to be governed by an Equal, and thought  
 it unworthy of his Office to leave *Rome* to the Mercy of a Tyrant, came to the *Jani-  
 culus*, ordered his Throne to be erected there, and took upon him to exercise his Of-  
 fice as *Consul*. Tho' his Friends endeavoured to persuade him to retire from the Storm,  
 it was in vain; his Weakness was Divination; and he hearkened to no body but the  
*Chaldeans*, who were continually about him, and assured him that his Life should be  
 safe. Even after the Arrival of *Censorinus*, one of *Cinna's* Partizans, with a great Body  
 of Cavalry, he might have escaped, if he would have fled; but he refused the Horse  
 that was offered him, and waited for the Hand that was to assassinate him, without ri-  
 sing from his *Curule Chair*. In short, *Censorinus* came up to him, cut off his Head,  
 and immediately<sup>65</sup> carried it to his Rival. There was a Paper found about him, which  
 contained a Calculation of his Nativity by an Astrologer; and the manner of his Death  
 sufficiently shewed the Vanity of the<sup>66</sup> Predictions, with which he had been amused all  
 his Life. Thus died a *Consul* by the Order of his Collegue, (a Thing unheard of in the  
 Republick) who had not discovered his Imprudence till the latter part of his Life; and  
 who preserved to his Death, a sincere Affection for his Country, which he even carried  
 too far. Tho' brave, he refused to fight a necessary Battle, for fear of shedding *Roman*  
 Blood. Which was having too strict a Regard to the Laws of his Country; and in short,  
 he supported the *Consular* Dignity to the very last, and chose rather to be murdered than  
 demean it.

§. XXIII. As for *Marius* he had not formed himself after those great Patterns of  
 Virtue, of which there were still some Footsteps remaining in *Rome*, notwithstanding  
 her Degeneracy; and he gave very cruel Orders to his *Bardiates*, who acted agreeably  
 to their Name. They committed all the Acts of Lust and Cruelty in *Rome*, that it was  
 possible to invent; till at length they carried their Iniquities so far, that *Cinna* and *Ser-  
 torius* consulted together how to rid *Rome* of this detested Crew; and they were all sur-  
 prized in the Night when asleep, and shot to Death with Arrows, not one escaping.  
*Marius* was in Despair at the Loss of his Favourite Guards; and as he breathed nothing  
 but Blood, and was afraid that *Cinna* had already fully satisfied his Revenge, he desired  
 a Meeting of the Heads of the Faction, to consider what kind of Government to settle,  
 all Power being devolved on *Cinna* upon the Death of his Collegue, and hoping to  
 acquire himself a sufficient Authority to pursue the horrid Iniquities he had begun. Ac-  
 cordingly the four Chiefs, *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Papirius Carbo*, and *Sertorius* met; and  
 the only one among them that had any Sense of Morality, was *Sertorius*. A strange  
 Perverseness of Temper, and the Affronts he had received from *Sylla*, had drawn him  
 from *Octavius*, and brought him into this Faction; but his Heart was still susceptible  
 of Compassion, and he never carried the military Spirit to Inhumanity. Whereas *Ma-  
 rius* spoke at this Conference like a Madman. *We are now*, said he, *Masters of the  
 Capital, and no one has Rashness enough to dispute our Power of abrogating old Laws, or  
 making new ones. What remains then, but that we signalize our Resentments against the  
 Authors of our Misfortunes? Let us have no Compassion for Villains, who set no  
 Bounds to their Fury! All my Sufferings were brought on me by the Senate; and it is  
 but just that they should feel all the Weight of my Revenge. Let us destroy all those who*

<sup>65</sup> Appian says, That *Cinna* exposed the Head of *Octavius*, on the Tribune of Harangues; and this mournful Sight struck a Terror and Consternation into the *Citizens*.  
<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, *Val. Maximus* says, That the *Consul Cneius Octavius* left off laying any Stress on the Predictions of Astrologers, when the Head of a Statue of *Apollo* fell off of it self, and sunk so deep in to the Ground, that it could not be taken out. He concluded, that this Prodigy foretold his approaching Ruin, or Death; and our Author adds, That his Foresight was the Cause of his Misfortune. He calmly waited for the Swords of his Murderers, and thought his Death the inevitable Decree of Fate. And as soon as he was dead, says our Author, the Head of the God was dug out, without any Difficulty.



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have endeavoured to destroy me. You have seen me drag on a miserable Life, rambling in desert Places far from the Commerce of Men, and begging my Bread even in the Cottages of the Poor. The Forrests could not afford me a safe Retreat, nor were the muddy Waters in the Marshes sufficient to hide me. And in short, I owe the Life which the Hatred of the Senate sought to take from me, to the pity of a Barbarian. Can we then revenge an excess of Rage, without an excess of Cruelty? The Time is now come for utterly abolishing the Senate. They have been the Causes of all the domestick Diffensions in the Republick ever since its Establishment; and there never will be any Tranquillity among us, as long as the Government shall be divided between the People and the Nobility. Let us then extirpate these proud Conscript Fathers, whose Tyranny is become more insupportable to us, than was that of the Tarquins. A Government divided between two separate Bodies, is a Monster in Policy. Let us therefore take Hercules's Club, and destroy this three-hundred-Headed Hydra. Let us cut them all off at one Blow; for if only one of them escape, all the rest will grow again, and prove fatal to us. Let us then make use of the happy Opportunity which Mars and Fortune have given us, and slay them all without Distinction. If any one of you contradict me, I will rank him among those who are Enemies to the publick Good.

Sertorius endeavoured to moderate this Fury, but in vain; Cinna and Carbo concurred in it, and it was resolved to cut the Throats of all the Senators that could be found in Rome. All Men of Virtue and known Integrity were, by these Chiefs of the popular Faction, devoted to the Slaughter; especially those famous Orators, who had so often diverted the Storms which the seditious Tribunes of the People had endeavoured to raise in the Comitium. Antonius in particular, who by his Merit, Probity, great Wisdom, and Adherence to the Senate, had incurred the Hatred of the new Tyrants, was one of the first that was condemned to die; but he had prudently retired into the Country. So that the Storm first broke, on C. Attilius Serranus, P. Lentulus, and some others, whose only Crime was their having been at the Head of Affairs, and shewn their Zeal for the publick Good, in the highest Stations. C. Cæsar<sup>67</sup>, and Lucius<sup>68</sup> Cæsar his Brother, C.<sup>69</sup> Numitorius and M. Bæbius, were assassinated in the Streets. Caius<sup>70</sup> Fimbria was the Executioner of the Cruelties of Marius, and he, finding P. Crassus the Son, pursued him

App. de Belli  
Civ. L. 1.

<sup>67</sup> We must take care not to confound this Caius Julius Cæsar surnamed Strabo, and the Brother of Lucius, with that Caius Cæsar, who is said by Pliny, B. 7, to have died suddenly at Pisa in his Prætorship. The latter was the Father of the first Roman Emperor, the famous Julius Cæsar.

<sup>68</sup> Lucius Julius Cæsar had been Consul, in the Year 663; Censor with Publius Licinius Crassus, in the Year 664; and distinguished himself in the War with the Allies. But neither his Birth nor Virtue could secure him from the Fury of the present Consul. The cruel Marius, to add Insolence to his Barbarity, ordered this illustrious Citizen to be slain, on the Tomb of the infamous Varius of Sucro, that contemptible and seditious Tribune, who having been the Reproach of the Tribunate, had been banished, and had perished in the tragical Manner beforementioned. Nothing was wanting to compleat the Miseries of the Republick, says Val. Maximus, but the Horror of seeing Cæsar sacrificed to the Manes of a Villain. This Enormity effaced the Glory of all the Victories Marius had gained. He himself totally obliterated the Merit of them, by committing more Cruelties in Rome itself, than he had gained Lawrels in her Defence. This Varius, it seems, had been murdered by some of Sylla's Faction, and Marius was resolved to revenge his Death, by that of Lucius Cæsar.

<sup>69</sup> Florus says, That the Murderers dragged the Bodies of the two illustrious Senators, Caius Numitorius, and Marcus Bæbius, with Hooks, into the middle of the Forum Romanum.

<sup>70</sup> This Caius Flavius Fimbria was one of the most furious Zealots of Marius's Party. Cicero represents him in several Parts of his Works, as an abandoned Man, who gloried in the most atrocious Crimes; and Val. Maximus, B. 9, gives us this In-

stance of it. After the Death of old Marius, Fimbria hired some of his Faction, to murder the Pontifex, Quintus Mucius Scævola, on the Tomb of that formidable Chief. The venerable old Man was accordingly attacked by this Company of hired Villains, but had the good Fortune to escape with only a slight Wound. The barbarous Fimbria, was exceedingly exasperated at missing his Blow; and therefore himself accused Mucius at the Tribunal of the People. And when he was asked what he had to lay to the Charge of so virtuous a Citizen; he, with amazing Impudence replied, That he had nothing to accuse him of, but this; That he had not suffered the Sword that wounded him, to be buried up to the Hilt, in his Body. Florus speaks of another Fimbria, who was assassinated in his own House, by Order of Marius; and probably his Crime was his being in the Interest of the Nobility. It is uncertain whether this was he, who was Consul in the Year 649, and of whom Val. Maximus tells us the following Story, which naturally prejudices one in his Favour. A private Person had a Quarrel with a Knight, named Marcus Lutatius Pithyas, whose Virtue and Fidelity he seemed to suspect. The Knight, piqued at a Suspicion so injurious to his Honour, offered to prove his Honesty, and chose Fimbria to be the Judge. But he declined the Affair under this Pretence, That he would not defame a Man, who enjoyed a good Reputation. Which was saying, in a genteel manner, That he had not the same Opinion of Lutatius's Probity, which the World had. We shall hereafter see several Caius Flavius Fimbria's appear on the Stage; and it were to be wished, that the Ancients had enabled us to distinguish one from the other. This would have given more Light, Exactness, and Order, to the Facts they relate; and the Moderns would not have been embarrassed, and forced to have



Year of him with a Squadron of Horse. But *P. Crassus*<sup>71</sup> the Father met his Son, killed *ROME* him, for fear he should fall into the Hands of his Pursuers, and then submitted himself to be massacred by *Fimbria*. This Uproar and Massacre lasted five whole Days; and how many Persons of the first Rank were cut off in it were not known. But this we are told, that the Heads of these venerable Men were all stuck on Stakes at the Foot of the *Tribune of Harangues*; and in the Language of one of the Ancients, formed a dumb Senate, which nevertheless cried out for Vengeance. However, *Metella*<sup>73</sup>, the Wife of *Sylla*, and her Children escaped this general Persecution of the Nobles, though with Difficulty. All the Estates of the Senators were put up to Sale, and their Houses given up to be plundered; but the People were ashamed to enrich themselves<sup>74</sup> with the Spoils of so many Men of the first Distinction.

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recourse to tedious Discussions, which instead of lessening Difficulties, generally increase them. This Sameness of Names, Fore-Names, and Surnames, in different Persons of the same Families and Times, create an Obscurity, which it is very often impossible to clear up, by the Help of Criticism itself. Thus we must leave it to the Reader to find out, who that *Caius Flavius Fimbria* was, who is said by *Cicero* to have been accused of Oppressions by *Marcus Gracchus*, and against whom *Marcus Aemilius Scaurus*, then *Prince of the Senate*, appeared as a Witness. All we know of him is, that he was acquitted. The Judges had no Regard to the Testimony of *Aemilius*, though he proved the Facts he charged on the accused by Oath. He was indeed deemed a Man of as great Integrity as any in *Rome*; but it was notorious that he was a sworn Enemy to *Fimbria*; and this was enough to make his Testimony suspected.

<sup>71</sup> This is the *Crassus* whom we have seen *Consul*, in the Year 656; honoured with a *Triumph* after he had subdued the *Lusitanians* and other Rebels in *Further Spain*; and *Censor*, with *Lucius Julius Caesar*, in the Year 664.

<sup>72</sup> The second Son of *Publius Crassus* had a more happy Fate; he escaped the Cruelty of the Murderers of his Father and Brother. He went into *Spain*, attended by his Domesticks, and three faithful Friends. This is the *Marcus Crassus* who is so famous in History for his immense Riches. Upon his Arrival, he found the People struck with Consternation and Dread, at the bare Names of *Marius* and *Cinna*. These factious Chiefs, had their Emissaries in Pay, in *Spain*, as well as other Provinces of the *Roman State*, who were ready to do any Thing to serve the prevailing Faction. Young *Marcus* therefore resolved to retire to a little Country near the Sea-side, which belonged to *Vibius Pacianus*. Within his District there was a deep Cave, surrounded on all Sides by Rocks, which shut up the Mouth of it, and screened it from the Winds. There was a Spring of fresh Water near it, and there were Openings enough in it through the Cliffs and Crevices that Nature had made in the Rock, to give a great Light through the whole Grotto. Here the Fugitive resolved to fix his Retreat, without making himself known to any Body, and wait for better Times. But in the mean while, his Provisions failed, and he could have recourse in this Necessity to no Body but *Vibius*. He therefore sent a faithful Slave to him, to implore his Assistance in this melancholy Situation; and he discharged his Commission with Success, and touched the Heart of *Vibius*, with the Account he gave of his Master's Misfortunes. The *Spaniard*, though affected and prejudiced in favour of the *Roman*, would not go to see him, for fear of troubling the Solitude of a Man who desired to be unknown: He apprehended his Presence might give *Crassus* a fresh Alarm, and make him suspect some ill Design, in such an unexpected Visit. But *Vibius* charged his Steward with the Care of carrying himself every Day to the Door of the Cave, Plenty of Provisions, and a certain Quantity of the nicest Meats,

for the Subsistence of *Crassus* and his Followers; and at the same time, strictly enjoined this Purveyor to retire silently after he had done his Duty; forbade him looking into the Cave under Pain of Death, and promised him his Liberty, if he faithfully executed these Orders. So that *Crassus* was wholly indebted to this generous *Spaniard* for his Preservation. He continued there eight Months, till the Death of *Cinna*. Then he left his Solitude, and appeared in publick; and some of *Sylla's* Party to the Number of 2500 immediately joined him. At the Head of this new Army, he passed through many *Spanish* Cities; and *Plutarch* says, that several Authors who were his Contemporaries, have reproached him, with plundering *Malaca*, a City of ancient *Bætica*, which he found in his Way. It stands on the Mouth of the *Guadalquivir*, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, and is now called *Malgues*. But *Crassus* used all possible Means to justify himself from so scandalous a Robbery; gave these Historians directly the Lie; and accused them of making use of the most notorious Calumny, to hurt his Reputation. But be that as it will, he got together a Fleet of Gallies, which carried him into *Africa*. There he joined with *Metellus Pius*, who had raised a great Army. But a Division soon arose between the two Chiefs, so that it was necessary for them to separate; and *Crassus* went into *Asia*, where *Sylla* received him in his Camp, with all the Marks of Distinction that were due to his Birth. From this Time the General took him into his Intimacy, and was ever after heaping Favours upon him.

<sup>73</sup> Amidst all the Blood he shed, *Marius* was continually complaining that the chief Victim escaped him. His Vengeance was defective, in that it could not reach the Person of *Sylla*. This victorious General, who was in *Asia*, at the Head of a formidable Army, laughed at the Fury of his Enemy, at that distance. However, the cruel *Marius* did all in his Power to affect him in the most tender Part; and to that End, ordered the strictest search to be made after his Wife *Metella*, the Daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, and her Children, with a Design to have them murdered. But they happily escaped the Vigilance of their Pursuers, with the Assistance of some of *Sylla's* chief Friends, and were conducted safe to his Camp. *Marius* was highly exasperated at their escape, and not content with ordering their House to be razed, and their Goods confiscated; he forced the Senate to declare this illustrious General an Enemy to his Country, whose Dominions he was daily extending by his Conquests.

<sup>74</sup> There was not one among the poorest, says *Val. Maximus*, that would take Advantage of the publick Calamities; they all abhorred the Thoughts of enriching themselves with the Spoils of their Countrymen; and shewed as much Respect to the Houses given up to be plundered, as to Temples. So that the Effects of the proscribed were given up to the Avarice of that Company of Guards, whom *Marius* had made the Ministers of his Cruelties.



§. XXIV. In the mean time, the *Marian* Soldiers were dispersed about the Coun- Year of  
try, in search of the illustrious *Romans* who had retired thither; and all the *Muni-* R O M E  
*cipia* and great Roads were beset by those who were sent to pursue the fugitive DCLXVI.  
Senators. Nevertheless *Cornutus* was saved, by the Fidelity and innocent Artifice of  
his Servants. He was retired to the Cottage of a Peasant; and when his Slaves saw  
the Soldiers, strolling about the Neighbourhood, they took the Body of a dead Man,  
whom the Messengers of the Tyrant had just killed, hung it up by the Neck in the  
Cottage, and put a Gold-ring on its Finger, pretending it to be their Master; and when  
they had made a pompous Funeral for the pretended *Cornutus*, they secured the Escape  
of the real, who retired to *Gaul*. The famous Orator *Antonius* had not so happy a  
Fate. He had found a faithful Friend near *Rome*, who laboured to save his Life with  
great Tenderneſs and Affection; but his charitable Host was poor, and ill furnished  
with Wine. For the better Entertainment therefore of so great a Man, he sent for  
the richest Wine he could get at a Tavern in the Neighbourhood; and the Owner of  
the House, not using to sell so dear Wine to this Servant, asked him what Company  
his Master had, and was answered, That it was the illustrious *Antonius*, who made  
so great a Figure in the Senate. Upon this, the Villain went immediately and  
informed *Marius* that he had discovered the Place where *Marcus Antonius* was Plut. in Mario.  
hid; and *Marius* leapt for Joy at the News. He could scarce refrain from leaving his App. L. 1. de  
Table, and going to dip his own Hands in the Blood of his Enemy. But Shame detain- Bell. Civ.  
ed him; and he sent *Anius*, one of his wicked Agents, to behead the Orator, and bring Cic. in Bruto.  
him the Head before he rose. *Anius*, attended by a proper Body of foot Soldiers,  
went to the House, sent his Men into the Orator's Apartment; and tarried himself at  
the Door. The Soldiers, with all their natural Barbarity, were so struck with the  
Sight of this great Man, and the noble Boldness with which he addressed himself to  
them at the Point of Death, that Tears dropped from their Eyes; and they were so  
softened, that they could not kill him. *Anius* therefore, impatient at their Delays, went  
up into the Room, saw his Soldiers in Tears, reproached them for their Cowardice,  
and executed his barbarous Orders himself. The Head of *Antonius* was brought to  
*Marius* while he was yet at Table; and he viewing it with great Pleasure, made  
it Matter of Sport for his Guests; and tenderly embraced the Murderer, who was co-  
vered with the Blood he had shed. After this, the Head of the greatest Orator *Rome* had  
bred, was stuck up among the rest for a Show, at the Foot of the *Tribune of Harangues*,  
where he had so often been heard with the greatest Applause. All *Rome* lamented the  
Loss of a zealous *Citizen*, who had wholly employed his excellent Talent of speak-  
ing for the Service of the Publick, and in endeavouring to save the Lives of the un-  
justly accused; and the Loss would have been irreparable, if *Cicero*<sup>75</sup>, now twenty  
Years of Age, had not been ready to supply his Place, and even to excel him in  
the Art of Persuasion. However, the present Licentiousness of Arms was such, as  
would not suffer the young Orator to appear in the *Rostra*.

§. XXV. After the first Fury of the other Tyrants was somewhat abated, *Marius*  
still thirsted for more *Roman* Blood, though he pretended to conceal his Violences un-  
der an Appearance of Justice. He wanted to destroy two Men, who had been dig-  
nified with the *Consulate*, and one of whom had triumphed, after the Defeat of  
the *Cimbri*, in the same Chariot with himself. The latter was the famous *Q.*  
*Lutatius Catulus*, *Sylla's* Friend, who had not a little contributed to get *Marius* banished;  
the former, the pacifick and virtuous *Cornelius Merula*, who had just resigned the *Fasces*,  
that they might be given to *Cinna*. These *Marius* summoned to appear before the Peo-  
ple, to answer to some capital Crimes laid to their Charge; and they plainly foresaw,  
that the Accusation would end in an infamous Condemnation. *Marius* had often  
given this cold Answer to those who had interceded for *Catulus*, *He must die*; and they  
well knew that as the Tyrants were Masters of the Suffrages of the People, Innocence

<sup>75</sup> *Cicero* chose, in these troublesome Times, to retire. After he had made his first Campaign, at eighteen Years of Age, under *Sylla*, who was then be-  
sieging *Nola*, in the War with the *Allies*, as we are told by *Cicero* and *Plutarch*; he dedicated the three following Years to the Study of the Law, Mathema-  
tics, Philosophy, and Eloquence, and perfected him-  
self in these Parts of Learning under the best Masters. *Diodorus*, one of the most famous *Stoicks*, and *Philo*

a celebrated *Academick*, taught him Morality, and the Doctrines of their Sects. *Quintus Mucius Scaevola* the *Augur*, taught him the *Roman* Law; and he spent the most agreeable Part of his Time, in hearing *Molo* the famous Rhetorician, who taught him the Art of Speaking. It was, in this Time, that he wrote his Books *De Inventione*, as he himself informs us, *De Orat. L. 1.*



Year of was but a weak Defence against Calumny and Revenge. They therefore both re-  
 ROME solved to prevent their Judgment, by a voluntary Death, though in a very different  
 DCLXVI. Manner. *Catulus* went into a Room newly plaistered, ordered a great Fire to be  
 lighted, shut himself in, and, whether he had stopped his Breath with holding a fiery  
 Coal to his Mouth, or had taken Poison, he was found dead there.

CN. OCTAVI-  
 US, & L. COR-  
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 NA, Consuls.  
*Plutarch.*  
*Val. Max.*  
*Florus*  
*S. August.*

*Merula's* Method was much more affecting, and more publick. Being the High-  
 Priest of *Jupiter*, he ordered himself to be carried to the Temple of that God; and  
 when he came to the Foot of the Altar, he there laid down the sacerdotal Coiffure,  
 in which it was not lawful to die. Then seating himself in his pontifical Chair, he or-  
 dered his Veins to be opened, and after he had bled for some Time, advanced to the  
 Altar, sprinkled it with his Blood, and uttering many Imprecations against the Tyrants,  
 devoted his Enemies to *Pluto* and the infernal Gods. And from this Time, the High-  
 Priesthood of *Jupiter* continued vacant for 77 Years. Indeed *Marius* and *Cinna* no-  
 minated the great *Julius Cæsar* to it, at 17 Years of Age; but the Return of *Sylla*  
 prevented his taking Possession of it.

And now, it might have been expected that *Marius* had made Slaughter enough  
 in *Rome*. The Streets had for some Time flowed with Blood, and been covered with  
 Heaps of dead Bodies; and *Sertorius* is said to have been so far from being concerned  
 in these Murders, that he prevailed on *Cinna* to intercede with *Marius* to put a Stop to  
 them. Nevertheless, the City enjoyed but a very short Tranquillity. The Citizens  
 hoped to have gained some respite, under the new Consuls at least, who were to be chose,  
 as usual, in *The Field of Mars*; but *Cinna* would not trust the People to choose his  
 Successor. He, of his own Authority, nominated himself Consul, for the next Year,  
 and made *Marius* his Collegue, without so much as assembling the *Comitia*. So that the  
*Roman* Government was now no longer Republican. There was neither Senate, nor any  
 other juridical Assembly in the City; on the contrary, all Power was lodged in the  
 Hands of two Men, and they were both more cruel and more absolute than the bad  
 King, whom the *Romans* had formerly driven from *Rome*.

Year of  
 ROME  
 DCLXVII.  
 L. CORNELI-  
 US CINNA, &  
 C. MARIUS,  
 Consuls.  
*Plut. in Mario.*  
*Epit. Liv.*  
*Florus.*  
*Vell. Pater.*  
*Auth. de Vir.*  
*Illustr.*  
*Diod. Sic. apud*  
*Vales.*

§. XXVI. On *The Calends of January*, *Cinna* and *Marius* took Possession, one of  
 his second, and the other of his seventh, *Consulship*; and neither the Ambition nor the  
 Cruelty of *Marius* were yet extinguished, though he was now 70 Years of Age. He, and  
 his Son still continued their tragical Scenes in the terrified City. The Day that the  
 new Consuls went to the *Capitol* to take their Investiture there, young *Marius* killed a  
*Tribune of the People* who opposed his Will, with his own Hand. The Father had  
 scarce taken Possession of his Office, before he pronounced Sentence of Banishment a-  
 gainst two *Prætors*; and accidentally meeting *Sex. Licinius* in the Street, that very  
 Day, he ordered him to be thrown down from the *Tarpeian Rock*. But notwith-  
 standing all this, the Monster could not stifle the Remorses of his own Mind, though  
 thus hardened in Iniquity. The Streams of Blood which he had shed were continu-  
 ally before his Eyes; and the Children of the many Senators he had murdered were  
 as dreadful to him, as if they had been the *Manes* of their Fathers. He looked on  
 them as surviving the Loss of their Relations, only to wait for an happy Opportunity  
 to revenge it; and his Fears made him so suspicious, that he soon became inaccessible  
 even to his Friends and Accomplices. The Person that of all others gave him the most  
 Uneasiness was *Sylla*<sup>76</sup>. Couriers daily arrived from *Asia*, with Accounts of his great  
 Exploits

• *Liv. Epit.*  
 L. 83. c. 10.

76. The proscribed, who daily fled in great Num-  
 bers to *Sylla* for Refuge, pressed him earnestly to lead  
 his Army to *Rome*, and deliver the Republick from  
 the Tyrants, who kept it under Oppression. But  
*Sylla*, who was above private and personal Regards,  
 chose rather to compleat the Conquest of *Asia*, than  
 hazard losing the Fruits of his Victories over *Mithri-*  
*dates* by too precipitate a Revenge. He took it for  
 granted, that the entire Reduction of so formidable  
 an Enemy, would secure him an happy Return to  
*Italy*, and a triumphant Entry into *Rome*. In the  
 mean time, he wrote a long Letter to the Senate,  
 the Substance of which is given us by *Appian*. He  
 represented, in the most affecting Terms, his past  
 Services, his Labours for the Honour of the *Roman*  
 Name, and the cruel Outrages that were continually  
 offered him, whilst he was employed in adding vast

Provinces, nay whole Kingdoms, to the Dominions  
 of *Rome*. \*You know, Conscript Fathers, said he,  
 what Pains and Fatigues it has cost me to discharge the  
 Offices the Republick has entrusted me with, to her Ser-  
 vice and Advantage. When *Quæstor* in *Numidia*, when  
*Military Tribune* in the War with the *Cimbri*, when  
*Pro-Prætor* in the War with the *Allies*, and now that  
 I am *Pro-Consul* against *Mithridates*, your Arms have  
 always been victorious, under my Conduct. I have  
 humbled the Pride of this victorious Monarch in se-  
 veral Battles. I have forced the Garrisons he had in  
*Greece* to flee at the Sight of my Standards. The trem-  
 bling Nations submit to your Laws; and under my Au-  
 spices, you will soon see *Mithridates* confined to his King-  
 dom of *Pontus*, and have recourse to the Clemency of  
 the Senate. In the mean time, as my Reward for these  
 Services, a Price is set upon my Head, and my Friends  
 murdered



Exploits against *Mitbridates*; and *Marius* thought he beheld him returning to *Italy*, on the Wings of Victory. He imagined he saw him at the Head of an Army, demanding Justice of the *Romans* for the Massacre of their Fathers; and as his Experience forced him to make a great Difference between him, and the weak Generals he had overcome, this Reflection tortured him with continual Fears. In the Night especially, these Phantoms were ever haunting him, and he seldom closed his Eyes. The Want of Sleep made him extremely thin, his Cheeks grew hollow, his Eyes sunk into his Head, and made his Looks still more terrible; and at length he had recourse to Wine for Relief, but in vain. He continued at Table all Day long, to divert his Melancholy; but Sorrow still hung about him in the midst of his seeming Mirth; and having over-heated his Blood, with too much eating, he at length bred a Distemper which led him gradually to his Grave.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
C. MARIUS,  
Consuls.

However, as he knew not that the fatal Stroke was struck, he still continued feasting, and was in Appearance more gay than usual. But one Evening, after Supper, he put on a more serious Air with his Friends. He discoursed to them of the Vicissitude of human Affairs; related the History of his Life; observed the Dangers he had run for having engaged himself too far in the Troubles of the Republick; and concluded with observing, *That that Man was unhappy, who after he had at first experienced the Favours of Fortune, gave himself up to her, without reflecting on her Inconstancy.* This said, he retired to his Bed, to take a little Rest, but never rose from it more. He was seized with a shivering, followed by a Fever, and attended with a *Delirium*, which left him but short Intervals of Reason; and when he was delirious, he imagined he was engaged in a Battle with *Sylla*. His Gestures were those of a Man fighting; and he gave Orders as if at the Head of an Army. At length, a great Faintness followed, and <sup>77</sup> he died, after seven Days Illness, some say on the thirteenth, others on the seventeenth Day, after he took Possession of his seventh *Consulship*. He was one of those extraordinary Persons whom Heaven seldom raises up in the World. In War, he was deemed a Hero; and his Exploits were put on a Level with those of the *Scipio's*. In Peace, he was the Pest of Society, and the Scourge of his Country. As he was very prudent, moderate, and cool, in Battle; so was he no less turbulent, angry, and furious, in the Assemblies of the People and Senate. His Ambition always prompted him to aspire at an absolute Authority over his Republick; but for want of the necessary Talents for governing, he had like to have utterly destroyed the State by his evil Counsels, after he had saved, and enlarged it by his Arms. So true is it, That Men may, as it were by Accident, become great Officers, without Manners, Probity, Truth, or Humanity: But, That no Man can become a great Statesman, without an honest and good Heart.

And now, the distressed *Romans* fondly imagined, that all their intestine Calamities were buried with *Marius*; whereas the Republick still harboured other Vipers in her Bosom, which in their Turns were ready to devour her. *Cinna*, the surviving *Consul*, was a bad Man, artful<sup>79</sup>, and of great Dissimulation; and he associated to himself in the Government,

*are murdered without Pity. My Wife and Children are forced to abandon their native Country; and I have the trouble to hear, that my House is razed, my Goods confiscated, and all the Laws made in my Consulship absolutely disannulled. You may expect, Conscript Fathers, to see me, in a little Time, at the Gates of Rome, followed by a victorious Army. And then, I shall find Means to revenge the personal Injuries I have suffered; and to inflict signal Punishments both on the Tyrants themselves, and on the Ministers and Favourers of their Tyranny.*

<sup>77</sup> *Plutarch* adds, That *Marius* embraced those that were present with unusual Marks of Tenderness, and took his last Farewel of them.

<sup>78</sup> The Author of *The Lives of illustrious Men* seems to insinuate that *Marius*, being weary of Life, shortened his Days himself; but does not say, whether it was by Poison, or the Sword.

<sup>79</sup> *Cornelius Cinna* was Master of the Art of Dissimulation, and could conceal a boundless Ambition under an Air of Popularity. We may judge of his Character by what *Appian* says of him, *Bell. Civ.* VOL. V.

L. I. We have before observed, That the Senate, being informed of his ill Designs, had degraded him from the Dignity of a *Consul*, and even the Rank of a *Roman Citizen*. As soon as informed of this scandalous Decree against him, he made all haste to *Capua*, where the *Roman Armies* were encamped, which had served in the War with the *Allies*. There he first got over some *Military Tribunes* to his Interest; These Officers, in Conjunction with him, called the Soldiers together; and he appeared before them, stripped of all the Marks of the *Consular Dignity*, and addressed himself to them thus. *You see in me, brave Legionaries, a melancholy Instance of the unjust Proceedings of the Senate. You raised me to the Honour of the Consulate; I owe my Elevation wholly to the Suffrages of my Fellow-Citizens. But the Senators, by a new and unheard-of Insult, have destroyed your Work. They have loaded me with Reproaches, without Regard to the Majesty of the Roman People, and without so much as giving me an Hearing. So that I am degraded with Ignominy, and reduced to the deplorable Condition of an unfortunate Exile. But by the* same



Year of Government, one still more dangerous, which was *Marius* the Son. The Spirit of *ROME* his Father seemed to have passed into him. In the last Days of his Weakness and old DCLXVII. Age, old *Marius* had at length glutted his Hatred, and given some Truce to the Senators, who had escaped his Enquiries. But young <sup>80</sup> *Marius* finished the Work, which his Father had begun, by putting all the *Patricians* he could find in *Rome*, or its Neighbourhood, to the Sword. In short, the only resource the Nobility had was in *Sylla*; and they waited for his return from *Asia* with great Impatience. Whereas, alas! even he returned, but too soon to *Rome*. We shall hereafter see this Monster prove more furious than the former, and devour all the illustrious Men, that shall be left in the Republick. But before we come to those dreadful Scenes, we must first turn to the East, and give an Account of his Exploits, and Conquests there.

L. CORNELIUS  
US CINNA, &  
C. MARIUS,  
Consuls.

*same Act, that they have injured me, they have offered Violence to your Liberty, and your Rights. My only Fault has been my Zeal for the publick Good. Had I been a Slave to your Tyrants, contrary to the Duty I owe my Country, I had still continued at the Head of the Senate. But because I would have broken off your Fetters, and my own, therefore I am proscribed, and forced to lead a wandering Life, even in the Center of Roman Liberty. And therefore, I am now come to desire the Assistance of all you illustrious Warriors that bear me, against our common Enemies.* At the same Time *Cinna* rent his Robe, with the Air of a Man pierced with the most bitter Anguish; called the avenging Gods to testify the Injustice done him; threw himself on the Ground, and seemed ready to stab himself with his own Sword, as resolving not to survive his Disgrace. The Soldiers, affected with this mournful Sight, raised him up, and led him to his Tribunal; restored him his *Fasces*, *Lictors*, and all the *Regalia* of his Office; imbibed his Spirit, acknowledged him for their General, were pressing to take the Oath of Fidelity to him, and prepared to gratify

the Passions of this sanguinary Man, by committing all the horrible Acts, which have been just related. From that instant, the artful *Cinna* threw off the Mask, and swore the Destruction of the most illustrious Citizens in *Rome*, who had opposed his furious Measures.

80 Young *Marius* inherited the Cruelty, as well as the Power, of his Father. He stained his Obsequies with the Blood of many Senators and Citizens, who had escaped the first Fury of the Proscription; and as soon as he was become absolute Master of *Rome*, he followed no Law, but his own Caprice and Passion. Till that Time, whether in order to ingratiate themselves with old *Marius* his Father, or because he had given some Proofs of Bravery and Intrepidity in Battle, or to flatter the Vanity of this audacious Youth, the People of his Party had called him nothing but *The Son of Mars*. But his Licentiousness and Debauchery soon caused this first Surname to be forgotten; and instead of it was given him another, more suitable to his Character, viz. *The Son of Venus*.













T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K LVII.

§. I. **I**T is surprizing, that *Rome*, tho' troubled with intestine Seditions, and actually engaged in a bloody War with the *Allies* in *Italy*, should yet be able to extend her Care to the Nations of the East. *Mithridates* had already made her sensible, how much she might some time or other suffer, by his Courage, his Artifices, his extensive Dominions, his almost innumerable Subjects, and in a Word, by his great Power both by Sea and Land. We have seen him attempting to invade the Kingdom of *Cappadocia*, or at least, to put it into the Hands of one of his Sons, of but eight Years of Age, under the Guardianship of *Gordius*. And as *Rome* was then in Tranquillity, we have likewise seen her oppose the Attempts of this ambitious Monarch, send *Sylla* to place *Ariobarzanes*, who became rather the Vassal, than the Ally of the Republick, on the vacant Throne of *Cappadocia*; and by this means, oblige *Mithridates* to give up, much against his Inclinations, the Sceptre to which he had laid a Claim. After that Time, he quietly waited some Years, for an happy Opportunity to drive *Ariobarzanes* a second time out of his Kingdom, of which he had been put into Possession by the *Romans* and *Cappadocians*. Whilst this Friend to *Rome* was governing his People in Peace, the King of *Pontus* was entering into a League, and making other Preparations, to dethrone him. In order to draw *Tigranes*, the King of *Armenia*, more and more into his Interest, *Mithridates*, who had at least eight Daughters by different Wives, married one of them to him. The Sovereigns of the vast Empire of the *Parthians* and *Medes*, entered likewise into a Correspondence with the King of *Pontus*; and all *Scythia* promised him Succours upon Demand.

And now, the Time expected for putting his Designs in Execution, was come. The revolted *Italians* had taken up Arms, and were fighting for the *Citizenship* of *Rome* with as much Ardour, as Sovereigns defend the Thrones of their Ancestors; and by that Means, the Forces of the Republick were divided. These *Allies*, who had made her victorious in the East and West, were now turning their Arms against her; and the *Romans* themselves, divided by civil Factions, were making their Capital it self a Field of Battle, in which more Blood was shed than the Conquest of all *Asia* had cost them. So that *Mithridates* could never have a more favourable Opportunity, to lessen the Credit, and weaken the Authority of the imperious Republick, in the *Levant*; where she gave Law, tho' at so great distance, to all crowned Heads: And his first Step was, privately to assist *Tigranes*, in dethroning the King of *Cappadocia*, a second time. With this help, the *Armenian* got Possession of that Kingdom; and *Ariobarzanes* was forced to have recourse to *Rome*. But he found Affairs so much embroiled there, that he was obliged to wait for a more quiet Season, before he could return to *Asia*. *Justin, L. 38.*

In the mean time, the ambitious *Mithridates* was not content with depriving this Ally of *Rome* of his Dominions. *Nicomedes*, that Son of *Prusias*, who had been brought up by the *Romans*, and who had mounted his Father's Throne by Parricide, was lately dead; and had left his Crown by *Will* to another *Nicomedes*, his Son by a favourite Dancing-Woman, named *Nisa*. This *Nicomedes* got his Father's *Will* confirmed at *Rome*, and under the Protection of the *Conscript Fathers*, mounted the Throne of *Bithynia*. But *Socrates* surnamed *Chrestos*, another Son of the late King, by a different Wife, opposed this



this *Will*, and put himself under the Protection of *Mitbridates*, as his Brother had done under that of the *Roman* Senate. And indeed the Plea of *Socrates* was specious. He was, it's true, younger than *Nicomedes*; but his Birth had been without Stain. And the King of *Pontus* was doubly concerned in Interest to support him. In the first place, the arming Brother against Brother, was raising a civil War in *Bitbunia*, and taking the most effectual Method to pave the Way for his getting Possession of it; and in the next place, this was mortifying the *Romans*, whom he thought too much employed elsewhere, to be able to revenge it, since it was destroying the Work of their Policy, as well as *Nicomedes*. And therefore he not only lent *Socrates* an Army, but assisted him with his Councils as well as Arms, to drive out his Brother.

App. in Mi-  
thridat.

Thus there were now two Kings, one of *Cappadocia*, the other of *Bitbunia*, that claimed the Assistance of *Rome*, against the Attempts of *Mitbridates*; and the Republick, tho' embarrassed with maintaining the War with the Rebels in *Italy*, thought it necessary to preserve her Authority in the *Levant*, and not suffer *Mitbridates* to lessen it. The *Conscript Fathers* gave a Commission to three Persons of the senatorial Order, *M. Aquilius* an old Consul, *Manilius Mancinus* a *Prætor*, and *L. Cassius*, who was governing the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, now a Province, for the *Romans*, to go and restore the dethroned Princes. The three Commissioners first raised a little Army, partly of the few *Roman* Troops that guarded *Pergamus*, and partly of *Phrygians*, and *Gallo-Greeks*; and then entered *Bitbunia* with it, drove out the Usurper, and replaced *Nicomedes* on the Throne. After this, they carried back *Ariobarzanes* to his Dominions, and desired *Mitbridates* to assist them in restoring him; but he excused himself from taking up Arms against his Son-in-Law *Tigranes*, and the *Romans* with their own Forces alone, recovered the Crown again for their Client.

§. II. Hitherto then, *Mitbridates* had not dared to declare himself openly against the sovereign Republick. He had, as yet, made it his Business to conceal his Designs, and amuse his Enemies with Pretences. By a base Act of Diffimulation, much unworthy of a King, he caused *Socrates* to be assassinated, who after the Loss of *Bitbunia*, had fled into his Dominions for Refuge: but his Cruelty did him no manner of Service. The *Romans* still suspected him, an Enemy to *Nicomedes* and the Protector of *Socrates*, as much as they had before done: And the three Commissioners, made it their whole Business, to force him to pull off the Mask, and openly avow his secret Plots against *Rome*. They did not care to appear to the *Asiatics* to be the first Aggressors on *Mitbridates*, and therefore privately stirred up *Nicomedes*, to commit Hostilities in *Pontus*. *Nicomedes* was very unwilling to engage in this Work; but being hard pressed by the *Romans*, who demanded of him the Sums they had lent him for his Restoration, he at length armed, made Incursions into that Kingdom, and pillaged <sup>1</sup> *Amestris*, a considerable City, near the Mouth of the River <sup>2</sup> *Parthenius*. And the King of *Pontus* bore these Depredations with Patience. His Point in view was, to let the *Romans* destroy one another in the *Italian* Wars, and not attack them till they were brought to the lowest Ebb; and it was perhaps for this Reason, that he refused to grant the Request of the *Italian* Rebels, who sent a Deputation to desire him to send some of his Troops into *Italy*, to their Assistance. But whatever were his Motives, he affected, not to make any Resistance to the Attacks of *Nicomedes*, tho' he neither wanted Men, nor Provisions. He contented himself with complaining loudly of the Proceedings of the Republick, and with giving his People to understand, that the *Romans* were the Authors of the Devastations committed in his Dominions; and would not have recourse to Arms, that he might not appear to have begun the Quarrel.

However, during these affected Delays, he confirmed his old Alliance with the King of *Armenia*; and found Means to persuade *Tigranes*, That the Time was now come for humbling this insolent Republick, which kept Kings in Slavery. He likewise sent Ambassadors to all the Nations of *Asia Minor*, and to the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, *Phœnicians*, *Medes*, *Parthians*, and particularly the <sup>3</sup> *Sarmatians* in *Scythia* and on the Coasts

<sup>1</sup> *Amestris*, or, *Amastris* stood in *Paphlagonia*, in *Asia Minor*. It is now called *Anastro*. *Strabo* and *Stephen of Byzantium* say it took its Name from its Foundress, *Amastris*, the Daughter of *Oxyatres* the Brother of *Darius Codomannus*, and the Wife of *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Heraclea*.

<sup>2</sup> The River *Parthenius* rises near the Frontiers of

*Bitbunia* and *Paphlagonia*; and runs into the *Euxine* Sea. It still preserves its ancient Name in that of *Partheni*, according to *Molet*; but *Le Noir* pretends That it is the same River that the eastern People now call *Dolap*.

<sup>3</sup> *Sarmatia* comprehended the northern Countries of *Europe* and *Asia*. A Part of *Moldavia*, that Part of



Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea; and the Jealousy of the *Roman* Power was so great in all Places, that his Negotiations were almost every where successful. Some promised him Land-Forces, others a certain Number of Ships, and *Phœnicia* Seamen and Pilots to Man them. But still, tho' his Measures were taken, he would not declare open War with the Republick. His Design was to force the *Romans* to be the Aggressors, and take the first Steps towards an open Rupture, that he might the more plausibly lay the blame upon them; and to this end, he indirectly attacked them. *Ariarathes* entered *Cappadocia*, and again drove out the weak *Ariobarzanes*; and *Mithridates* sent *Pelopidas*, the most eloquent Man in his Court, to the *Roman* Commissioners, rather to insult them, than excuse this Enterprize of his Son. He pretended indeed to refer all his Complaints, and the Injuries he had received from King *Nicomedes*, to the *Romans*; and put on the Appearance of an excessive Complaisance to them: But the Speech *Pelopidas* made to the three Commissioners, is a very evident Proof, that that was only an Artifice to provoke and exasperate them.

*The Rights of Ariarathes, said he, to the Cappadocian Throne, and those of Mithridates to the Phrygian, are not to be disputed. Nevertheless you have settled a kind of mock-King, who has neither Valour, nor any other kind of Merit, on the former; and You unjustly retain the latter, tho' you formerly gave it up to the Father of the present King of Pontus. All the Reward Mithridates has, for the old Services his Father did you, is, to be continually exposed to your Intrigues, and the Rapines of your Allies. You authorized the violent Attack made on his Dominions by the Bithynians, and the Pillage of Amestris. And when we demanded Justice of you, all the Answer we could get, was, That Rome is not answerable for the Conduct of Nicomedes. To which I shall add, That neither is it her Interest to stop the Vengeance of a King justly enraged. Is it possible, that so unguarded an Expression could drop from the Commissioners of a Republick, famed for her Wisdom and Moderation? Mithridates is so fully persuaded, that your Extravagancies will not be approved by the Senate and People at Rome, that he has ordered me to appeal to them in the Cause, in which you have shewn so much Injustice and Corruption. He cites you to appear before your own Tribunals; and protests against whatever Attempts you shall make, on his Person, or Dominions. Rome, no doubt, will better consider, than you have done, the Regard she ought to have, to the most powerful Prince in Asia. If you are ignorant of it, give me leave to inform you, That his Kingdom, when Mithridates received it from his Father, was above 20000 Stadia long; That the Son has since considerably enlarged it by his Conquests; That Colchis is subject to him; That the Greek Colonies about the Euxine Sea obey him; That Scythia, Taurica<sup>4</sup> Chersonesus, the Country of the<sup>5</sup> Bastarnæ, Sarmatia, and Thrace, are all devoted to him; and lastly, That the King of Bithynia is his Son-in-Law, and the Parthians his Friends. To which I might add, That Egypt, Syria, even your Province of Pergamus, and all Greece in Europe, only wait for a Rupture between him and you, to shake off the intolerable Yoke of your Republick. Nay, Italy itself earnestly solicits to be admitted into the Asiatick Confederacy, whose Design is to bury in Oblivion the very Name of Rome, under her Ruins. This approaching Revolt of the whole World, against a single City, which*

of Hungary which lies between the *Danube* and the *Pruth*, *Prussia*, *Livonia*, *Samogitia*, *Lithuania*, *Lower Volhinia*, *Muscovy*, the Kingdom of *Poland* from the *Vistula*, *White Russia*, and *Prætopia*, or that Part of *Little Tartary* which is called *Crim*, were all contained in *European Sarmatia*: So that this vast Country was bounded, to the North by the *Frozen Sea*, the *Palus Mæotis*, the *Taurica Chersonesus*, and the *Carpathian Mountains*; to the South, by the *Danube* and the *Pruth*; to the East, by *Asia*; and to the West, by the *Vistula*, the *Baltick*, and the *Gulph of Finland*. It was 540 *German Miles*, or near 930 *French Leagues* long, from the Conflux of the *Danube* and the *Taïsse*, to the Mouth of the *Oby*, according to *Cluver*; and 360 *German Miles*, or 600 *French Leagues* broad, containing all the Provinces between the *Volga*, and the *White Sea*. *Asiatick Sarmatia* contained all the northern Countries of *Asia*, which lay between the *Tanais*, the *Volga*, the *Sea of Hyrcania*, the *Euxine Sea*, and *Mount Caucasus*; and *Circassia*, a Part of *Moscovy*, which lies North of the River *Ta-*

*nais*, or *Don*, and some Parts of the Kingdoms of *Astracan*, *Bulgar*, and *Casan*, beyond the *Volga*, did also belong to this great Country. But we are not to imagine that *Pompey* subdued all this vast Tract of Land. His Conquests were confined to *Little Tartary*, and the Countries that border on the *Euxine*, and *Caspian*, Seas, and the *Palus Mæotis*.

4 The Ancients called that Country *Taurica Chersonesus*, which is now inhabited by the *Little Tartars*, near *Mount Taurus*.

5 The *Bastarnæ*, according to *Plutarch*, *Polybius*, and *Livy*, came originally from *Gaul*; but *Dio Cassius* places them among the Nations of *Old Scythia*; and *Strabo*, among those of *Thrace*. But be that as it will, they inhabited those Parts of *European Sarmatia* which are near the *Danube*. They extended themselves from *Podolia* and *Bessarabia*, where they first settled, to *Moldavia*, *Wallachia*, and towards the *Euxine Sea*; and from thence they advanced to the northern Parts of *Black Russia*, and *Little Poland*.



is enriched with the Spoils of the East and West, will no doubt make a greater Impression on the Senate and Comitia, than on their three Ambassadors, whose Penetration is not so great. Mithridates has ordered me to deliver these Menaces, which he will certainly execute, if you don't leave Ariarathes on the Throne of Cappadocia, and hinder Nicomedes from laying waste his Dominions.

§. III. The Roman Ambassadors thought this an insolent Speech, and with their usual Pride answered; *Be gone instantly from hence, and tell Mithridates, That we will immediately set out, to re-establish Ariobarzanes on the Throne, and to excite Nicomedes to make new Incursions into the Territories of Pontus.* In this manner Pelopidas was dismissed; and Guards were ordered to attend and watch him in his Journey, and not to leave him, till he was out of the Province of Pergamus. At the same time, the Deputies plainly perceiving, that this pretended Appeal to the People and Senate of Rome, was only a Rhodomontade to intimidate them, immediately set about raising a great Army, without waiting for new Orders from the Republick. They sent for Succours from Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and Gallo-Græcia; and these, added to a Roman Legion, and commanded by Roman Generals, were thought a sufficient Force to withstand all the Efforts of Mithridates. Then the Ambassadors divided their Army into three Bodies. Cassius encamped with one, on the Confines of Bithynia and Gallo-Greece; Mancinus with another, seized the Passes through which Mithridates might enter Bithynia; and M. Aquilius, with C. Oppius, one of his Lieutenant Generals, posted himself with the third, at the Entrance into Cappadocia. The Command of the Roman Ships was given to two Admirals, Minutius Rufus, and C. Popilius, who posted their Fleet at the Entrance into the Euxine Sea, to guard the Passage into it. On the other hand, Mithridates declared War with them, and made it appear, that Pelopidas had not exaggerated, when he had boasted so much of the Power of his Master. The King of Pontus took the Field with 250000 Foot, and 40000 Horse; put to Sea a Fleet of 300 decked Ships, and 100 Biremes; and drew out of his Magazines, the formidable Artillery of 130 Chariots armed with Scythes. Whereas the Roman Generals could not raise above 40000 Men among their Allies; and tho' Nicomedes had 50000 in his Army, yet, after all, the Inequality was very great between the Romans and their Enemies. Mithridates reserved to himself the supreme Command of this terrible Army, and appointed his inferior Officers in this manner; Neoptolemus and Archelaus, two Brothers, who understood Arms, commanded, one the auxiliary Infantry, and the other the Cavalry; Dorylas was at the Head of the Phalangites, and Craterus of the armed Chariots. With this numerous Train, Mithridates marched to force the Passes into Bithynia. Nicomedes was guarding them with his 50000 Men, on the Banks of the <sup>6</sup> Amnion. And as soon as the Head of the formidable Army of Mithridates appeared in that vast Plain, and before his Phalanx was arrived, Nicomedes, being superior in Number to those he saw of the Enemy, immediately attacked them. Archelaus and Neoptolemus immediately seized an Eminence to prevent their being surrounded, but Nicomedes drove them from it; and then the Battle grew very warm. The Bithynians broke Mithridates's left Wing commanded by Neoptolemus, and would have routed it, if Archelaus had not come readily to his Assistance, with the Right. After this, the Fortune of the Day changed, as well as the Scene of the Battle. The two Wings divided, and left an empty Space for the scythed Chariots, which drove up full speed against the Bithynian Troops: And as the Ground was level, and the Bithynians ranged in close Order, the Havock these Machines made among them is not to be expressed. Some whole Bodies of Men had their Legs cut off; and in others, the Men were cut off in the middle. The Limbs of many hung trembling on the Scythes that had cut them off; and the Sight of this Massacre, more than the Loss of his Infantry, discouraged Nicomedes. He fled, and retired to Paphlagonia. The Soldiers of Mithridates plundered the Enemy's Camp, and took a great many Prisoners; whom the victorious King set at Liberty without Ransom, in order to gain the Reputation of a generous Conqueror.

§. IV. This first Essay of the Forces of Mithridates, made the three Roman Ambassadors tremble. They repented of having driven a Prince to Extremities, who was in himself powerful, and more formidable on account of his Alliances; And it increa-

<sup>6</sup> Strabo and Appian mention the River Amnion, but say nothing more of it, than that it rises in one of the Borders of Bithynia.



sed their Concern to consider, that they had begun this War of their own Head. without the Consent of their Republick. Besides, had not they ill-timed it? Should they have engaged the *Roman* State in a new War, at a Time when all the World was only waiting the Issue of her Quarrels with her *Allies* in *Italy*, to shake off the Yoke? However, the Stroke was now struck, and it must be supported. The victorious Army drew near the Camp, which *Manilius Mancinus* commanded, on the Borders of *Bithynia* and *Pontus*; and took Possession of Mount 7 *Scoroba* which divided those two Kingdoms. This alarmed *Mancinus*, and obliged him to decamp. *Neoptolemus* marched after him, came up with him at the Village of 8 *Pachium*, there forced him to fight, killed 10000 of the *Romans*, who were in all but 12000, made 300 Prisoners of War; and their General crossed the River 9 *Sangar*, and returned to *Pergamus*, without Army or Baggage. The two other *Roman* Generals also quitted their Posts, and came and encamped together, under *Leonto* 10 *Cephale*, one of the strongest Places in *Phrygia*, and situated on the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea. And after *Mithridates* had thus dispersed the Enemy's Land-Forces, he also became Master at Sea. His Fleet dispersed that of the *Romans*, at the Entrance into the *Euxine* Sea, and *Nicomedes's* Squadron surrendered to his Admiral.

Nor was this all. No General ever made a better use of any Victory than the King of *Pontus* of the present. He seized all *Bithynia*, took Possession of the Government, and in the chief Towns placed all Power in the Hands of his own Party. From thence he entered *Phrygia*, and following the same Rout that *Alexander the Great* had taken, affected to halt in the same Places where that Conqueror had lodged. Then he passed through all the Provinces the *Romans* possessed in *Asia*, and carrying his Conquests beyond them, subdued *Lycia*, and *Pamphylia*, as far as to the Borders of *Ionia*. As he marched forwards, he drove the *Romans* from Post to Post, and at last forced Lieutenant General *Oppius*, to shut himself up in 11 *Laodicea*, a strong Place on the River *Lycus*, but a very insecure Retreat for the vanquished *Roman*. Upon the first Summons, the *Laodiceans* surrendered him up to the Conqueror, and to add Insult to the Treachery, carried him in form, with his *Lictors* marching before him. *Mithridates* received him with Joy, and in pity gave him his Life; but exposed him to publick View wherever he came; and gloried in having in Chains, one of the chief *Roman* Officers in *Asia*, who gave himself the Title of *Pro-Consul*. And *M. Aquilius* the Chief of the Deputies, met with a more rigorous Treatment than *Oppius*. He had fallen sick at 12 *Mitylene*, whither he had fled for Refuge, after the general Rout, and thought himself safe in the Island of *Lesbos* 13. But the Name of *Mithridates* was greatly revered by Sea as well as by Land; and upon his Orders, the *Lesbians* delivered up this old *Consul*, and triumphant Victor, whose Arrogance had caused the new War. He was brought to the King, who, to humble the Pride of *Rome* in this great Man, treated him like the vilest Slave, ordered him to be whipped, mounted an Ass, carried to all Places wherever he came, and forced him to declare with a loud Voice to the People, *That he was the famous Aquilius, who had formerly been a Consul in his Republick*. For which a prophane Writer reproaches him, as unworthy of the *Roman* Name, since he had not the Courage to prevent these Insults, which reflected Dishonour on his Country, by a voluntary Death. At length, *Mithridates* brought him to *Pergamus*, when he came to take Possession of it; and there, under Pretence of revenging the Avarice of the *Romans*, their old Masters, towards the *Pergamians*, killed him with pouring melted Gold down his Throat 14.

App. in Mithridat.

Val. Max. L. 9. c. 13.

7 It is thought that *Appian* means by *Scoroba*, the Chain of Mountains which *Memnon*, and *Stephen the Geographer* call the *Hippian* Mountains.

8 *Ortelius* guesses that the Village of *Pachium* which *Appian* mentions, is the same Village in *Phrygia*, which *Strabo* calls *Sangia*, and *Nicephorus*, *Pazum*. The River *Sangar* rises near it.

9 See Vol. 3. p. 477. Note 55.

10 *Appian* has transmitted to us the Name of this Place which was one of the strongest in *Phrygia*; and *Plutarch* mentions it in his *Life of Themistocles*. It stood on the Coast of the *Ægean* Sea.

11 The *Laodicea* here spoken of, was at first called *Diopolis*, afterwards *Rhoas* according to *Pliny*, and now *Lundibia*. The *Lycus*, which waters its Terri-

tory, is a little River of *Phrygia*, which falls into the *Menander*. See Vol. 4.

12 This City, now *Metelin*, was the Capital of the Isle of *Lesbos*, to which it has since given its own Name.

13 The Island of *Lesbos* lies within Sight of old *Troas*, between *Chios* and *Tenedos*, in the *Ægean* Sea. It is said to be 70 Miles, or 24 Leagues long, and 168 Miles in Circumference; and is famous for its Fruitfulness, and excellent Vineyards.

14 *Diod. Siculus* is the only Historian who says, That *M. Aquilius* avoided the shameful Slavery and horrible Punishments which *Mithridates* designed for him by a voluntary Death.



Plut. in Lucullo.

§. V. And now, all the Coast of *Asia* submitted to the strongest; and *Mithridates* placed what Governours he pleased in all the Cities. *Mitylene* and *Magnesia* received him with extraordinary Acclamations; and the *Ephesians* thought the best Way to shew their Attachment to him, was to signalize their Hatred to the *Romans*. They had formerly paid the grossest Flattery to these Masters of the World, and had erected Statues to all the great Men of the Republick, as long as she continued Mistress of the *Levant*. But upon the Decrease of her Power here, they destroyed these Statues with as much Levity, as they had erected them; and madly and blindly gave themselves up implicitly to their new Master, without taking the least Precaution against a Change of Fortune. From thence the King of *Pontus* continued his March to *Ionia*, and subdued it; and upon his Return, *Stratonica*<sup>15</sup> in *Caria* was the only City that obstinately refused him Entrance. He therefore invested it, forced it to surrender at Discretion, ransacked it, placed a Garrison in it, and made a longer Stay there than he had intended. He there fell in Love with the incomparable *Monimia*, one of the most beautiful, and most virtuous, Women in the World. Her Father, *Philopemenes*, a Native of <sup>16</sup> *Miletum*, had educated her after the *Greek* Manner; that is, had improved her Mind with the Knowledge of the Sciences, and polite Arts, and had filled her Heart with noble Sentiments. It seemed doubtful, whether she owed most to Nature, or Education; had most Beauty, or most Virtue. Her Fame soon reached *Mithridates*, and when he saw her, he was no longer Master of himself. He endeavoured to seduce her by Caresses and Presents, but in vain. He offered her 15000 Pieces of Gold, if she would sacrifice herself to his Pleasures; but she would hearken to nothing but the Voice of Honour and Duty. The Virtue of the fair *Milesian* increased the Passion of the King, and the Esteem he conceived for her, led him to think her worthy to reign. In short, he offered her his Crown, and by a lawful Marriage, ranked her among the Queens his other Wives. But this new Honour and Distinction from a powerful Monarch, did not at all exalt her Mind. She thought herself in Exile, in a Court of Barbarians who adored her; and continually lamented the Loss of the sweet Enjoyment of her first Retreat. She deemed it no better than a Captivity, to be confined to a Seraglio, where she was rather enslaved to the Caprice of a Master, than tenderly caressed by a Husband; and where she was continually surrounded with the Noise and Hurry of Arms, could have no agreeable Conversation, no free Liberty to enjoy herself, no Means to improve her Mind. She spent her Days here in Melancholy and Sorrow, and in a great Dislike of Grandeur; and this uneasy Situation, prepared her beforehand to receive with the less Concern the fatal Orders of the King her Husband, which shall be mentioned in due Time.

App. in Mithridat.

§. VI. Thus the important Affairs which the *Romans* had on their Hands in *Italy*, had given *Mithridates* time to make his Conquests, and give himself up to his Pleasures. But in the mean while, the War with the *Allies* was ended, and *Italy* in Tranquillity; and as soon as *Rome* had Time to breathe, she turned her Thoughts to the lamentable State of her Affairs in *Asia*, and the mighty Progress made by a Prince, whom the ill Conduct of the three Commissioners had forced to take up Arms. *Sylla* then Consul, as has been observed, expressed a very great Desire, to go once more to suppress the Insolence of *Mithridates*; and though his Desires were thwarted by the Ambition and Intrigues of *Marius*, he at last prevailed, got *Marius* proscribed, and made his Preparations for <sup>17</sup> transporting into *Asia* a Consular Army, whose Valour and Affection to him he had experienced. *Mithridates* was informed that *Sylla* would soon come against him, and took the best Measures he could to enable himself to oppose him. The only *Allies*, that remained faithful to the *Romans*, on all the Coast of *Asia*, were the *Rhodians*, and the little Country of *Lydia*, near Mount *Sipy-*

<sup>15</sup> The ancient Geographers reckon two Cities of *Stratonica* in *Asia Minor*; one in *Caria*, and another which *Strabo* and *Stephen of Byzantium* place at the Foot of Mount *Taurus*; and therefore call it, *Stratonica ad Taurum*.

<sup>16</sup> This City, which was one of the most considerable in *Ionia*, stood near the River *Menander*, towards the Frontiers of *Caria*, and on the Coasts of the *Egean* Sea. It was famous for the Convenience of its Port, the many eminent Philosophers it bred, and the several Colonies it planted, in different Parts of *Europe* and *Asia*. The Splendor and Magnificence of

this ancient City, are yet in some sort to be seen at this Day, in the stately Ruins that are found near a Place in *Ionia*, which is for that Reason called *Palaschia*.

<sup>17</sup> The preceding Wars having, according to *Appian* and *Val. Maximus*, exhausted the publick Treasury, *Sylla* was forced, in order to defray the Expence of these Preparations, to rob the Temples of their richest Ornaments. The Senate ordered the Gold and Silver Vessels which were consecrated to the Gods, to be melted down, and they amounted to the Value of 9000 Pounds weight of Gold.



lus<sup>18</sup>. *Rhodes* especially served for a Retreat for all the Subjects of the Republick, whom the *Asiatics* drove in numbers out of their Countries; and *Cassius* himself, formerly the Governor of the Province of *Pergamus*, was fled thither for Refuge. The King of *Pontus* therefore resolved to turn all his Forces by Sea and Land, against that Island; and before he undertook this difficult Enterprize, formed a barbarous Design, which cannot be related without Horror.

The Cities of *Asia*, especially those on the Sea-Coast, were full of *Romans*, whom either Trade, or the Sweetness of the Climate, or the Troubles in their Capital, or Curiosity, or lastly, a Regard for the Exiles, had drawn thither; and *Mithridates* sent private Orders to all the Places, both in his old Dominions and his new Conquests, to put all the *Romans* and *Italians* that could be found, to the Sword, without Distinction. The King's Letters required, That on the 30th Day, after the Arrival of the Courier, these Enemies to all the World, that were dispersed throughout all *Asia*, should be destroyed, and their Bodies left to rot, without a Burial; severely threatened every one who should conceal or bury a *Roman*; and offered Slaves who would discover their Masters their Liberty, and Debtors who owed the *Roman* Merchants any Thing, the half of those Debts. And these Orders were put in Execution with more or less Cruelty, according to the greater or less Barbarity of the People, and their Hatred to *Rome*. The *Ephesians* would not suffer their famous Temple of *Diana*, to be an *Asylum* to those *Romans* who fled to it, but dragged them out thence and murdered them. The *Pergamians*, who were formerly so faithful to the Republick, ordered a great Number of *Romans*, who had settled in their City since it became *Roman*, to be taken out of their Temple of *Esculapius*. The *Trallians*<sup>19</sup> were as cruel, though more superstitious than the rest. For fear of violating the Laws of Hospitality, they would not kill the *Romans* themselves, but ordered Foreigners to do it. The Inhabitants of *Adramyttium*<sup>20</sup>, a maritime City of *Troas*, shewed such Rage against the *Italians*, that when they threw themselves into the Sea, to save themselves by swimming, they pursued them, and stained the Waves with their Blood. At *Caunæ*<sup>21</sup>, a City which *Rome* had enfranchised, the People dragged the *Italian* Women and Children from the Feet of the Altars, to murder them with their Husbands. The only Place that shewed any Regard for them was the Island of *Cos*<sup>22</sup>. They were there suffered to enjoy the common Rights of *Asylum*, in the sacred Places. In short, so terrible a Massacre was made of the *Romans*, in *Asia*, that some say 80000, others 150000 Men, were slain on this Occasion; and there was only a<sup>23</sup> handful of them that escaped, by disguising themselves in *Asiatick* Habits.

§. VII. In the mean time, *Rhodes* was preparing to sustain a Siege, against the innumerable Forces of *Mithridates*. The Inhabitants of this faithful<sup>24</sup> Island fortified their Ports, and covered their Ramparts with all Sorts of military Machines. All the *Romans* had fled hither, and made up the best Part of the *Rhodian* Army; and the Islanders were not at all dismayed, at the vast Fleets and Land Forces which *Mithridates* was bringing against them. They posted their Fleet before their Island, and divided it into three Squadrons; one of which, drawn up in a Line, covered the Entrance of the Port, and the other two were placed like Wings, and hindered any Approach to the Island. As soon as this Disposition was made, *Mithridates* appeared on board a *Quinqueremis*, at the Head of a Fleet much more numerous than that of his Enemies; divided it into three Parts; and ordered two of them to invest the Wings of the *Rhodians*, whilst himself attacked the Squadron that faced the Port. The *Rhodians* therefore, for fear of being over-powered by Numbers, retired by Degrees till they came to the Mouth of their Harbour, which they entirely stopped up; and after this, all the Engagements that followed turned to their Advantage. *Mithridates* often lost Ships, and narrowly escaped being himself made a Prisoner in his *Quinqueremis*, which was taken.

<sup>18</sup> The Mount *Sipylus* here spoken of is in *Lydia*, near the *Menander*; and some Moderns pretend it is now called *Cusinas*. See Vol. 4. p. 216. Note 43.

<sup>19</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 220. Note 54.

<sup>20</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 205. Note 20.

<sup>21</sup> *Caunæ*, now *La Rossa*, is 20 Miles from *Rhodes*, on the Sea-Coast of *Caria*. See Vol. 4.

<sup>22</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 201. Note 10.

<sup>23</sup> Of this Number was the famous *P. Rutilius Rufus*, a Consular Man, who governed the Republick with great Dignity, when in Power. *Cicero* tells us in his *Oration for Rabirius*, that he had been banished to *Lesbos*.

<sup>24</sup> According to *Appian* the first Precaution the *Rhodians* took, was to raze their Suburbs, lest *Mithridates* should post his Army there.



Liv. Epit. L.  
77. c. 24, 25,  
26.

During these Sea-fights, he embarked all his formidable Army on transport Ships; but they were surprized by a Storm, and driven to the right and left of the Island. Then the *Rhodians* sent out their Fleet, fell on these Vessels which the bad Weather had put into Disorder, sunk some, burnt others, and took 400 Men Prisoners. Upon this, *Mithridates* resolved to attack the City by Sea, in the Night; and ordered a *Sambuca* built on two Galleys, to advance to the Walls. He had been informed the Wall of the City was only of a moderate heighth, on the Side of the Temple of <sup>25</sup> *Jupiter Atabyrius*; and resolved to storm it there. To this End he embarked his Troops by Night, furnished them with Ladders, and ordered them to wait in Silence till a Signal was given them, by a Person hired for that Purpose, from the top of the Temple. In the mean time, the King himself made a false Attack on the Side of the Port, with great Shouts, which caused the besieged to kindle many Fires in the City; and they, who were to tarry for the Signal before they began to storm the Place on the Side of the Temple, mistaking these Fires for that Signal, were too hasty in their Attempt, and failed of Success. In the Morning, the *Rhodians* made a Sally, and drove off the Besiegers; the *Sambuca*, after it had done some Mischief, sunk with its own weight; and *Mithridates* then abandoned the Siege of a City, which had cost him many Men, and a vast Expence. From thence he went, and attacked <sup>26</sup> *Patara*, a City of *Lycia*; but according to the superstitious Historians, that City was saved by the Protection of *Apollo* <sup>27</sup> and *Latona*, who were the chief Divinities of the Place.

§. VIII. After these Disappointments, the Apprehensions the King of *Pontus* was under, on account of the Preparations *Sylla* was making for the East, induced him to hasten the Execution of the Design he had formed, of drawing *European Greece* into a Revolt against the *Romans*, before the Arrival of this famous *Pro-Consul*, whose Valour he had experienced. To this End, he sent *Archelaus* his Confident and first Minister, and the most famous of all his Generals, to solicit the *Greeks* to declare in his Favour; whilst himself retired to *Pergamus*, and there divided his Time between Business and Pleasure. He was more frequent than ever in his Visits to his virtuous *Monimia*; the Charms of her Understanding drew him often to her; but the frequency of these Visits served only to increase her Distastes. Her Sorrows were as immoveable as her Virtue; and her Advice was not efficacious enough, to soften the natural Ferocity of the King. During his abode here, he ordered Arms to be made for the War *Sylla* was coming to carry on in *Asia*; and was continually haunted with the Suspicions he had entertained, of the few Friends the *Romans* had left. He accused them of Plots against his Life, and was himself their Accuser and their Judge.

App. in Mithridat.

In the mean time, *Archelaus* made a great Progress in the East of *Europe*; and it was easy to perceive, that his Success proceeded more from the Weight of the *Roman* Yoke, than an Affection for *Mithridates*. The <sup>28</sup> *Cyclades* Islands were the first that came over to the King; and *Athens*, which feared him, soon appeared very zealous against the *Romans*, her Patrons, Allies, and continual Benefactors. This City, which had formerly been governed by her Orators, was now under the Direction and Influence of a Company of Philosophers; an idle Race, and for the most Part taken out of the Dregs of the People. Their Folly appeared in the Profession they made of a Kind of false Wisdom, which distinguished them from the Vulgar. They pretended to despise Riches and Honours; some, in hopes of getting them that Way; and others, from a Despair of ever obtaining any. The different Sects of these pretended Lovers of Wisdom, were so many Schools of Division, and Parties ready formed to support a Revolt. And it was among these Philosophers, that the Minister of *Mithridates* chose out a Tool, who readily engaged in drawing his Country into a Rebellion. This was *Aristio*, a Man of mean Extraction, but a famous *Epicurean*, who was continually preaching up a Contempt for all publick Offices; which, he said, would interrupt that Indolence in which consisted the true Happiness of Life. But the Hypocrite soon pulled off the Mask. He was sent to *Mithridates*, became his Confident and Accom-

<sup>25</sup> There was near *Rhodes* a Mountain called *Atabyrus*, on which the *Rhodians* had built a stately Temple to *Jupiter*; and from thence he had the local Surname of *Atabyrius*. *Pliny* says, That the Capital of the Island was called *Atabyria*.

<sup>26</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 203. Note 16.

<sup>27</sup> *Appian* says, That *Mithridates* began to cut Wood

for his military Machines in a neighbouring Forest, consecrated to *Latona*, but fancied, he saw the Goddess appear to him with a menacing Air, in his Sleep; and being terrified with the Vision, abandoned his Design, and gave the Command of his Army in *Lycia* to *Pelopidas*.

<sup>28</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 41. Note 96.



plise in his most bestial Pleasures, and by this Means obtained a Post of Distinction in the Army of *Archelaus*. When he turned to the *Asiatick*, he promised to bring over many more in his native City: And it is pretended, that he brought *Archelaus* to *Delos*, which had formerly been subject to the *Athenians*, but had lately become independent. The *Asiatics* took it, killed there about 20000 Men, (most of them *Italians* who had fled thither as to an *Asylum*) and plundered the immense Wealth of the Temple of *Apollo*.

The Spoils of *Delos*, *Mithridates* readily consented, to send as a Present to the *Athenians*, to try their Fidelity, and draw them off from the *Romans*. Under Pretence of guarding this Present, he sent *Aristio* with it, at the Head of 2000 Men; and the Philosopher, who pretended such a Dislike to publick Cares, and such a Love to Idleness, took this Opportunity to make himself a Sovereign in his Republick. By the help of his Soldiers, he took upon him to dispose of all Offices, and in fact reigned with great Authority in *Athens*. His Tyranny over the Remains of the *Roman* Faction in particular, may easily be imagined. He, by different Punishments, destroyed all the Friends to *Rome* in *Athens*. Not that the Conquests of *Archelaus* were confined to *Athens*. The *Achæans*, *Lacedæmonians*, *Bæotians*, and in short almost all *Peloponnesus*, declared for the King of *Pontus*. *Theſſia*<sup>29</sup> was the only City that signalized her Attachment to *Rome*.

§. IX. During these Commotions in *Greece*, the Fleet of *Mithridates* commanded by *Metrophanes*, drew near to *Eubæa*, and would have seized it, if *Bruttius Sura*, one of the Lieutenant-Generals of *C. Sextius*, the *Prætor* of *Macedon*, had not hastened to its Relief. But *Bruttius*, with one single Squadron, chased the Fleet of *Metrophanes*, and sunk some of his Ships; made a Descent on the Island of *Sciathos* on the Coast of *Thessaly*, which the *Asiatics* had seized, and in which they had deposited all the Booty they had taken in *Greece*; recovered the Island, then an Harbour for Pyrates; crucified all the Slaves he found there, and cut off all the right Arms of the Islanders. Nor was this all. This brave Commander, at the Head of 1000 Recruits which were sent him from *Macedon*, and some Auxiliaries, penetrated into *Bæotia*; fought several Battles for three Days together, with the joint Forces of *Aristio* and *Archelaus*; and continued to harass them, till the *Lacedæmonians* and *Achæans* took the Field, and joined the *Asiatics*. Then *Bruttius* reembarked, and with his Squadron blocked up the <sup>30</sup> *Piræus*, that is, the Port of *Athens*. But, after all, what was this more than the poor Defence of one single Officer against the infinitely superior Forces of *Mithridates*? The formidable Power which the Republick had preserved for so many Years in the *Levant*, was sunk to nothing. Nevertheless Heaven, which watched over *Rome*, soon sent her an Avenger in the Person of *Sylla*, who sailed from the Ports of *Italy* with a numerous and well-affected Army. He came to oppose *Mithridates* in the Height of his Success, and began a War in *Asia*, which was not ended till after *Rome* had gained surprizing Conquests, which made her Mistress of the East and West, from the *Rhine* to the *Euphrates*. And we now come to relate these great Revolutions.

§. X. *Cornelius Cinna* and *C. Marius* were tyrannizing, as has been observed, in a terrible Manner, in the Capital of the World, when *Sylla*<sup>31</sup> landed in *Thessaly*. The Army

<sup>29</sup> *Theſſia*, was a City of *Bæotia*, which stood at the Foot of Mount *Helicon*. Hence the Poets gave the Surname of *Theſpiades* to the nine Muses, who were by the Fabulists supposed to have lived on this Mountain. This City had formerly been sacked by the *Thebans*, under the Command of *Epaminondas*. Several of its Citizens, who escaped the Fury of the Soldiers, fled to *Athens*, where they met with a favourable Reception; and the *Theſſians* therefore always had great Regard for the *Athenians*. So strict was the Union between the two Cities, that the Herald, who proclaimed the Wars of the Republick, in the general Assembly of the People of *Attica*, for celebrating their Sacrifices, always included the *Theſſians* among them.

<sup>31</sup> The Port of *Piræus* took its Name from the Greek Word *πύρην*, which signifies to cross over. See Vol. 4. p. 12. Note 28.

<sup>31</sup> According to *Plutarch*, at the Time that the *Roman* Troops under *Sylla* embarked for the East, several Presages foretold to *Mithridates* an approaching Fall, and that long Train of Misfortunes, which ended in the Loss of his Throne, and his Life. Among others, says that Historian, the *Pergamians*, to flatter the Pride of this Monarch, resolved to have him crowned by the Hands of a Victory, as he was sitting at the Shows in the Theatre. To this End, they prepared a moving Figure of the Goddess, and by the help of Springs invented by an able Workman, it was conveyed to the Place appointed. But the Machinery did not answer Expectation. The Statue descended gradually, but when it was just ready to place the Crown on the Head of *Mithridates*, it broke into a thousand Pieces. The Prince turned pale with Fear at this Sight, took it for a fatal Prognostick, and began from that Time to apprehend a Change of Fortune,



Army he brought with him consisted of five *Legions*, some *Italian Cohorts*, and a small Body of *Cavalry*; to whom, when he had joined some *Theffalian* and *Italian Reinforcements*, he was then in a Condition to withstand the formidable Forces of *Archelaus* in *Greece*, which we are assured were not less than 150000 Men. The *Roman Pro-Consul's* first Design was to besiege *Athens*, and punish this rebellious City for her Inconstancy in deserting the *Romans*. To this End, he in the first Place sent *Plut. in Sylla. L. Lucullus* his *Quæstor*, to guard the *Piræus*, which *Bruttius Sura* had blocked up; and *Lucullus* sent *Sura* away in an haughty Manner, to his Province of *Macedon*, reproaching him with having left it contrary to the Laws, in order to intrude irregularly into the Province of another. Nevertheless, he had kept good Part of *Greece* to their Duty, and being a moderate and a wise Man, he retired without Reply; and the Consequence of his retiring was, that *Archelaus*, being then strongest, seized the *Piræus*, and placed a strong Garrison in it, to defend it. In the mean time, *Sylla* sent out Detachments to secure the Passes in *Bæotia*, through which he must necessarily march his Troops into *Attica*; and met with no Opposition but from the City of *Thebes*<sup>32</sup>. The *Bæotians* in general returned to him with as much readiness, as they had declared for *Mithridates*; and the Cities of *Peloponnesus* submitted again to the *Roman* Dominion, and revered their old Masters. *Athens* only which was governed with a severe hand by the Tyrant *Aristio*, persisted in the Revolt, and depended more on the Forces of *Mithridates*, than those of *Sylla*. The *Roman* therefore turned his Arms against this ungrateful City; thinking it necessary to purge *Greece* of the Enemies of the *Roman* Name, before he went into *Asia*, to settle the Affairs of his Republick there.

*Athens*<sup>33</sup>, one of the most famous Cities of the World, for its Antiquity, its Riches, the Magnificence of its Buildings, its fine Taste, and the Invention of the liberal Arts, for the Renown of the Heroes it had bred ever since the fabulous Times, and lastly, for the Strength of its Towers, Walls, and Forts, was now destined to undergo the same Fate, that had been suffered by *Carthage* and *Corinth*. This stately Capital, the Parent of the Sciences and of Laws, and indeed of almost all the Pagan Deities, consisted of two Cities, the *Upper* and the *Lower*. One was called *Cecropia*, from *Cecrops* its first Founder; the other *Athens*, from the Name of *Minerva*, its tutelary Goddess. They were encompassed by one common Wall and Towers which ran round the whole; and were divided by a cross Wall and Towers, that lay between them. The Temples, *Gymnasia*, publick Schools, Portico's, *Circus's*, and Theatres, in these two Cities were deemed Master-pieces in their Kind; and were adorned with the most excellent Performances in Sculpture and Painting, that *Athens*, or any other Part of *Greece*, had produced. In a Word, Curiosity and Pleasure drew Strangers thither, as much as a Desire of improving their Minds in all Sorts of Learning; and the Convenience of the Situation for Commerce soon made amends for the Barrenness of the Soil, on which it stood. The whole Coast was naturally a very good one, for the Reception and Shelter of Shipping; this brought all the maritime Cities to trade hither, and thereby increase the Riches of this populous City. The most ancient Port *Athens* had was that of<sup>34</sup> *Phaleros*; but the *Athenians* soon abandoned it, and chose another a little farther from their Walls, but larger, and safer. It lay in a little Gulph formed by the Mouth of the<sup>35</sup> *Cephissus*, and had been neglected till the Time of *The-*

ture, though all Things then succeeded, to the Height of his Ambition. He had driven the *Romans* out of *Asia*; *Bithynia*, and *Cappadocia*, had submitted to him. *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* were deprived of their Dominions, and forced to seek for Safety by flight. He had taken *Pergamus* from the Republick; and absolutely disposed of Kingdoms and Provinces at his Pleasure, in favour of his Children and Favourites. His elder Son governed *Pontus*, the *Bosphorus*, and the vast Countries that reached as far as the *Palus Mæotis* in Peace. The younger, named *Arcathias* was carrying on his Conquests in *Thrace* and *Macedon*, at the Head of a numerous Army. His Generals gained as many Victories, as they fought Battles. *Archelaus* had lately reduced the *Cyclades*, *Eubœa*, and the other Islands of the *Ægean* Sea. In short, all the East trembled at the Name of *Mithridates*.

<sup>32</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 69. Note 82. This City, un-

der the Government of *Epaminondas* was one of the most powerful Republicks in *Greece*.

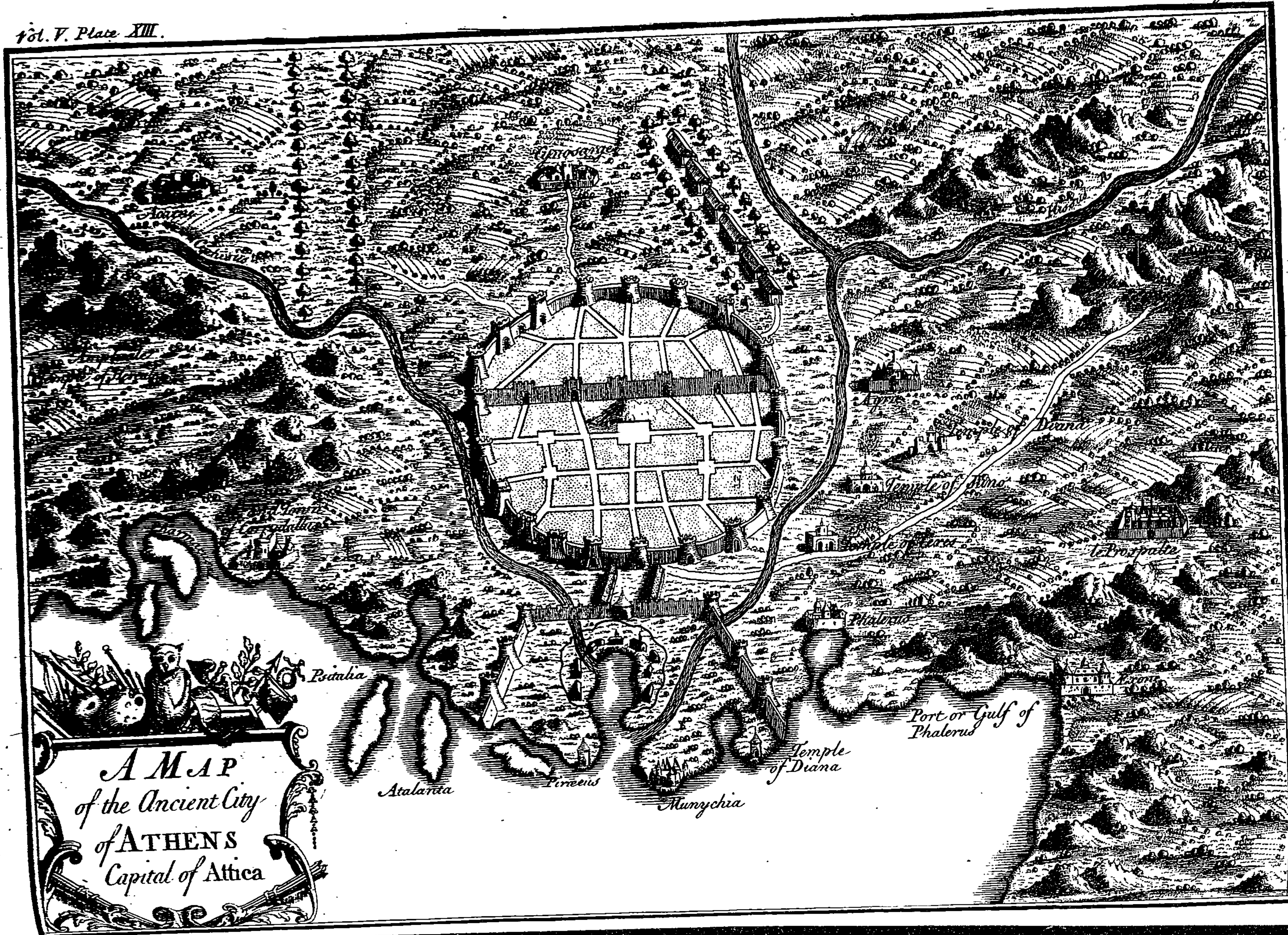
<sup>33</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 398. Note 56.

<sup>34</sup> We have already spoken of this Port. It was entirely abandoned after *Themistocles* had opened the Port of *Piræus*.

<sup>35</sup> The River *Cephissus* rises in *Attica*, waters a little Part of that Province, and falls into the *Saronick Gulph*, between the Port of *Piræus*, and the Tower of *Eleusis*. We must take care not to confound it, either with a Spring called *Cephissia* in the same Country, according to *Pliny*, or with a Rivulet called also *Cephissus*, which is mentioned by *Pausanias*. The latter is only a little Brook in *Attica*; but sometimes when it swelled with the melted Snow from the neighbouring Mountains, it overflowed the adjoining Plains.

*Themistocles*.







*mistocles.* But that illustrious *Athenian*, when he came to the Magistracy, saw the Advantage it would be to his Country, to make this an Harbour for her Gallies. He therefore turned the Village called *Piræus*, into a City which retained the same Name, and made it both the Citadel and chief Port of *Athens*. He built stately Magazines, both for Ammunition and Provisions, in a semi-circular Form round the Bason, which was almost circular, and made it as fine a Place as *Athens* itself. He also guarded the Road from this Port to the City, notwithstanding the Opposition of the *Lacedæmonians*, with a Wall on each Side, of an uncommon thickness, in order to secure the Removal of Merchandizes from the Port to the City; and thereby joined the City and the Port together, tho' 40 *Stadia* distant from each other: and *Pericles* afterwards surrounded *Piræus* itself with Walls of an extraordinary thickness, and 40 Cubits high. There was likewise a third Port, which was joined to *Athens*, as *Piræus* was, and this was called 3<sup>o</sup> *Munichia*. It was formed by the Mouth of the *Ilissus* 37, which fell into the Sea, at a small distance both from *Athens* and *Piræus*; and was as well fortified, as *Piræus*. Besides, *Athens* was flanked to the East and West, by the *Cephissus* and *Ilissus*, which ran winding about the Plain, and made the Access to it the more difficult. Such was the City that *Sylla* undertook to reduce, with a much less Force than that of the Barbarians, which had been brought from *Asia* to defend it.

*Paus. in Attic.*

*App. in Mithridat.*

§. XI. As soon as the *Romans* appeared in *Attica*, *Archelaus* and *Aristio* came and offered them Battle; and found that the *Roman Legions* were invincible in an open Country, when commanded by an experienced General. *Sylla* beat them, and by this first Victory, forced them to shut themselves up in the two Cities and the Citadel of *Athens*; where *Archelaus* undertook to sustain the Siege of *Piræus*, and *Aristio* to defend *Athens* and *Cecropia*. On the other Hand, the *Pro-Consul* divided his Troops; sent some to invest the City; went himself with the rest to attack *Piræus*; and made incredible Efforts to take it by Storm. He was continually receiving Letters, which called him back to *Rome*; and the Slaughter *Cinna* and *Marius* made of the Senators, their Abolition of the Laws passed by *Sylla* in his *Consulship*, the Insults they offered his Wife and Children, the Massacre of all his Friends, the Perfidiousness of *Cinna*, and the Audaciousness of *Marius*, which must be suppressed, all called loudly on him for Vengeance, and animated him the more to dispatch this foreign Expedition, which, how glorious soever to his Republick, was prejudicial to himself. But his great haste in precipitating this Conquest, served only to prolong it. The Army behind these strong Walls made a Resistance equal to the Ardour of the Besiegers. As fast as the Ladders were raised, the besieged threw them down, and were strong enough to withstand all Attempts. In short, the rest of the Year was spent in fruitless Attacks, and in an obstinate Defence.

*App. in Mithridat. Plut. in Sylla.*

When the Season would no longer permit *Sylla* to continue before the Place, he turned the Siege into a Blockade; and without giving up the Enterprize, or removing far from *Athens*, took up his Winter Quarters at 3<sup>o</sup> *Eleusis* and 3<sup>o</sup> *Megara*. There, he employed himself wholly in making Preparations to renew the Siege in form; and it is not to be conceived how many Forrests he cut down for wooden Towers, covered Galleries, Ballistæ, Catapultæ, Rams, and all the other Engines of War then used in Sieges. *Attica* was barren, and could not furnish him either with Wood enough for his Machines, or Provisions enough for his Men. He brought both from *Bæotia*: 20000 Mules were continually employed in bringing him Provisions from *Thebes*: And by this vast Expence, his military Chest was soon exhausted. Indeed, it had been but ill furnished when he came from *Rome*. He had left the City in a manner as a Fugitive, after he had been

36 The Port formerly called *Munichia*, and now *Macina*, stood at the Extremity of one of the Suburbs of *Athens*; and *Thrasibulus*, to secure it from Attacks, surrounded it with high Walls, and placed a strong Garrison in it. The Historians and ancient Geographers agree, That this Port was at the Mouth of the *Ilissus*; and therefore *Ptolomy* is mistaken, when he places it more to the East. And he is under no less a Mistake, when he makes the distance between *Piræus* and *Munichia* to have been 5 Leagues. The straight Passage 'cross the Sea from one to the other, is not above 200 Paces long; by Land it is about a League and half, on account of the Windings and Turnings of the Coast. The Port of *Munichia* was

famous for the fine Temple, which the *Athenians* had built there in Honour to *Diana*.

37 The Name of *Ilissus* was common to this River, and a City of *Attica*, according to *Stephen of Byzantium*. The River falls into the *Saronic Gulph*. On the Banks of it the *Athenians* had consecrated an Altar to the Muses, to whom therefore the *Greek Poets* give the Surname of *Ilissiadai*.

38 *Eleusis*, a little City near *Athens*, stood on the Sea Coast of *Attica*. It was very famous for a stately Temple of *Ceres*, and the pompous Mysteries celebrated there, in Honour to that Goddess.

39 See Vol. 3. p. 427. Note 143.



personally cited to appear before the People. Besides, the Treasury of the Republick itself had been exhausted by the War with the *Allies*. And tho' he could not ask for any fresh Supplies from thence, when his most furious Enemies were Masters in *Rome*; yet he was forced at the same time to be very liberal to his Officers and Soldiers, over whom he could not preserve any Authority, longer than they were willing to submit to it. The prevailing Faction at *Rome* were against him, and might thwart his Attempts in the *Levant*. Nothing therefore was so much to be feared as the Want of Money in these Extremities; and he found Means to procure those Supplies elsewhere, which he could not expect from his Country, for which he was fighting.

§. XII. *Greece* had been always deemed the Mother of all the Religions in *Europe*. From thence had been derived the Worship of all the different Gods that were received in the different Parts of it. For this Reason, the Temples of *Jupiter* at *Olympus*, of *Ceres* at *Eleusis*, of *Esculapius* at *Epidaurus*, and above all, that of *Apollo* at *Delphi*<sup>40</sup>, soon became immensely rich, by the Vows and Offerings which the Superstition of all these Nations had brought to them. The latter particularly, tho' plundered more than once, had soon repaired its Losses. Its Wealth was now so great, as to be sufficient of it self to defray the Expences of a long War; and *Sylla* was not scrupulous of seizing it, in his Distress. But he cared not to incur the Odium of robbing the Temple; and therefore chose a more decent way of coming at this Booty, than that of taking it by Violence. It happened that the *Amphyetiones*<sup>41</sup>, that is, the Deputies of the general Diet of *Greece*, were then assembled at *Delphi*; and he sent an Ambassador to them to demand the Riches of *Apollo*. The Person he thought most proper for this Office, was one *Caphis*, an eloquent *Greek* in whom he could confide; his Demand was, to send him, by this Ambassador, the Vessels of the most valuable Metals which adorned the Temple of a God whom he said, he himself revered; and he, at the same time promised in the most solemn manner, by whatever was deemed sacred, that he would faithfully restore the God the Value of every Thing that should be taken out of his Temple. The *Amphyetiones* brought *Caphis* to the Temple to know of *Apollo* himself, whether he was willing to grant this Request. The Oracle was consulted, and whilst they were waiting in suspense and silence for the Answer of the God, the soft Sound of an Harp was heard at the Bottom of the sacred Cave. *Caphis* pretended to be surprized at the Prodigy, and seemed uncertain, whether this sign imported the Consent or the Refusal of *Apollo*. Perhaps, being a *Greek*, he was willing to save the Treasure by his Doubtfulness, and to have filled *Sylla* with a religious Fear; and he wrote the *Pro-Consul* an account of what had happened, and desired his final Orders. *Sylla*, without hesitation, interpreted the Sound of the Harp to his own Advantage; and sent his Mi-

<sup>40</sup> In the most ancient Times, the City of *Delphi*, according to *Homer* and *Pausanias*, was called *Pytho*, *Python*, and *Pythia*; and hence perhaps came the Surname of *Pythian* which the *Greeks* gave to *Apollo*, the tutelary God of this City. But *Pausanias* derives this Name from the *Greek* Word *πυθια*, because People went to *Delphi*, to consult this God, and receive his Answers; and *Macrobius* ascribes the rise of it, to the fabulous Accounts given of the Battles *Apollo* fought with the monstrous Serpent *Python*. And as for the Name of *Delphi*, some learned Men conjecture, that it was derived from the Word *Delphin*, which in the old *Phœnician* Language, signified *A Prophet*. But he that as it will, this City, which was so famous for the Oracle of *Apollo*, and the stately Temple the *Amphyetiones* built there to his Honour, stood near the Borders of *Phœcis* and *Beotia*, on the top of the Hill *Parnassus*. Tho' it was surrounded on all Sides with Rocks and Precipices, yet *Strabo* says, That it was 16 *Stadia*, that is, about 2000 Geometrical Paces, in Circumference. Nothing now remains of it, but an heap of Ruins. Near it is a little Village called *Cassiri*.

\* 1937500 l.

Strab. Arbut.

It is well known, that the Oracle of *Delphi* was revered by all Nations, who came to it in Crowds, with their Vows and Offerings; and after it had been an Object of Veneration for several Ages, the People, when become *Christians*, discovered the Cheat. And indeed long before this, the wise Men among the *Pa-*

*gans*, had shaken off this Yoke of Superstition. *Cicero* speaks of it, in his second Book de *Divinatione*, in Terms of great Contempt. It was then said that *Apollo*, had confined himself to Prose, and durst no more give his Oracles in Verse, for fear of the satyirical Reflections of some merry Wits, who said, That the God of Poetry was the most insipid, and the coarsest, of all Poets.

In order to enable the Reader to form some Judgment of the immense Riches, which Monarchs and some Republicks had sent to this Temple, we need only observe, that the *Phœceans*, in order to carry on The Holy War, took out of it the Value of above 10000 *Talents*\*, that is, about 30 Millions of French *Livres*; an incredible Sum, in an Age when Gold and Silver were not near so common as they have been since the Discovery of the new World. See Vol. 3. p. 476. Note 46.

<sup>41</sup> These *Amphyetiones*, or Deputies of the chief Cities of *Greece*, who enjoyed the *Amphyetionic* Right, bound themselves by a most solemn Oath, accompanied with the most horrible Imprecations, That they would, to the utmost of their Power, preserve the publick Peace, maintain the Interests of Religion, and secure the Riches of the Temple at *Delphi*. The Form of this Oath is to be seen, in *Æschines's* Oration, entitled, *Of the Prevarication of Demosthenes in his Embassy*, and in that which he spoke against *Ctesiphon*. See Vol. 4. p. 27. Note 63.



nister Word, That it was a Sign of the Approbation and Joy of the God, who declared for him ; and the *Amphyetiones*, on the other hand, durst not deny a Demand, which was made at the Head of a formidable Army.

By *Sylla's* Order, all the Gold and Silver, and Brass, at *Delphi*, was loaded on Carriages to be sent to the *Roman* Camp ; and among the Presents which the ancient Kings had made to the God, there was one particular Vase of Silver, so exceeding heavy, that no Carriage could be found strong enough to bear the Weight of it. *Sylla* therefore sent Orders, that it should be broken, and brought to him in pieces, and not only the *Delphians*, but the *Amphyetiones*, made great Lamentations on this Occasion. *Where*, said they, *are those old Roman Generals, whose Memory will be always blessed among us !* *Flaminius* drove *Antiochus* out of our Countries, gave us Peace, and enriched our Temples. *Acilius* and *Paulus Æmilius* vanquished *Philip* and *Perfes*, in our Territories, and procured us Peace and Plenty. But how strangely are the Romans now changed ! Their Generals now usurp that Office against Law, and command undisciplined Troops, who are greedy of our Spoils, and insatiable in their Robberies. All Greece is scarce sufficient to feed the Luxury and Debauchery of these Commanders. But *Sylla* overlooked the Complaints of these contemptible Greeks ; ordered likewise, that the vast Treasure of Gold and Silver, which the Love of Health had amassed in the Temple of *Æsculapius* at *Epidaurus*, should be brought to him from thence ; and when he had enriched himself with the Treasures of these two magnificent Temples, he then jested upon it, in a manner which favoured a little of Irreligion. *Who can doubt*, said he to his Soldiers, *of our gaining many Victories, since we have our Pay from the Gods !* *Diod. Sic. ap. Valer.*

But still, this Gold and Silver, and Brass, wanted a proper Form, before it could be distributed among the *Legionaries* ; and *Sylla* therefore ordered a kind of Money to be coined in *Peloponnesus*, which was ever after current in Armies, tho' it was not coined by publick <sup>42</sup> Authority. The Person he chose to take care of this Coinage was *Lucullus* <sup>43</sup>, one of his *Quæstors*, whom we shall see hereafter signalizing his Valour in these Wars, as much as *Sylla* himself. He was now very young, and took great Care to im-

<sup>42</sup> It is plain from *Plutarch*, that the Generals had a Right to Coin Money, in their respective Provinces.

<sup>43</sup> This *L. Licinius Lucullus* was the Grandson of that *L. Licinius Lucullus* who was Consul in the Year of *Rome*, 602. The Conduct of his Mother *Cæcilia* was not free from Suspicion. Her too little Reserve, her too frequent Appearance in publick Company, and her dissolute Air, which ill became the Decency of her Sex, confirmed the ill Reports that were spread of her. As to *Lucullus*, he was scarce arrived at the Age of Manhood, before he made himself known by accusing the *Augur Servilius*, of Prevarication in the Exercise of his Office. The latter had formerly accused the young *Roman's* Father ; and now, Hatred more than a Love for his Country, excited the Son to make Reprisals, and revenge the injured Honour of his Father. The Cause was carried on with Animosity on one Hand, and defended with Vehemence on the other ; and every one sided with him to whom his Interest and Inclinations led him. Till at length, the Quarrel grew so high, that several Blows were given ; and *Plutarch* goes so far as to say, That several were killed or wounded, on both Sides. At length *Servilius* was acquitted, to the great Mortification of *Lucullus*. However, this first Attempt to exercise his Talent of speaking in publick, immediately gained him the Reputation of a great Orator. Not that he confined himself to Eloquence ; he divided his Time and Application, between Learning, and the liberal Arts ; and the exquisite Taste, Politeness, and Elegance that appeared in his Speeches, in some witty Things that he wrote, and in his common Conversation, were no less the Fruits of continual Care and Application, than of the Gifts of Nature. *Sylla* had conceived so high an Idea of his Merit in all kinds of Learning, that he dedicated to him, the Memoirs he wrote of his own Life. Nor was this all ; he thought the best way to

perfect his Work, was to submit it to the Correction of *Lucullus*, and to rely upon him for digesting those Materials into a regular History.

But what was most remarkable in *Lucullus* was ; that he understood the Beauties and Elegancies of the two Languages so well, that he offered the Historian *Sisenna*, and the Orator *Hortensius*, to draw Lots, whether he should write the War of the *Marsi*, in Greek or Latin Prose or Verse. He was taken at his Word, and the Lot determined for the Greek : And he kept his Word so well, that *Plutarch* says, the great Genius which appeared in this Work, was admired in his Time.

Nor was *Lucullus* less valuable for the Qualities of his Heart, than those of his Mind. His Affection and Tenderness to his Brother *Marcus* are not to be expressed. Being the eldest, he had the Advantage over him, in standing for publick Offices ; but he chose rather to wave his Pretensions for a Time, than to enjoy Honours which he could not share with his Brother. He waited till *Marcus* had attained to the Age required by the Laws, that they might stand Candidates together. The People pleased with so generous a Friendship, readily gave him the *Ædileship*, and made his Brother his Colleague. In short, his sweetness of Temper, good Nature, Affability, and Complaisance, made him universally beloved. These amiable Qualities procured him the more ready access to *Sylla* ; who afterwards with Pleasure entrusted him with the most important Affairs of the Republick. His Reputation had reached this General in the War with the *Allies*, in which he had distinguished himself by the Proofs he gave of his Valour, and an uncommon Degree of Prudence in a Warrior of his Age. These Things greatly prejudiced the Romans in favour of *Lucullus*, when he first appeared a Candidate for the Dignities of the Republick.

mortalize



mortalize his Name on the new Money. It was so beautiful a Coin, that it was much valued, and was ever after called *The Lucullian Money*.

§. XIII. Nor was this the only Service the brave *Quæstor* did *Sylla* in his Campaigns. As the *Pro-Consul* knew he had a Genius equally good for War and Business, he employed him usefully in both; and as he wanted Ships to block up the Ports of *Piræus* and *Munichia*, the Fleet which the *Rhodians*, ever faithful to their old Allies, offered *Sylla*, not being strong enough to resist that of *Mithridates*, which was Master of the *Levant*, *Lucullus* was therefore ordered to get together a Fleet from all the Coasts where the People retained any Regard for the *Roman* Name. Accordingly, the brave *Quæstor*, despising Storms, came, in the middle of Winter, with a small Squadron of six Ships, first to *Crete*, where he got some Succours; and from thence coasting along *Africa*, he came to *Cyrenaica*. This Country, which, as we have observed, had formerly been devised to the *Romans* by *Will*, by the last of its Kings, and had been enfranchised by their Liberality, was now become a Prey to two Tyrants, who successively usurped a Sovereign Authority over it. And *Lucullus* restored the oppressed Province to its Liberty, reformed its Laws, and ordered all its maritime Forces to follow him. From thence he went to *Egypt*, and found the Coast there infested with Pirates, with whom he fought several Battles, and lost some of the Ships he had picked up in his Rout: But at length he got rid of them, tho' with Difficulty, and reached the Port of *Alexandria*. *Ptolomy Lathurus* <sup>45</sup> then reigned there, and no *Roman* Ambassador was ever received with more Marks <sup>46</sup> of Distinction; but the King shewed little Regard to *Sylla's* Request. He was afraid of a civil War in his own Dominions; and therefore could not prevail on himself to part with his Fleet. All he did in favour of *Lucullus* was, That he ordered him to be convoyed to the Island of *Cyprus*, gave him his Picture cut in an <sup>47</sup> Emerald of great Value, and then dismissed him. *Lucullus* made all the haste he could, in order to reach *Athens* in time; but by the Valour of *Sylla*, and the Strength of the Land-Forces only, it was taken before he came.

App. in Mithrid.  
Plut. in Sylla.

§. XIV. As soon as the Season would suffer the *Roman* Army to take the Field, the *Pro-Consul* shut up the City and *Piræus*, more closely than before. There were without the Walls, in the extream Parts of the Suburbs, two famous Walks, which the Love of the Sciences had dedicated to Philosophy. One was called the <sup>48</sup> *Academy*, and the other the <sup>49</sup> *Lyceum*. The former had been given to *Plato*, and afterwards to his Disciples by an *Athenian* Hero, named *Academos*; and there Lectures of Morality were

<sup>44</sup> He resettled it in Peace; and at the same time put the *Cyreneans* in mind of the Answer *Plato* had formerly given the Deputies of their Nation, who desired him to give them a Plan of Government. The Philosopher absolutely refused to grant their Request, and only gave them this Answer; That a People so happy and rich as they were, would never submit to the Authority of Laws.

<sup>45</sup> *Plutarch* is mistaken, when he says, probably on the Credit of faulty Memoirs, That *Ptolomy Lathurus* was very young, when *Lucullus* came. He had then reigned almost 30 Years, since the Death of *Ptolomy Physcon*, as we have before observed. See above p. 309. Note 31.

<sup>46</sup> The People of *Alexandria*, according to *Plutarch*, did him the Honours which were paid only to the Kings of *Egypt*. His Entrance into the City was a sort of Triumph. Upon the News of his being near, the Royal Fleet sailed out of Port in good Order, and in great State. King *Ptolomy Lathurus* honoured him with all the Marks of Distinction that he could bestow on the Ambassador of a Republick, which gave Law to the Universe. He appointed him a Table, and an Apartment in his own Palace, which no *Egyptian* Monarch had ever before done for any Foreigner. He likewise ordered his Minister, to give *Lucullus's* Attendants four Times the Allowance, that had been usually given to other Ambassadors. On the other hand, *Lucullus*, in return for this Generosity, contented himself with bare Necessaries, and absolutely refused the Present of 80000 Crowns, which *Ptolomy* pressed him to accept. And *Plutarch* extols

it as an heroical Act in the *Roman*, that he declined going to *Memphis*, and the other fine Cities of *Egypt*, to see the Wonders that are the Admiration of all Strangers. His Reason is, That such Amusements become none but idle Men; and That it would have been shameful for a Soldier to have taken a Journey of Pleasure, whilst his General was daily hazarding his Life, for the Honour and Service of his Country.

<sup>47</sup> *Turnebius* has, of his own Authority, turned this Emerald into a Cup set with precious Stones, like that mentioned by *Pliny*, B. 33; when he says, *Wi drunk out of many precious Stones, and covered our Cups with Diamonds*; or in his own Words, *Turba Gemmarum potamus, & smaragdis teximus calices*. But it manifestly appears by the Context of *Plutarch*, that he here speaks of an Emerald set in a Ring, in which *Ptolomy* had ordered his own Picture to be cut.

<sup>48</sup> The *Academy*, where the *Academic* Philosophers held their School, was a Mile to the North of *Athens*. They who were famous for any important Service done their Country, were buried there: And it was adorned on all sides with Columns of Marble, Statues, and Inscriptions, to the Honour of the *Græcian* Heroes. See Vol. 4. p. 548. Note 23.

<sup>49</sup> The *Lyceum*, according to *Pausanias*, was originally a Temple, which *Lycus* the Son of *Pandion* had built in Honour to *Apollo*. Whereas *Suidas* makes it to have been a publick Building erected by *Pisistratus* for teaching the *Athenian* Youth bodily Exercises: and others give the Honour of it to *Pericles*; perhaps because he repaired it.



read and Disputations held on abstracted Subjects, but always with Temper and good Manners. The latter was appropriated to *Aristotle* and his Followers, who were called *Peripateticks*, because they taught and disputed, as they *walked* under the shady Trees. But *Sylla*, tho' a Lover of the Sciences, did not spare these agreeable Retreats of the learned. He cut down the Trees, and made use of them in his Machines. One of his first Concerns was, to cut off the Communication between the City and the Port of *Pyræus*. He could not possibly reduce the City by Famine, as long as it could receive Provisions by Sea, from that open Port; and it being necessary, to prevent this, that he should make a Breach in the high Walls that secured the Passage from one to the other, he, with his *Rams*, made a large one on both Sides, and lodged a great Body of his *Legionaries* there. This done, his whole Application was to starve the City, and to take the Port by Storm. In the beginning of the Siege, the Citizens felt no Want, and believed they should never be reduced to any. *Aristio* who commanded in *Athens*, appeared personally on the Ramparts, and insulted the *Romans*, who kept close in their Trenches, and had as yet nothing to do, but to keep off, or intercept Provisions. Nay, the Tyrant carried his Raillery farther than the *Athenians*, who were naturally very satyrical, generally did; and even reproached *Sylla* with the Lewdness of his Wife *Metella*<sup>50</sup>. Her Infamy therefore must have been very publick, since it had already reached *Greece*; and the *Pro-Consul*, who was affected with the Affront, resolved to revenge it. *Plut. in Sylla.*

The Circumvallation was soon finished round the City, and all the Avenues to it perfectly guarded. As to *Piræus*, the *Romans* began to fill up the Ditch which covered it on the Land-side, that they might bring forward their Engines; and as they were carrying Fascines to it, one of the Soldiers was struck dead with Lightning. The *Aruspices* were consulted upon the Accident, and their Answer was, That as the deceased was found with his Face towards *Piræus*, it was an infallible Sign that the Citadel would be taken, tho' not till after much Time and Labour was spent in it. *Sylla* pretended to give Credit to these Impostors, and magnified the Prediction to encourage his Soldiers. In the mean time, the Machines were prepared, *Cavaliers* were raised, and *Wooden Towers* built upon them, higher than the tops of the Houses and Walls of the City; *Covered Galleries* were advanced, and huge Beams got ready for carrying and working the *Rams*. And the Resistance of the besieged was as vigorous, as the Attacks of the besiegers. The latter threw Showers of Arrows to clear the Ramparts; the former, Showers of Stones and Darts, and Balls of Lead to keep off the Enemy; and then was found out a new Stratagem, for conveying Intelligence. Two Slaves who were among the Soldiers of *Archelaus* who defended the Place, were Spies for *Sylla*; and they wrote on Balls of Lead which they threw with Slings, the State and Condition of the City, and the Resolutions there taken. By this Means, the *Pro-Consul* was informed, that the next Day, at a certain Hour, the besieged intended to make a Sally; and he made the best use of this Advice. He laid his *Legionaries* in Ambush for the *App. in Mithrid. Plut. in Sylla.*

<sup>50</sup> *Metella*, the Daughter of *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, and the Grand-daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, had first married *Marcus Æmilius Scaurus*, who was *Consul* in the Year of Rome, 638; and had by him, *Marcus Scaurus*, whose *Ædileship* was famous for the fine Theatre he built at Rome; and a Daughter named *Æmilia*, who first married *Marcus Atilius Glabrio*, and afterwards *Pompey the Great*, and died in Child-bed. And *Metella's* Reputation was not even then unblemished. She took so little Care to preserve the Decorums of her Sex, that this gave Reason for Suspicion, that her Conduct was not blameless. But it is to be presumed, that *Sylla* was a Stranger to her Lewdness, when he married her, after he had divorced *Cælia* for Barrenness; and the Reflections of the *Athenians* made greater Discoveries to him, in this tender Point, than he desired to know. Nevertheless, *Metella* brought him Twins, *Faustus* and *Fausta*; and the excessive Licentiousness of the latter, made People forget the Debaucheries of her Mother. *Fausta's* third Husband was *Milo*, (the Murderer of *Clodius*) who, as far as we can judge by the Character the Historians give of him, was not a Man that could

easily brook the Unfaithfulness of his Wife. But nevertheless, she took so little Care even to save Appearances; that he had the Mortification, to be more than once, an Eye-Witness of his Wife's Lewdness. According to *Aulus Gellius*, *Sallust* the Historian would not have escaped the Fury of *Milo*, after he had received an hundred Stripes, if he had not redeemed his Life by a considerable Sum of Money, which he paid upon the Spot. One *Villius*, which is the Name the old Commentator gives *Horace*, narrowly escaped the Ponyard of one of his Rivals, who was *Fausta's* Gallant as well as himself, and got off, with some Blows with his Fist. And *Macrobius* reckons among the Paramours of this debauched Woman, one *Fulvius* the Son of a *Fuller*, and one *Pompeius*, surnamed *Macula*; whose scandalous Commerce with her, gave rise to the Jest which her own Brother *Faustus* made upon her. He said, that he was surprized that his Sister should have any Spots, since she had a *Fuller* at her Command, alluding both to the low Condition of one of her Gallants, and to the Surname (*Macula*) of the other.



*Asiatics*; and they were some of them cut in pieces, and the rest driven into the Sea.

Front. Strat.  
L. 4. c. 1.

§. XV. But this first Disadvantage did not discourage *Archelaus*. He had a great Army behind strong Walls, to defend *Piræus*, and in order to drive the Besiegers further off, he raised at the Foot of the Walls without, some wooden Towers, as high as those of the Enemy. Their Backs were set against the *Courtine*, and by that Means had a Communication with the Place. Many Arrows were thrown from them, and the *Ballistæ*, with which those Towers were filled, did great Execution in the *Roman* Army. Nor was this all: *Archelaus* sent for almost all the Troops which he had left to guard the Island of *Eubæa*; and with this Reinforcement, chose rather to fight a Battle under the Walls of *Piræus*, than hazard a Detachment in a Sally. He also armed the Sailors of his Fleet, and prepared for a general Attack on all the Machines of the Besiegers. At three in the Morning he marched out, and burnt the long Covered Galleries which the *Romans* had placed at the Foot of the Wall; and the *Legionaries* behaved themselves ill, on this important Occasion. They gave way, and retired in disorder; which their General punished with Severity. He condemned some to lodge without the Camp, others to fight at the Head of the Troops, wearing Helmets only, without Belts; and the Damage was, by the Care of *Sylla*, repaired in ten Days. Then *Archelaus* attacked the new Works; but nevertheless, after some time, the *Roman* Galleries were brought to the Foot of the Wall. This obliged him to make a new Sally and fight another Battle, in which his *Asiatics* were repulsed; but he rallied them, and brought them on to a second Attack with such Vigour, that the *Romans* retired in their Turn, and would have fled, if *Murena*, one of their *Legionary Tribunes*, had not encouraged them. He brought them back to the Charge with such Fury, that they forced the besieged to retire into the Place, after the Loss of 2000 Men; and the Gate was shut so hastily, that *Archelaus* himself would have been taken Prisoner, if he had not been drawn up the Wall with a Rope. The *Romans*, to make the best Advantage of this Success, laboured much to have destroyed those mischievous Towers which *Archelaus* had built without the Walls, by Fire; but the *Asiatick* Engineers had daubed the Timbers over with Allum, and are said to have thereby made them incombustible.

Aulus Gell: L.  
15. c. 1.

However, this victorious Action gave *Sylla* hopes, that *Piræus* would soon surrender; and when the Soldiers he had punished had sufficiently signalized themselves, he restored them to their Posts, and distributed military Rewards among those of the other Corps, which had distinguished themselves. In the mean time, the two faithful Slaves continued still to throw from the Ramparts Balls of Lead, on which they wrote Accounts of what passed in the Port; the *Pro-Consul*, who ordered them to be gathered up with great Care, by them learnt, that the City of *Athens* was reduced to great Want. While he was battering *Piræus* with all sorts of Engines, the rest of his Army had exactly guarded the two Cities, and kept off all Convoys of Provisions; so that *Athens* could no longer be supplied with any, but from the Port, where there was Plenty, because it was open. Indeed a Detachment of *Romans* stopped up the Way which led from the City to the Port; but it was not impossible to break through this Detachment; and by a new Ball of Lead *Sylla* was informed, that *Archelaus* intended at Sunrise, to fetch a great Quantity of Meal from *Piræus*, on the Shoulders of a great Body of armed Men, supported by a considerable Guard. He therefore enlarged the Number of the Men who were posted in the great Road, surrounded the Guard that escorted the Convey, seized it, and took many Prisoners. By this Means, the Army of *Archelaus* in *Piræus* was diminished, and the Famine in *Athens* increased.

Plut. in Sylla.  
App. in Mithridat.

§. XVI. And now *Archelaus* having, as has been observed, left *Eubæa* in a manner defenceless, *Sylla* thought this a favourable Opportunity to seize it. To this end he sent *Marcius*, one of his chief Officers, to drive out the few *Barbarians* that were left there, and he fought them, and gained great Advantages over them. In one Action, he killed 1500, and took a greater Number Prisoners. *Mithridates* was then at *Pergamus*, highly delighted both with his Conquests in *Europe*, and the Charms of his Monarch. He had left his eldest Son to govern the Kingdoms of *Pontus* and *Bosphorus*, the Inheritance of his Ancestors; and had sent his second into *Europe*, with Orders to subdue *Thrace* in his Passage, take *Macedon* from the *Romans*, join *Archelaus* in *Asien*, and with their joint Forces, destroy *Sylla*. Accordingly, *Antiochus*, or as others, *Archelaus*, had reduced the *Thracians*, drawn a great Number of Troops from thence,



with which he easily dispersed the few *Romans* left in *Macedon*, conquered this fine Kingdom, settled Governours there, penetrated into *Epirus*, pillaged the famous Temple of *Jupiter* at *Dodona*<sup>51</sup>; and was upon his March to relieve *Athens*. But Death surprized the young Conqueror in the full Career of his Victories. Then *Taxiles*, his Lieutenant General took upon him the Command of his Army, and led it slowly on, to the Assistance of *Archelaus*. 100000 Foot, 10000 Horse, and 90 Chariots armed with Scythes, were too great a Body, to move with any Expedition, cross so large a Country, embarrassed with Mountains and Rivers.

The Approach of this formidable Army, which was coming to over-run *Greece*, made *Sylla* the more active, in reducing *Athens* and *Piræus*, as soon as possible; and one Night, when the Centinels seemed to be asleep on the Ramparts, he ordered some of the bravest of his *Legionaries* to scale them. Accordingly they raised their Ladders, mounted the Walls, and drove off the Enemies they found upon them. But upon the first Noise, such Crowds of Barbarians came to the Walls, as such an handful of *Romans* could not possibly resist. They cut off the Head of the *Roman* Leader, and forced his Followers to leap down into the Ditch. This slight Success encouraged the besieged to make a Sally, to burn a Tower just raised by the *Romans*; but after a Fight, which lasted the whole Day, that fine Work was preserved, wholly by *Sylla's* Valour. Then *Archelaus*, not being able to burn the Tower, built such another without the Walls, to play against it; such Showers of Arrows were thrown from the several Floors of these moveable Castles, that it may be affirmed, that the whole Success, or the raising of the Siege, depended upon the Destruction of one of them; and at last the *Romans* prevailed. *Sylla* threw from his, ten Balls of Lead of a monstrous size, with each of his *Catapultæ*, at the same time; and these, besides the Execution they did among the besieged, so damaged their Tower, that it was ready to fall. *Archelaus* was forced to take it to pieces, and bring them within the Place. App. in Mithridat.

In the mean time, Provisions began to grow very scarce in the two besieged Cities; and the Governour resolved to try to bring from *Piræus*, another Convoy, so well guarded, as to be able to force their Way through the Enemy. *Sylla* was immediately informed of this, by the Balls of Lead, according to Custom; and *Archelaus* having been several Times prevented from getting in Provisions by this Management, began now to suspect that he had Traitors about him. As the Posts the Enemy possessed in the great Road, had been strongly reinforced every Time he had attempted to bring Provisions into the City, he took it for granted, that they would likewise be informed of these new Preparations; and he resolved to make his Advantage of it, if that should be the Case. To this end, he ordered a Sally to be made upon *Sylla's* Army, which he supposed would be diminished by considerable Detachments, and at the same time, commanded the Convoy of Provisions to set out, notwithstanding any Hazards they might run, of being cut off, by the new Reinforcements the Enemy might send to their Posts: And it happened, as he had foreseen. The Guard of the Convoy were beaten; but the besieged succeeded in their Sally. The latter armed themselves with burning Torches, and reduced to Ashes some of the Machines that surrounded *Piræus*; so that the Advantages and Disadvantages of that Day were equal.

§. XVII. After this, the manner both of the Attack and Defence, was altered. The besieged endeavoured to throw down the Castles the Besiegers had raised round their Walls, by Sap. These Castles were raised on large Foundations of Stone, which must be shaken, before the Wood-work upon them could be thrown down; and *Sylla* perceiving that the Enemy were continually at work, resolved to countermine them. The Pioneers often met, and had several rough Skirmishes in the dark; whilst, at the same time, the Attacks above Ground were made with as much Ardour as ever. The *Romans* made so good use of their *Rams*, that they at last beat down a considerable Piece of the Wall, and burnt one of the wooden Towers that stood without it, and covered it. This made the Approach to the Breach more easy, and the *Romans* made a Lodgment upon it. But notwithstanding this, *Sylla* had a great deal still to do, before he could make himself Master of *Piræus*. The next Step in order to it, was to widen the Breach, and he set his Miners about it. They dug quite under the Foundations of the Walls, supported them with Props of Wood as they went, lest they should fall upon themselves, and when they had done, set Fire to those Props. By this Means, the rest of

<sup>51</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 213. Note 73.



the *Courtine* tumbled down, with a terrible Noise; the Barbarians who defended the Walls were buried in the Ruins; and the rest were struck with a great Consternation, for fear there should be other Miners at work under them.

But still, tho' *Piræus* was now open in several Places, *Archelaus* did not desire to capitulate. He thought it shameful to surrender at Discretion, as long as he had an Army as great as that of the Aggressors; and he expected to be relieved by *Taxiles*, whose Delays made him very impatient. For the same Reason, *Sylla* gradually got Ground on the Breach, without loss of Time; and assured his Soldiers who were fatigued with the length of the Siege, that every Battle he fought there would be the last, and certainly reduce the Place. But these were vain Promises. *Archelaus* continually sent fresh Troops to defend the Breach; and as effectually encouraged his Men by his Threatenings, as *Sylla* did the Romans by his Example. The *Legionaries* were once so powerfully repulsed by the Enemy, that the *Pro-Consul* himself, after he had fought with great Bravery, was forced to lead them back to his Camp, where they continued unactive long enough, to give the besieged time to build another Wall, within that which the Besiegers had with so much Pains beat down. And *Archelaus* built not his new Work in strait Lines, like the old, but in a circular Form; because this was not so accessible to the Enemy, and yet more easily defensible by the *Ballistæ*. However, the Inaction of the Romans did not last long. *Sylla* prepared his Rams to make a Breach in the new Wall, before it was dry. But the prodigious Quantity of Arrows, Beams, and burning Materials, which the besieged threw from the top of their new Works, made them in effect inaccessible. *Sylla* therefore gave up the Attempt, and thought he had done enough against *Piræus*. He had gained footing enough on the old Wall of this Port, to block it up effectually, lodge Troops there, and prevent the Access of the besieged to it; and he now resolved only to keep it invested, and leave the Garrison to starve. From henceforwards he made it his chief Business to take care of the two united Cities of *Athens* and *Cecropia*, whose Inhabitants were reduced to extream Want.

Plut. in Syll.  
l s d  
32 5 10 Ster.  
Arbutb.

§. XVIII. *Athens* was one of the most populous Cities in the World. Indeed some of the Citizens of the first Rank had left it to avoid the Tyranny of *Aristio*; and the most illustrious of those who were <sup>52</sup> Friends to the Roman Republick, among whom were *Midias* and *Callipho*, two Men of superior Merit, had retired to *Sylla's* Camp, before the Siege. But the Romans were now equally careful, neither to suffer any Provisions to be carried into the City, nor any of the Inhabitants to come out of it. So that the two Cities were soon reduced to so great Extremities, that a Bushel of Barley was sold for 1000 *Drachmæ*. *Aristio* only had Plenty of Provisions, which he kept for himself, and his Accomplices in his Tyranny; and was so brutal, as not to have any regard, either for the Worship of the Gods, or for those who ministred at their Altars. When the perpetual <sup>53</sup> Fire in the Temple, where it was always kept burning in a Lamp Day and Night, was ready to go out for want of Oil; the High-Priest, called *Hierophantes* <sup>54</sup>, sent to intreat the Tyrant to give him Oil for the Sanctuary, and to send him in his extreme Want, half a Bushel of Barley; but the impious Man had no Regard either to the Gods or the Priest, and added Violence to his Irreligion. Tho' he wanted neither Grain nor Oil, and fared plenteously every Day, he only sent the *Hierophantes*, in derision, half a Measure of Pepper to season his Meat. Whereas the starving *Athenians* had already eaten up the Horses, Dogs, and all other Animals which they had; and the common People now lived only on the Herbs that grew round the Walls, and on some old Leather, which they soaked and boiled in Water, to soften it.

Their extreme Want obliged them to offer a Petition to the Tyrant; and their Priests and *Areopagites* came in a Body to intreat him to have Compassion on the Miseries of

<sup>52</sup> *Philo* the famous *Academick*, left *Athens*, and that he might not be a Witness of the Misfortunes of his Country, went to *Rome*; where he contracted a strict Friendship with *Cicero*, who highly commends him, in several Parts of his Works.

<sup>53</sup> We have, in the first Volume, reckoned up all the Nations in the World, that thought it a Duty of Religion to keep Fire continually burning. This superstitious Custom seems to have had its rise from the Idea which every reasonable Man forms of the Deity. And probably, the first Instructors of it might pretend

thereby to offer a Sacrifice, which should represent the Activity, Purity, and Eternity, of that supreme Being, which they worshipped.

<sup>54</sup> The *Athenians* gave the Name of *Hierophantes* to the Priests, and Priestesses, who were appointed by the State to take Care of the Sacrifices, and have the supervisal of Things sacred. And *St. Jerom* says, That they drank Decoctions of Hemlock, to suppress carnal Appetites. They thought themselves obliged to the strictest Continnence, in regard to the Dignity of their Ministry.

the



the People, and make Peace with Rome. But *Aristio* had imbibed a Cruelty of Heart, when he entered into an Alliance with the *Asiatiks*; and was equally afraid of the Resentments of *Sylla*, and the Vengeance of *Mithridates*. He therefore at first drove away this venerable Body of Suppliants by shooting Arrows among them; but upon more mature Consideration, resolved to send a Deputation to the Roman Camp. The Persons he chose for his Ambassadors, were some of those Declaimers who swarmed in *Athens*, and whose Eloquence, had more Puerility and Art in it than Solidity. The City, said they to *Sylla*, which you have blocked up, was the Work of the Gods. Neptune and Minerva disputed, which should give Name to it; and the Goddess prevailed, and presented us with the Olive-tree. Ceres and Triptolemus invented Husbandry among us, and introduced the Use of Grain, instead of the Acorns, gathered in Forests. Eumolpus<sup>55</sup> planted the first Vines on our Hills, and taught Europe to extract the delicious Juice of the Grape. To us likewise the Arts owe their birth. We taught Men to make Cloaths of Wool, and to empty Quarries to build themselves Houses. From us all Laws have been derived; and our<sup>56</sup> Areopagus, is a School for the rest of the World, where they learn to give righteous Judgments. And as to our Heroes and Orators<sup>57</sup>, Theseus, Erichthonius, Themistocles, Agefilaus . . . .

Here *Sylla*, interrupting the Declaimer, said, My good Friends, I am not come from Rome hither, to hear a Panegyrick on Athens. Reserve the Praises of your Ancestors for others. My Legions don't shut you up within your Walls to gather your Flowers, but to punish the Rebellious. And after this rambling Discourse, and contemptuous Reply, the three declamatory Ambassadors returned, without making any Proposals to the Pro-Consul, or receiving any other Answer from him. Perhaps the Tyrant had only sent them, in compliance with the Importunities of his People. He still depended on the Forces of *Archelaus*, and the Succours *Taxiles* was bringing to him. Nevertheless, *Athens* now drew near her end.

<sup>55</sup> This *Eumolpus* was thought by the Greeks the first Inventor of The Mysteries of Ceres; and afterwards those of his Family, who successively enjoyed the High-Priesthood, were from him, called *Eumolpides*. It little concerns a Roman Historian to enquire, whether he was originally an Egyptian, or Thracian, and whether *Museus*, or *Orpheus*, or *Ceryx* was his Father. But the Reader may, if he pleases, consult on these Heads, which rather relate to the fabulous Times than the historical, *Meursius's Greece*, *Suidas*, and the old Scholiast on *Sophocles*.

<sup>56</sup> By the Name of *Areopagus*, or The Hill of Mars, the Greeks meant the supreme Court of Judicature in Athens. Upon the Credit of a fabulous Tradition, the Athenians believed, that Mars, who had been accused of Murder by Neptune, had been tried and condemned on this Hill by a Council of the Gods. Others derived this famous Name from an Event, which like the former, is apparently fabulous. They said, That the Amazons took up Arms against Theseus, besieged Athens, and after they had encamped on a neighbouring Hill, sacrificed to the God Mars, to give them Success; and from thence, say they, this Eminence was called, The Hill of Mars. *Pausanias*, *Aristides*, and *Æschylus* are divided between the two Opinions. According to *Herodotus* and *Lucian* it faced the Citadel; and their Authority ought to outweigh that of *Hesychius*, who places the *Areopagus* within the Citadel itself. Authors differ so much among themselves, about the Time this famous Court was erected, that we cannot pretend to ascertain the Era of it. On one hand, *Eusebius* carries it up to the Time of *Cecrops*; *Cicero*, on the other, gives the Honour of it to *Solon*; and *Demosthenes* honestly confesses, that it is lost in the Obscurity of former Ages. Nor are they more uniform in their Accounts of the number of Judges that sat in this Council. Some reduce them to nine; others reckon thirty one; some enlarge their Number to fifty one; and others to an hundred and five. From which variety of Opinions,

it is natural to infer, that their Number was greater, or less, as the Times, or Occasions, required. At least, it's certain, that the Archons, after their Year was expired, became Members of this august Senate, if their Administration was approved by the People.

As to the Causes, that came before the *Areopagitis*, it is certain that they had the Cognizance of capital Crimes, and all Affairs of Importance. They were scrupulously exact in their Precautions to guard against being imposed on. It was their Custom to administer Justice in the Night-time, and in the dark, because the Mind is then more intent, and less distracted with external Objects. In the earliest Ages, the Parties concerned pleaded their own Causes, till such time as they were allowed to choose their Advocates; and then, these Advocates were forbid to use any rhetorical Arts, to colour Facts in such a Manner as might impose upon these Judges, who were always upon their Guard against Impositions. They were strictly confined to the Right, and the Fact, and rather acted as Civilians than Orators. They who were once promoted to the Honours of this Council, enjoyed them for Life. But that their Integrity, which ought to be Proof against all Temptations, might not be shaken by Ambition or Interest, they could never after receive any Reward from the Publick. It was taken for granted, that those grave Magistrates had too much Magnanimity to be affected with the vain Pomp of Grandeur. They are said to have been the first Senate in the World, and to have enjoyed a Reward preferable to any Salary, in the Reputation they acquired, by the invariable Equity of their Decrees. To which the Greek Authors add a great deal more, in Commendation of a Tribunal, which they thought The Bulwark and Safety of Athens.

<sup>57</sup> Theseus is reckoned to have been the tenth King of Athens, Erichthonius the fourth. The latter was famous for instituting The Panathenais Games, which the Greeks celebrated in Honour to Minerva. See the preceding Volumes.



§. XIX. *Sylla* had his Spies in the City, as well as in *Piræus*, when he attacked it. Two of them were continually running about, and mixing in all Companies; and coming one Day to <sup>58</sup>*Ceramicos*, a considerable Place much frequented for its Walks, and the usual Scene of Gallantry and Debauchery, they there joined some old Men, who were walking in a Portico adorned with Paintings, and some fine Statues of *Praxiteles*. The Subject of their Conversation was the Conduct of *Aristio*, the then-prevailing Topick, and one of them charged him with Imprudence. *The greatest Evil that can befall us*, said he, *is to be taken by Assault; and yet the Tyrant, who is drowned in Pleasures, whilst we are perishing with Hunger, takes no Care to fortify the City, in the Place where it may be most easily surprized. What would become of us, if the Romans should attack us over against Heptachalcon* <sup>59</sup>?

*Plut. in Syll.*

This was indeed the weakest Part of *Athens*, and the worst guarded; and the Spies caught at the Expression, and soon acquainted *Sylla* with the Conversation. Upon this Advice the *Roman* examined the Thing himself, and without delay, came at Midnight in Person, and commanded an Attack at the Place the Spies had pointed out. The *Romans* applied their Ladders in silence, and by favour of the Night, mounted them. The first *Roman* Soldier that landed on the Wall was *Teius*; but when he attacked the *Athenian* Guard, his Sword broke off in the middle with the first Stroke. Nevertheless, he defended himself with the broken Part of it, and kept his Ground till others came to his Assistance. The *Romans* followed him in Crowds, and formed themselves into a close Battalion round him; and whilst they made this first Attack within *Athens*, *Sylla* battered the Walls so violently with his *Rams*, that he made a large Breach, and his Troops entered it. The *Athenians* were struck with inexpressible Terror to hear the *Roman* Trumpets within their Walls; and the *Romans*, who as much rejoiced at being Masters of this ungrateful and so long rebellious City, first murdered every one they met, and then plundered the Houses. *Sylla* had been exasperated by the provoking Reflections of the *Greeks*, from their Ramparts, on himself and his Wife; and he suffered his Soldiers to enter the Houses by force, plunder them as much as they pleased, and destroy every Thing with Fire and Sword. They spared none. And among the great Riches of the *Athenians*, they found some Things which struck every Spectator with Horror. Some of these poor Creatures had kept Pieces of human Flesh, in their Salting-tubs, to serve them in their extream Want; and this Barbarity increased the Fury of the *Roman* Soldiers. They stabbed without Mercy those that begged quarter of them; and the Number of those that perished in this fatal Day, was never known. But we may form some Judgment of it by the quantity of Blood that was shed; which was so great, that it covered all *Ceramicos*, to a considerable height, and afterwards ran through the Gate <sup>60</sup>*Dipulon*, into the Suburbs. Indeed the *Romans* Swords were not the only Causes of this bloody Inundation; some of the *Athenians* fell by their own Hands, and the Blood of whole Families ran streaming from the Houses, into Streets which the Enemy had not entered. Horrible Sight! but not unpleasing to *Sylla*; who was now hardening his Heart against receiving any Impressions of Humanity, when he should come to fill *Rome* itself with Blood and Slaughter.

*App. in Mithridat.*

*Aristio*, followed by a few Citizens, escaped into *Cecropia*, which was divided from *Athens* by a strong Wall; and before his Retreat, he had the Caution to reduce to Ashes a very fine Building, erected on purpose for Musick, where the most famous Musicians disputed the Prizes of their Art, in the Presence of the assembled People. The Tyrant was assured, the Enemy would demolish it, and use the Materials in Machines to be played against *Cecropia*. But *Sylla* did not think the Reduction of it de-

<sup>58</sup> There was a Part of the City of *Athens*, and one of the Suburbs, that were both called *Ceramicos*. The former was the Place of Resort for Prostitutes; the latter was a large Place appointed for the Burial of great Men, such especially as had died fighting for their Country. They were so called from the *Greek* Word *Κεραμικός*; according to some, because there was a *Tile-Kiln* near it; and according to others, because the Houses there were built with Brick, or covered with *Tiles*.

<sup>59</sup> The ancient *Greek* Authors often mention *Heptachalcon*; which was, most probably, so called, because the *Greeks* had there erected seven Statues, or

Columns, of *Brass*, or *Copper*.

<sup>60</sup> The Gate *Dipulon* is the only one that has withstood the Attacks of Time, among the Ruins of this fine City. It was the largest of all the City-Gates, and most remarkable for being built in a very fine Taste. It was formerly called *Thriassia*, and *Ceramica*, because it was at the entrance into *Ceramicos*. The Portico's that led from this Quarter to the Gate *Dipulon* were the Place of Resort for Prostitutes in *Athens*. Their Names, and those of their Lovers, were written on the Walls and Pillars of this Structure.



served so much Pains. He ordered *Curio*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to invest it, and reduce it by Famine; and the besieged were more oppressed with Thirst than with Hunger. There was no Spring in *Cecropia*; and when all the Water they had in their Cisterns was exhausted, they were obliged to surrender at Discretion, and *Sylla* was put in Possession of both Cities. He made himself Master of *Athens*, on *The Calends of March*; and *Curio* entered *Cecropia*, a few Days after. And as the first Fury of the *Romans* was now abated, they only condemned *Aristio*, and his Guards, and Council, to die, and postponed the Execution to another Time. The few Citizens that were left, had their Lives given them, without any farther Punishment than being deprived of the Power of choosing their own Magistrates; and afterwards, even this small Restraint was soon taken off. *Midias* and *Callipho* intreated the Conqueror, by the *Manes*, and *Virtues*, and *Exploits*, of the many Heroes that had immortalized *Athens*, to spare the City; and *Sylla* answered, That he would pardon the Children for the Sake of their Fathers. But, he would not suffer the Breach he had made in the Wall to be repaired. This Act of Moderation and Clemency effaced a little that Character of Inhumanity, which he had acquired, at the taking of *Athens*; and he was himself ever after much pleased with it. He was heard to say, That he never should have forgiven himself, if he had, in his Rage, demolished this stately City, which continued long after to be the Mother of the Arts and Sciences, and of the most equitable Polity.

And now, *Piræus* only remained unconquered; and *Archelaus* sustained the new Attacks made upon it, with fresh Courage, till at last, the *Romans* beat down the circular Wall he had built in it; and then, as a trifling Historian informs us, he successively built six other Walls one within another, which were all broke through by *Sylla*. But we think it more probable, that *Archelaus*, after he had signalized himself by a most glorious Resistance, retired first to *Munichia*; and continued afterwards, for some time, in the neighbouring Places.

§. XX. Thus the *Pro-Consul* became Master of *Athens*, and afterwards of almost all *Attica*, and whilst he was quietly waiting here for the Arrival of *Taxiles*, he made it his chief Business to prevent that General's joining his Forces to those of *Archelaus*. But partly, That he might leave behind him some Mark of his Resentment at *Piræus*; and partly, For fear the Fleet of *Mithridates*, which was superior in Strength, should again take Advantage of this Port, he destroyed almost all the Buildings belonging to it, before he left it. He demolished all the semi-circular Magazines; and which was most to the Mortification of the *Athenians*, that stately Arsenal, which had been built by *Philo*. This famous Architect had made it a Master-Piece of Art; and the *Romans* found rigging enough in it, to fit out 1000 Ships.

When the Season began to grow warm, *Sylla* left *Attica*, and put his Troops into Quarters of Refreshment, in the vast and fruitful Plains of *Bæotia*. *Taxiles* had met with Obstructions in his March, and still delayed coming up with him. *Elatea*<sup>61</sup>, a City of *Phocis*, disputed his Passage, and he was yet busy in reducing it. And though *Sylla* is blamed for leaving his new Conquest so soon, he had his Reasons for it. How could he subsist his Army in a Country naturally barren, and ruined by the War? Besides, he intended to bring *Hortensius* out of *Thessaly*, with considerable Reinforcements for his Army, which was diminished by so many Battles; and therefore came within reach of him. He posted himself so, as to favour his March, and sent *Caphis* a *Thessalian* to him, to be his Guide. *Hortensius*, to avoid the Enemy, who waited to intercept him, was led by *Caphis*, over the Top of the Hill *Parnassus*; and after he had deceived, or repulsed the Barbarians, arrived at <sup>62</sup>*Patroni*, where *Sylla* waited for him. But though this was a very seasonable Reinforcement, the *Pro-Consular* Army after all consisted of only 15000 Foot, and 1500 Horse, exclusive of the *Grecian* Auxiliaries; which were a very inconsiderable Body, to oppose the terrible Multitudes of *Asiatics*, which *Archelaus* and *Taxiles* were bringing against them. But the Valour and Constancy of the *Roman* General supplied the Want of a greater Army.

<sup>61</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 425. Note 137.

<sup>62</sup> Neither the Geographers, nor Historians, have said any Thing of the Situation of *Patroni*; all

we know of it is, that it stood near Mount *Parnassus*.



Year of §. XXI. Whilst *Sylla* was enjoying a little Rest in his new Camp, a great number  
 ROME of fugitive or proscribed Senators came to him. The new Government of *Cinna* and  
 DCLXVII. *Marius* had driven them from *Rome*. These new *Consuls* gave the Nobility just  
 Cause to fear the worst; and certainly, if old *Marius* had lived, he would have ex-  
 L. CORNELI-  
 US CINNA, &  
 L. VALERIUS  
 FLACCUS,  
 Consuls. tirpated the whole Order. Nor had his Death, which happened on *The Ides of Ja-*  
*nuary*, put a Stop to the Persecution; *Cinna* and young *Marius* still made the most  
 intrepid tremble. Not that the latter was advanced to the *Consulate*; *Cinna* only asso-  
 ciated him with himself to assist him with his Arm and Advice, without any Title  
 or Authority, and that purely out of respect to the Father. This sufficiently appeared  
 when *Cinna* chose one *Valerius Flaccus* for his Colleague; a Man as turbulent as him-  
 self, but less experienced in Arms. And as soon as the latter had succeeded old *Ma-*  
*rius*, he affected Popularity; and in order to it passed an unjust Law. He reduced  
 all the Debts of the People to one fourth Part, and consequently deprived their Creditors  
 of the other three. Nevertheless, the Terror of *Cinna* was so great, that they durst  
 not murmur openly; but they left the City, and repaired to *Sylla*, whom they thought  
 the only Resource of the oppressed Republick. The *Pro-Consul* received them gra-  
 ciously, and was pleased to see his Court filled, even in the Heart of *Greece*, with all  
 the Flower of the Nobility, and the most considerable of the *Citizens of Rome*. This  
 Concourse raised his Courage, and excited him to lose no Time in the Dispatch of the  
 Affairs in the East, that he might go and reap those Advantages in *Italy*, which were  
 offered him by the Death of the great *Marius*, his Rival.

*Cinna*, on the other hand, was not a little mortified at the Rumours spread in *Rome*  
 of the great Success of *Sylla*, in the *Levant*; and the News of his taking of *Athens*, and  
*Piræus*, increased his Disquietude. He was continually fancying he saw the Con-  
 Cic. in Bruto.  
 Vell. Pat. L. 2. queror of *Mithridates* returning into *Italy*, with a victorious and well-disciplined Army,  
 and at the Head of a long Train of Malecontents; and he made use of this Expe-  
 dient to put a stop to the Conquests *Sylla* was preparing to pursue. In order to de-  
 prive him of his Office, the Tyrant, of his own Authority, nominated a Person to  
 succeed *Sylla* in the East, and force him to return home. He gave *Valerius Flaccus*,  
 whom he had illegally raised to the *Consulate*, a Commission to go and command the  
*Roman Armies* in the *Levant*, and make War with *Mithridates*; and appointed C.  
*Fulvius Fimbria* a Senator, who had some Credit among the Troops, to be his Se-  
 cond in the Command. *Fimbria* had ingratiated himself with the *Marian Party* by  
 his Violences; but notwithstanding his Attachment to the same Faction, he both de-  
 spised and hated *Valerius*. Nevertheless, he prepared to attend him, with a Resolution  
 to supplant him, and command in his Place, as soon as he was got to a little Distance  
 from *Rome*. Such was the present Temper of the *Romans*. As the Laws had no  
 manner of Authority over them, and they had not even the Form of a Republick left;  
 the Usurpers of the *Consulate* themselves were in their Turns exposed to the Inde-  
 pendence and Usurpations of their Subalterns.

Plut. in Sylla.  
 App. in Mi-  
 thridat. §. XXII. *Sylla*, though in *Greece*, was not long ignorant that *Cinna* had appointed  
 him a Successor; and in peaceable Times he must have submitted to the juridical De-  
 termination of the Senate and People. But in the present State of Things, he made no  
 Scruple of refusing to resign the Command to a *Consul* who was only of *Cinna's* mak-  
 ing, and consequently had no lawful Authority. In the mean Time, he waited pa-  
 tiently for the Arrival of *Valerius*, and continued the War with the Generals of *Mi-*  
*thridates*. *Archelaus*, who was very impatient to join *Taxiles*, advanced as far as *Thessaly* to  
 meet him; and there the two *Asiatick Armies* were united, and *Archelaus* declared Ge-  
 neralissimo. *Mithridates* had sent into *Greece*, all the Land Forces his great Dominions  
 could furnish. Like an able Politician, he chose *Europe* for the Seat of the War, and  
 proposed destroying the *Romans* before they could reach him in *Asia*. In the two Ar-  
 mies of *Archelaus* and *Taxiles*, and in that which *Dromicheetes* had lately brought into  
*Greece*, there were Soldiers from every Nation in *Asia Minor*. Besides the numerous  
*Phalanxes of Pontus*, there were *Thracians*, *Macedonians*, *Gallo-Greeks*, *Scythians*,  
*Bithynians*, *Phrygians*, and new Levies raised on the Coasts of *Asia*, which *Mithri-*  
*dates* had reduced to Obedience. Each of these Bodies of Troops of different Na-  
 tions had its own Commander, and all these together made the Council of War, in  
 which *Archelaus* presided. And if there was little true Valour in this numberless Mul-  
 titude, there was at least Finery enough in their Arms and Dress. Their Lances,  
 Bucklers, and Coats of Mail, glittered with Gold and Silver, which greatly raised the  
 Courage



Courage of the *Legionaries*, by quickening their Desire of Booty. But it must be confessed, that their Number astonished those, whose Avarice made them most earnest for a Battle.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXVII

In the Neighbourhood of *Elatea* there was a single Hill, in the midst of a vast Plain; and at the Foot of this Hill, which the *Greeks* called <sup>63</sup> *Philbojotos*, there was a Rivulet. This Place was both agreeable to the Sight, convenient, and abounded with Fruit-trees; and being deemed one of the most wholesome and most delightful Parts of *Theffaly*, the *Consul* chose it for his Camp. It was the Interest of *Archelaus* to have surrounded the *Roman* Camp, and starved this little Army; but the Generalissimo himself was not heard. The greatest Part of the Commanders of the different Nations voted for fighting. Their Troops were at least two thirds more numerous than those of *Sylla*; and in Consideration, That much might justly be expected from such a Multitude whilst united, and That their Levity might in a little Time incline them to disperse, orders were given for a Battle. The terrible Outcries of the Barbarians when their Generals drew them up in the Plain, is not to be described; *The whole Compass of the Air*, says one of the Ancients, *seemed not large enough to contain their Howlings*. The *Romans* from the top of the Hill saw this furious Inundation of *Asiatics* with Dread; and *Sylla* discovering Fear in the Faces and Air of his Men, kept them some Days within their Trenches. This gave the Barbarians a Contempt for their Enemies; and as Discipline was ill kept in their Camp, the love of Booty led the bravest of them to a great Distance from it. They ravaged <sup>64</sup> *Panope*, and <sup>65</sup> *Lebadea*, not sparing the Temples. In the mean while, *Sylla* kept his *Legionaries* to hard Labour, intending thereby, to bring them to desire a Battle; but he pretended Fear; and to convince *Archelaus* of the Reality of it, he sent Deputies to him, to treat of an Accommodation, and a Truce was agreed on for some Days. In this interim, the *Roman* decamped, and posted himself on the Banks of the <sup>66</sup> *Cephisus*; and the Enemy followed him, waiting for an Opportunity to force him to appear in the Plain.

L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

Front. Strat.  
L. 1. c. 5.

Plut. in Sylla.

§. XXIII. This change of his Camp gave the *Pro-Consul* occasion to double the Labours of his Soldiers, and he overloaded them with Fatigues. He made them turn the *Cephisus*, and make large Cuts and Canals into it, as he pretended, to secure his Camp. The Labour of executing these great Works, soon tired the *Roman* Soldiers, though inured to Hardships; and on the third Day, the *Legionaries* began to be very desirous of a general Action. This was *Sylla's* Aim, and to quicken them the more, he went to all the Places where he had cantoned his Troops, and earnestly pressed them to finish their Works. Upon this, Officers and Soldiers unanimously complained, that they were not led to a Battle; and cried out, That Death was preferable to such painful Labour. *Sylla* immediately replied, *I am very glad your Fears are removed. Go and give me a Proof of your Resolution to behave yourselves well, by seizing yonder Post, before the Enemy*. This he said, pointing to the Summit of a steep Rock, at the Conflux of the *Cephisus* and the <sup>67</sup> *Assus*, an important Post, on which the Success of a Battle partly depended; and the *Asiatick* General had therefore already detached the choicest of his Troops called <sup>68</sup> *Chalcaspides*, to seize it. But the *Romans* were nimble enough to prevent them, and lodged themselves upon it. This convinced *Sylla* that the Fears of his Soldiers were dissipated; and their Confidence quickened his own Desire of Conquest.

<sup>63</sup> This Mountain overlooked the Plains of *Boeotia*; and *Poliænus* gives the same Name to a Castle situated upon this Mountain.

<sup>64</sup> *Panope* was a City of *Phocis*; which *Stephen of Byzantium* makes to be the same Place as the *Calli-choras* of *Homer*. *Ortelius* observes, That in the Time of *Livy*, it changed its old Name into that of *Phanotea*. In the Time of *Pausanias*, it was so far declined from what it had been, as to be only a Parcel of irregular Cottages in a Plain. Nevertheless the Inhabitants still preserved their old Privileges, and retained their Right of sending Deputies to the Dyet of the *Phocæans*, or general Assembly of the Province. This City must have bordered on *Boeotia*, since it was computed to be but a little League from *Chæronea*.

<sup>65</sup> *Lebadea* stood between Mount *Helicon* and

*Chæronea*, and was formerly one of the most famous Cities of *Boeotia*, on account of the Oracle of *Jupiter Trophonius*, which we have described Vol. 4. p. 494. Note 53.

<sup>66</sup> According to *Strabo*, there were anciently seven Rivers that bore this Name. One in *Attica*, which has been already spoken of; a second which rose in *Phocis*, and watered a small Canton of *Boeotia*, which is that here meant; a third in *Crete*; a fourth, in the Territory of *Argi*; a fifth, in that of *Sicyon*; a sixth, in the Island of *Scyros*; and a seventh, by the City of *Apollonia*, in *Macedon*.

<sup>67</sup> *Plutarch* makes the *Assus*, a little River, which runs into the *Cephisus*, to rise at the Foot of Mount *Hedylum*.

<sup>68</sup> They were probably so called, because their Bucklers were of Brass.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

After this Disappointment of a Post which he thought of the utmost Consequence, *Archelaus* changed his Course, took the Road to *Eubœa*; and thought it necessary, to facilitate his Passage, to take *Chæroneæ*<sup>69</sup>; but there happened to be some *Chæroneans* in *Sylla's* Army, and they prevailed on him not to abandon their City to the Mercy of the Barbarians; and he sent thither a *Legionary Tribune*, who reached it before *Archelaus*, and put it into a Condition to sustain a Siege. So that the *Asiatics* came too late. Nevertheless, *Archelaus* encamped in a Valley surrounded with Rocks, and covered on the side of the City, by an higher and steeper Hill than the rest, called *Thurium*; and when he had seized this Post, and placed some Troops there, he thought himself inaccessible. On the other Hand, *Sylla* was well pleased to see his Enemies hide themselves from him, and secure themselves in inaccessible Places. He thought this a good Omen of Success in the rest of the Campaign; and indeed the very Situation of the Barbarians promised him certain Victory. Nothing hindered him from falling upon them immediately, but their Post on Mount *Thurium*; and whilst he was in some Perplexity, to find Means to dispossess them, *Ericius*, *Homoloicus*, and *Anaxidamus*, three Citizens of *Chæroneæ*, came and offered him to conduct a Body of *Romans* to the top of the Hill, by private Ways. The *Pro-Consul* gave them a Detachment under the Command of <sup>70</sup> *Hirtius*; and kept his Army ready formed to make the best use of this Expedition, by falling on the Barbarians as soon as their Men should be driven from this Eminence. The *Roman Manipuli*, under the Conduct of their Guides, came so unexpectedly to the top of *Thurium*, that they surprized the *Asiatics*, and struck them with a Panick. They thought themselves surrounded by all *Sylla's* Army, and some threw themselves down the Precipice; others fled in such haste, that they wounded one another with their Darts; and the rest were put to the Sword by the *Romans*, who gave them no quarter. They are said to have lost 3000 Men in this Action; and this Loss was a Prelude to a much more important and decisive Engagement.

App. in Mi-  
thridat.

§. XXIV. When *Archelaus* saw all *Sylla's* Army marching towards him, he drew out his *Phalanxes*, in haste, but they were put into Disorder by the Troops that fled from Mount *Thurium*; and then he was sensible of the Inconvenience of his Situation. An uneven Ground, embarrassed with Rocks, and divided by Mountains, which formed narrow winding Passes, was very improper for a large Body of Cavalry, in which his main Strength consisted. Besides, in this rough and steep Place, his Chariots armed with Scythes, which often did terrible Execution, were useless. The *Asiatick* General, however,\* resolved to oppose the first Efforts of the *Roman Legions* with his Horse only; but they being confined to too narrow a Ground, and unable to make a large Front, fought faintly. Then he sent out his formidable Chariots, which were the dernier Resort of the *Asiatick* Armies; and as they owed their Effect to the Swiftnes of their Motion, and the Ground here was such that they could advance but slowly, the *Romans* laughed at them. They saw them coming, and opening their Ranks let them pass through them, without touching them. This was, for some considerable Time, a Matter of great Diversion for the *Legionaries*, who numbered the Chariots as they came, and counted them as so much Gain to themselves, and so much Loss to the Enemy; and their Gaiety was an happy Presage of the compleat Victory that ensued.

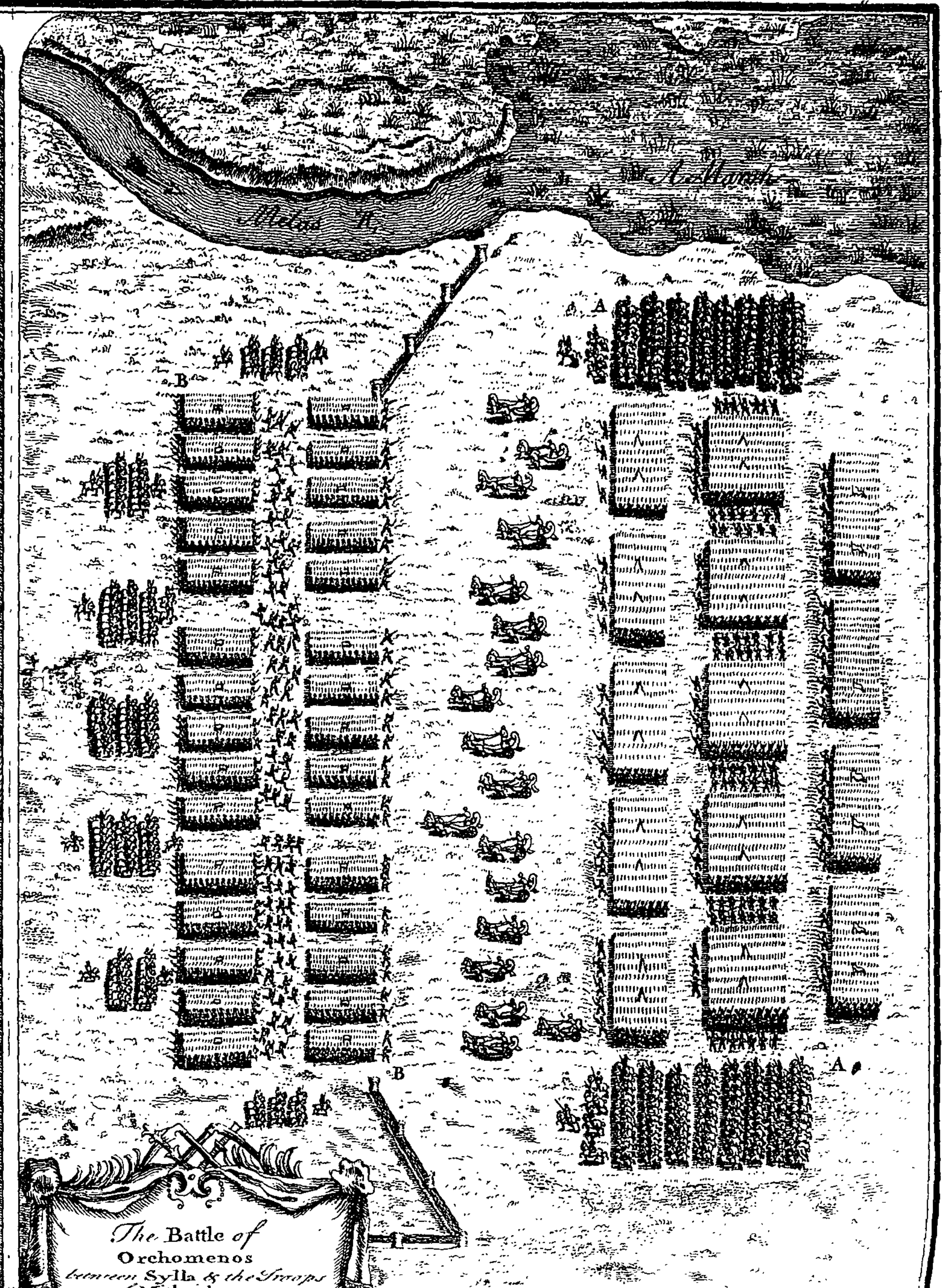
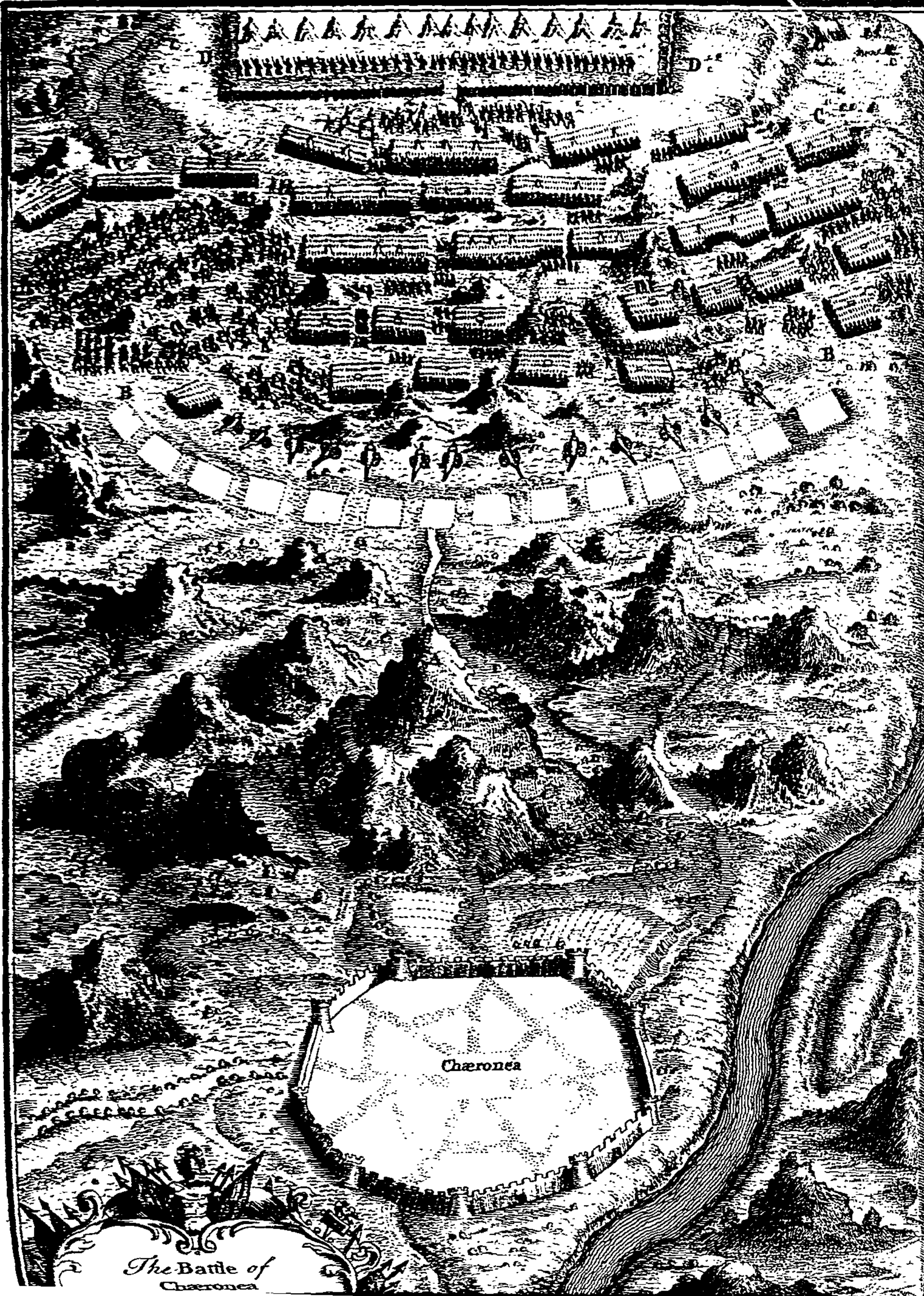
Plut. in Sylla.

Indeed, the first Engagement with the Cavalry, and the Attack of the Chariots, was no better than skirmishing; and if *Archelaus* had kept close in his Camp the *Romans* would not have attempted to force it. But the Shame of leaving the Plain, before an Army inferior in Number, and the natural Pride of the *Asiatics*, led their General to his Destruction. He posted a Body of 5000 Slaves, whose Hopes of Liberty made them fight, to prevent the *Romans* entering into a narrow Pass; and they presenting their Pikes, by way of Rampart before them, stood immovable. The *Romans* at this Sight merrily said, That they found the Feast of *Saturnalia* was come, when Slaves were equal to their Masters; and then, beginning a furious Attack, endeavoured to strike aside the Pikes with their Swords, and come to a close Fight with them. But they made so much better Resistance than was expected, that the Infantry of the *Romans* could not break their *Phalanx*. *Sylla* therefore ordered his Bow-men

<sup>69</sup> Vol 4. p. 163. Note 189.

<sup>70</sup> *Plutarch* calls him *Gabinus*. He was a *Legionary Tribune* in *Sylla's* Army.







and Slingers to attack it, and these with the Multitude of their Stones and Darts, put them into disorder. And then *Archelaus* first ordered his Infantry to move; and a great Action followed, to which all that had already passed, was but the Prelude. After the Rout of the Slaves, the Dispute became more serious.

The Roman General had given the Command of his right Wing to *Galba*<sup>71</sup>, and *Hortensius*, two General Officers; and that of his left to *Muræna*; and commanded in the Center himself. *Archelaus* began the Attack on the right of the Romans in Person, at the Head of his numerous Cavalry, whilst his Infantry widened, in order to flank the *Roman Manipuli*; and the first onset of the Barbarians was so terrible, that their Cavalry forced *Hortensius* and *Galba* to make an extraordinary Motion. For fear of being surrounded they drew up in a Circle, and faced every Way. Their Danger was great; and this Evolution drew *Sylla* from the Center, to relieve the attacked. He flew thither with great Rapidity, and his march surprized *Archelaus*. By the Cloud of Dust he saw rise in the Plain, the *Asiatick* General concluded that *Sylla* was coming; and the fear of this, made him change his Post, and advance towards the left of the Romans. *Taxiles* joined him with his *Chalcaspides*, and they both fell on the Body commanded by *Muræna*. This Motion kept *Sylla* a little in suspense, whether he should relieve *Muræna*, or continue in his right; but he was soon determined. He detached *Hortensius* to *Muræna*; re-established his right Wing himself; and then returned to the Center; and as soon as he drew near the Place where *Archelaus* and *Taxiles* were engaged, the Romans no longer doubted of Success.

Though he, with great Presence of Mind, sent sometimes Horse, and sometimes Foot to *Muræna*, as occasion required, he was at last obliged to go himself to the left, where was the Heat of the Battle. But when he arrived, *Muræna* had already broken the Enemy, who began to be routed; and *Sylla* had little more to do, than to pursue the Fugitives; and cover the Plain with their Bodies. The Ground was more disadvantageous to the *Asiatics* in their Flight, than in their Action. Rocks and narrow Passes were bad Places for the escape of Men who were naturally nimble, and now quickened by the Pursuit. And therefore, though the Slaughter was not great in the Battle, it was terrible after the Defeat. Some of the Barbarians stabbed one another in their Flight; and some ran themselves out of breath, and fell into the Hands of the Conquerors, who spared none. But the greatest Part might have saved themselves in their Camp, if *Archelaus* had not ordered the Gates to be shut. This he did, in hopes of forcing them to rally; and the Wretches in vain begged their Companions not to deny them a Retreat. Notwithstanding their Supplications, they were left to the Mercy of the Roman Soldiers, who butchered them without Pity; and when the most desperate would willingly have defended themselves, they could find neither Officers, nor Colours. Some were dispersed, others had thrown away their Standards to make them the more nimble for flight; and at last, the *Asiatick* General, whose natural Severity had hitherto appeared in his want of Pity, was led by some remains of Compassion, to discover altogether as much Imprudence.

When he saw the Blood of his Soldiers running in Streams, he ordered the Gates of the Camp to be opened; not considering that this ill-timed Compassion would be the Destruction of the few who were safe within his Trenches. Besides that the greater Part of those who endeavoured to enter were stifled or wounded by the Romans, the Enemy who pursued them close, Sword in Hand, entered with the Fugitives, and the *Legionaries* seizing the Gates, renewed the Slaughter there. In short, *Sylla* became Master of the Camp, plundered it, and spent the Night in it. Of an Army of 120000 Men, there were scarce 10000 left, with their Leader; and he shut himself up in *Eubæa*, rather to act the Part of a Robber than a General there. Whilst on the other hand, the Account given us of the Number of the dead, on the side of the Romans, is very surprizing, and could scarce be believed, if it were not attested by all the Ancients. They say, That there were only fifteen Romans found killed, as was imagined, on the Field of Battle; and That three of them recovered themselves so as to be able to return to the Camp. An astonishing Piece of good Fortune, which would have been sufficient itself to have denominated *Sylla*, the *fortunate*, if his constant Successes had not already done it. Nevertheless it must be confessed, That his present Victory was far from being wholly owing to Fortune. He was much more

<sup>71</sup> *Plutarch* in his *Life of Sylla*, calls him *Gallus*, and not *Galba*.



Year of indebted for it to his own Valour, Experience, and good Conduct, than to Chance. *ROME* However, he expressed his Gratitude to the Gods, by the 7<sup>2</sup> Offering he made to *Mars*, *DCLXVII. Victory*, and *Venus*, of all the Arms of the vanquished. He ordered them to be thrown together in an Heap, and with his Robes tucked up after the *Gabian* manner, he set fire to it, and made it an *Holocaust*. He also erected two *Trophies*, one on the top of Mount *Thurium*, where the Action began; and the other in that Part of the Plain, where *Archelaus* had given way. After this, as he was now Master of the Field, he went through all *Greece*, to re-establish Order there, and to make the *Greeks* revere the *Roman* Power.

L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXV. His first Care was to settle Affairs in *Athens*. He had left this Conquest in Disorder, under the Government of *Curio*. The Tyrant *Aristio* was still living there, tho' a Prisoner and loaded with Chains; and he now thought it necessary to put in execution the Sentence passed upon him. Heaven it self seemed to have declared it self against this wicked Man; whose Life had been one continued Course of Treachery, Lewdness, and Cruelty. He had been forced to deliver up *Cecropia* for want of Water; but as soon as he was gone out of it, a Plenty of Rain fell, and filled the Cisterns; and this kind of Prodigy made him the more detested. As soon as *Sylla* returned to *Athens*, he was brought before him, and the General ordered that he should be forced to take Poison. This was the Death of him and all his Courtiers; and the most considerable of the Citizens of *Athens* were carried to *Ceramicos*, and there decimated. And lastly, *Sylla* took out of the publick Treasury all the Wealth he could find there; which is said to have amounted to only 40 Pounds Weight of Gold, and 60 of Silver. A poor Supply for a General, who had certainly a War to carry on with *Mithridates*; and probably, a second with *Valerius Flaccus*, who was sent from *Rome* to dispossess him. And lest his Rival should come immediately and surprize him at too great a distance from the Place of his landing, *Sylla* drew near to *Theffaly*, and encamped in the *Bæotian* Fields between *Thebes* and *Elatea*.

At the same time, the *Pro-Consul* shewed his Satisfaction at the Conduct of the *Elateans*, and his Displeasure at that of the *Thebans*. The former had shut their Gates against *Taxiles*, and given the *Pro-Consul* Time to take *Athens*, by retarding the March of his Enemies. The latter had abandoned the *Roman* Interest, and gone over to *Mithridates*. *Sylla* therefore granted Liberty and Privileges to the one, and punished the other. He deprived the *Thebans* of half their Lands; and appropriated the Revenues of the half he had taken, to the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphi*, and of *Æsculapius* at *Epidaurus*, by way of Satisfaction for the great Treasures he had taken out of them. He also took occasion to mortify the *Thebans* at the same time that he gave their City a fine Entertainment. He assembled there the most celebrated Musicians in *Greece*, and proposed Prizes for the best Performers. These Concerts which the Emulation of the Masters made excellent, lasted for some Days, and the ablest Hands were sent for from the neighbouring Cities; but no *Theban* was suffered to be one of the Judges of the Distribution of the Prizes. A slight Punishment in it self; but very mortifying to such Triflers. *Sylla's* Design in these Amusements, was only to give some Repose to his Troops; whose Affection was very necessary for him. He was to guard them against the Temptation of deserting him, and following the Standards of the *Consul*, whose Arrival in *Greece* was hourly expected, tho' delayed from Day to Day.

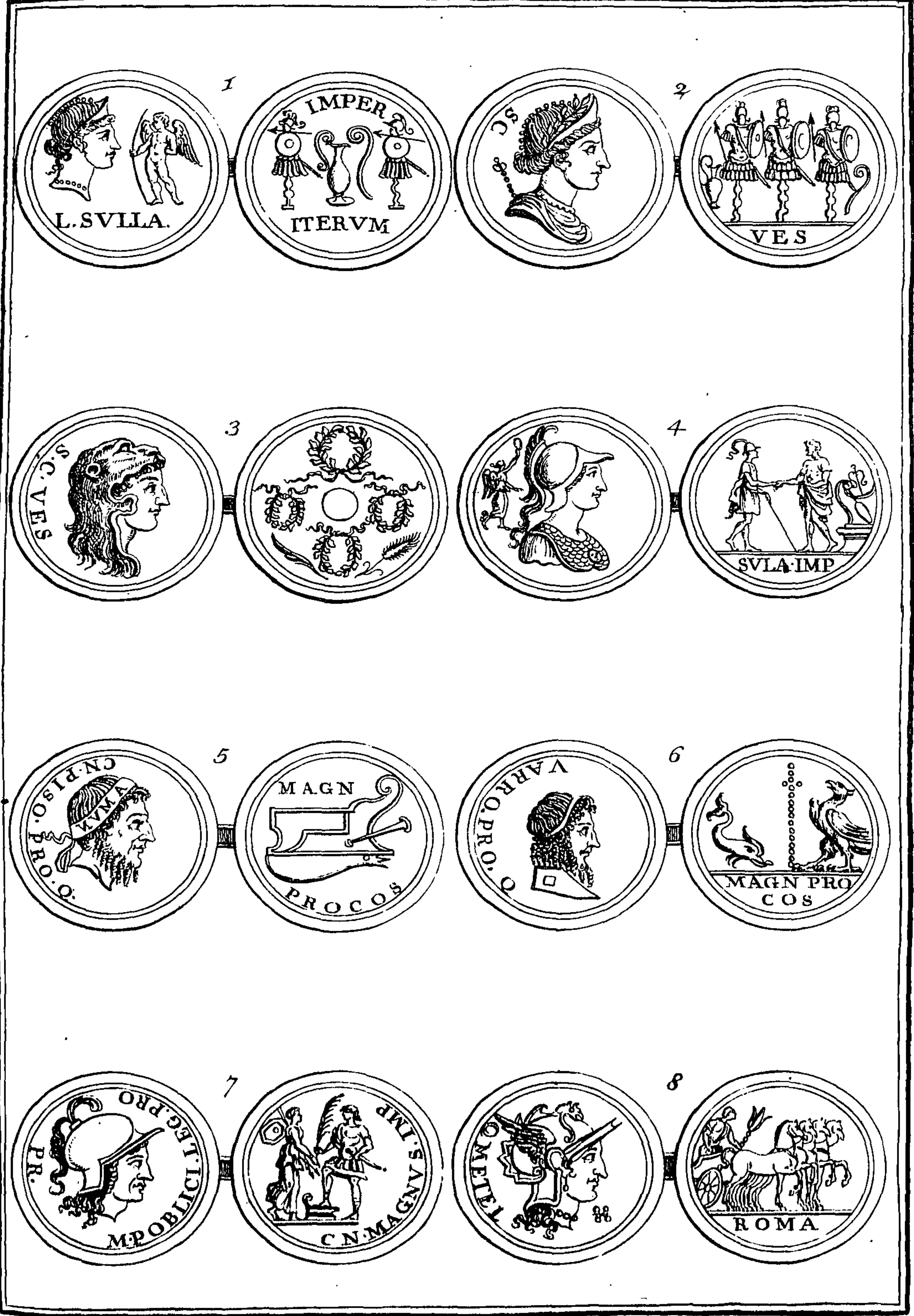
§. XXVI. At length, according to the Custom of the *Consuls* who went into the East, who usually sent before them a Squadron of Ships full of *Roman* Soldiers to prepare for their landing, the Harbingers of *Valerius* landed in one of the Ports of *Theffaly*. But they found the Reputation of *Sylla* so well established in the *Levant*, that they readily chose to serve under him, rather than under the unworthy General, who was

72. *Plutarch* tells us, That, in order to perpetuate the Memory of this remarkable Victory, *Sylla* erected three *Trophies* on the Field of Battle, one to *Mars*, another to *Victory*, and the third to *Venus*; and this is confirmed by *Dio Cassius*, B. 42. We likewise find these three Monuments represented on a Medal of the *Cornelian* Family. The Face of it, is *A Sybil*, as the *Antiquaries* conjecture, alluding to the Surname of *Sylla*, which as we have observed, was taken from *Sybill*. The Vase for Sacrifices, and the *Augural* Staff on the Reverse, point out the *Augurate* and *Pontificate* of *Raustus*, who had this Medal struck, in Honour to his Father. To which *Plutarch* adds, that *Sylla* also erected two more *Trophies* on the top of Mount *Thurium*, in Memory of the great Services done the *Roman* Army, by the two Guides *Homoloeus* and *Anaxidamus*. On the Vase of them there was a Greek Inscription to this effect: \* TO THE VALOUR OF HOMOLOEUS AND ANAXIDAMUS. These were probably the two *Trophies* represented on the preceding Medal.

See Pl. 14.  
No. 2.

\* See Plate 14.  
No. 1.







to command them. They came over to the victorious *Pro-Consul*, and increased his Army; and informed him of the present State of Affairs at *Rome*. Indeed an End had been put to the Wars and Massacres there; but Men's Fears and Resentments were as strong as ever. *Cinna* was sole Lord and Master. All Orders of Men were enslaved to him; and the Senate consisted only of such as were his Creatures. *L. Marcius Philippus*, and *M. Perperna*<sup>73</sup>, the *Censors*, were devoted to him. The former had struck out of the List of Senators, one<sup>74</sup> *Appius Claudius*, and many others, only because they were in the Interest of the Nobility, and particularly that of *Sylla*. The *Censors* had likewise made the Brother of this *Valerius Flaccus*, who was sent into the East with an Army to dispossess the *Pro-Consul*, *President of the Senate*; and lastly, had made a *Lustrum*, in which they had counted no more than 400063 *Citizens*, in a Condition to bear Arms. The only publick Work they did, was repairing the Aqueducts of *The Marcian Water*, which had been quite stopped, during the civil Wars. The *Roman Knights*, the Receivers of the publick Money, undertook this great Work by their Direction.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.  
*Cic. pro domo  
sua.*

The *Quæstors* also were, according to *Sylla's* Information, wholly in the Interest of his Enemies. The *Prætor Romanus* was one *Marius Gratidianus*, the adopted Son of the great *Marius*; whose Ambition led him to surmount the single Difficulty that remained in his Way to the *Consulate*. He wanted only to gain the Affections of the People by some signal Action, and found a fair Opportunity for it. During the Troubles, the *Roman Money* had been debased, either by the Knavery of the *Quæstors*, who took care of the Coinage, or the Art of others who clipped it; and the *Tribunes of the People* were desirous of providing a Remedy for this Evil. In order to give the more Weight to the Law they intended to make, concerning an Affair of such Importance, they took the *Prætors*, and among the rest *Gratidianus*, into their Council on this occasion; and when they had compleated the Draught of it, they agreed not to report it to the People, till the Afternoon. But when the *Tribunes* and other *Prætors* were gone to their Houses, *Gratidianus* went directly to the *Comitium*, assembled the People, and communicated to them the Law, which they received with the greatest Applauses. By this means he acquired all the Honour of it; and the People followed him home in Crowds, lighted Torches, burned Perfumes in his Way, and erected Statues to his Honour. The Coin was preserved from Adulterations; and it was perhaps at this Time, that the *Triumviri Monetales*<sup>75</sup> were first appointed, to put a stop to the Disorders of those Managers of the Mint, who made the Coin too light.

*Cic. de Offic.  
L. 3.  
Plin. L. 33.  
c. 9.*

The *Consul's* Harbingers brought *Sylla* likewise another Piece of News, in which he was personally concerned, and which gave him Pleasure. Young *Pompey*, who had given Marks of his future Grandeur, in his Father's Life-time, seemed more attached than ever to the senatorial Party. The designed Injury which gave him a fair Opportunity to declare against *Cinna's* Faction, turned to the young Hero's Honour. Soon after the Death of his Father, he was accused of embezzelling the publick Money. Judges were appointed to try him, and the *Prætor Antistius*, who always adhered to the best Side, and was privately a Friend to *Sylla*, was chosen by Lot, to be the President of the Court. The whole Accusation was this; That after the taking of *Asculum*, *Pompeius Strabo* had applied the Spoils of it to his own Use, and not accounted for them to the publick Treasury: and the Son was made answerable for the Rapines of his Father. But young *Pompey* had already done the publick Justice, and restored to the Treasury the chief of the Effects which old *Pompeius* had assumed to himself. He had also given the *Prætor* Information of the Robberies of his Father's Secretary, and got him condemned. All he had reserved for himself out of those Rapines, was some curious Books, and some Nets for Hunting; and these being of little Value, it appeared to be a malicious Prosecution. *Cinna* was now absolute, and could not forgive the Son, the Opposition his Father had made against him, when he was endeavouring to make himself Master of *Rome*; and therefore he was thought to be at the bottom of the Affair. Two

*Plut. in Pomp.*

*Cic. in Bruto.*

<sup>73</sup> *Pliny* and *Val. Maximus* observe, That *Marcus Perperna* survived all the Senators he assembled the Day he was elected *Consul*, that is, in the Year of *Rome* 661; and That of all those whom he assembled when *Censor*, only seven outlived him. *Pliny* and *Dio* agree, That he lived to be 98 Years of Age, even to the Year of *Rome*, 704.

<sup>74</sup> *Cicero* says, in his *Third Oration against Verres*,  
VOL. V.

That *Marcus Philippus* the *Censor* was Nephew to this *App. Claudius*, whom he expelled the Senate without Regard to his Relation to himself: Consequently *Marcus* must have been Cousin-German, to the famous *Clodius*, the Son of *Appius*, and *Cicero's* sworn Enemy.

<sup>75</sup> See Vol. 2.



Year of Orators offered to defend *Pompey*; *Hortensius*, who was just coming into Vogue; *ROME* and an old Orator, named *Philippus*, who being asked why he would undertake the DCLXVII. Defence of a Man who was hated by *Cinna*; replied, That it was but just, that old Philip should shew an Affection for young Alexander. But when the Cause came to be tried, tho' *Hortensius* and *Philip* appeared with Credit, yet *Pompey* himself spake with such superior Dignity and Grandeur, that he charmed all that heard him. The President especially was so much delighted with the Magnanimity, Gracefulness, and Politeness, of the young Orator, that he offered him his Daughter in Marriage, and signed the Contract that very Day. It may therefore well be imagined, that the *Prætor* would not give Sentence to the Disadvantage of his Son-in-Law; and, when he came to pronounce it, the Secret having taken Air, all the Assembly cried out, *Thalassio, Thalassio!* This was the usual Cry at Weddings<sup>76</sup>; and the People now intended to shew by it, that the God *Hymen* was more concerned in *Pompey's* Acquittal, than the Goddess *Themis*<sup>77</sup>.

§. XXVII. This account of the Dispositions of the People at *Rome*, shewed *Sylla*, that tho' he had still some Friends there, his Enemies had the ascendant; and he concluded, that the Time was not yet come for his Return thither; nor would be, till he could appear there at the Head of an Army which had been entirely victorious over *Mithridates*. Whereas this Prince, tho' struck with his Losses, did not yet despair even of maintaining his Conquests in *Europe*. The *Greeks*, tho' they pretended to be returned to the *Roman* Party, still kept up an Intelligence with the *Asiatics*; and *Archelaus*, in *Eubæa*, waited only for some fresh Troops, in order to return to the Continent. Whilst *Sylla*, on the other hand, wanted Ships to attack him in his *Asylum*; and *Lucullus*, whom the *Roman* had sent to *Egypt*, to assemble a Fleet there, was not yet returned. All these Things gave him Uneasiness; but he knew how to dissemble it. On one hand, the approaching Arrival of *Valerius Flaccus*, who must soon come, gave him Apprehensions of having a civil War to carry on, in the East; and on the other, the new Levies *Mithridates* was raising in the West and South of *Asia*, shewed him, that the King of *Pontus* had not given up the War in *Greece*, notwithstanding his Losses. Whilst he was perplexed with these Reflections, News came to him, at<sup>78</sup> *Melittæa* in *Thessaly*, That *Mithridates* had sent into *Eubæa*, a new Army of 80000 Men, under the Command of *Dorylās*; That this mighty Body had crossed over to the Continent; and were already in Possession of *Bæotia*; and That he had lost almost all the Fruits of his Conquests. Upon this, he instantly marched to meet the new General, who proudly flattered himself with the Defeat of the *Roman* Legions, whose Valour he had not experienced; and so great was his Confidence, that *Archelaus* in vain endeavoured to dissuade him, from hazarding at first a general Action.

Nevertheless, *Archelaus* did not desert *Dorylās*, but resolved to share his good, or ill, Fortune. There was a Report that the two Generals were jealous of each other, and that the old could not without Concern see the Success of the new: And indeed the Event gave room for Suspicion, that *Archelaus* betrayed his own Party, for fear *Dorylās* should triumph over an Enemy whom he could not conquer. However, these were the choicest of *Mithridates's* Troops, that were in this formidable Army of *Asiatics*, and *Sylla* came and encamped his *Romans* within reach of them, near Mount<sup>79</sup> *Tilphossion*,

<sup>76</sup> See Vol. 1. p. 32.

<sup>77</sup> *Justice* had the same Honours among the ancient Pagans, as other Virtues and Vices. The *Greek* Poets first deified her, and called her *Themis*; afterwards, they formed her History out of their own Imaginations, and according to their own Humours. Some married her to *Jupiter*, in *Macedon*, and said that by this Marriage she had three Daughters, *Law*, *Peace*, and *Justice*, who came to dwell among Men. Tho' after all, this fabulous History was perhaps only designed for an Allegory, to shew, That the supreme Being is the Arbiter of our Fate; and That if we would enjoy the Happiness of Peace and Tranquillity, we must conform ourselves invariably to the Laws of strict Justice. Others say, she descended from the *Titanes*, and give her what Genealogy they please. They also make her to have reigned in *Thessaly*, where she governed the People with so much Wisdom and Prudence,

that she deserved of them those divine Honours, which they payed her after her Death. To which they add, That being skilled in Divination, and the Knowledge of the Stars, she uttered the first Oracles, such as that which *Ovid* ascribes to her, after *Deucalion's* Flood. From whence it was, that *Apollo*, when he published his Predictions, was said, to perform the Office of *Themis*. *Eusebius* has confounded this Goddess with *Carmen* the Mother of *Evander*, whose Oracles were held in Veneration by the *Romans*.

<sup>78</sup> There were two Cities of this Name in *Greece*, one in *Thessaly* which is here spoken of; and the other in *Achaia*, which is mentioned by *Thucydides*.

<sup>79</sup> The Ancients, particularly *Pausanias*, *Strabo*, and *Suidas*, mention this Mountain. At the Foot of it ran the Fountain *Tilphosa*, to which old *Tirresias*, when oppressed with Thirst and Fatigue, came to drink. But the Water was so cold, that it chilled his Blood,



*phossion*, in *Bæotia*. There *Dorylas* thought proper to feel the Pulse of the Roman General, and try the Valour of his *Legionaries*; and being worsted in several Skirmishes, he immediately came over to the Opinion of *Archelaus*. He readily agreed, that the wisest Method he could take, was to avoid a Battle, and wear out the *Romans* with Expences, in a Country so far distant from their own. But *Archelaus*, who was probably still jealous, and had more Cunning than his Rival, led him by degrees into the large Plains of <sup>80</sup> *Orchomenos*, a Town of *Peloponnesus*, and artfully suggested, that this was a proper Place for a Battle. And indeed, there was no Part of *Greece* afforded more convenient room, for the *Asiatick* Army to extend it self in, for forming its numerous *Phalanxes*, for a free Course for their scythed Chariots, and for drawing up their numberless Squadrons, in which the chief Strength of *Dorylas* consisted. It was an open Plain, not incumbered with any Rocks, or so much as one Tree; and watered by the River *Melas*, which, at a little distance from it, fell into muddy Marshes full of Reeds.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXVIII. *Dorylas* chose this advantageous Post at first, only for an Encampment. But, tho' *Archelaus* openly pretended to disapprove of a Battle, he privately cherished the Desire *Dorylas* had to offer one. Nay, his publick Discourses themselves strengthened the Inclinations of his Rival. *Dorylas* ascribed the Advice he gave not to fight *Sylla*, to Jealousy. In the mean time, the Roman General, who was encamped in the Extremity of the same Plain, took proper Measures to make this advantageous Ground of no use to the Enemy. He dug Ditches in the Plain of 10 Foot long, at certain distances; and at the Head of each of these Cuts, raised a little Fort, to guard it. By this Means, he proposed to shut in the Enemy, and put it out of their Power to extend themselves on any side, except towards the Marshes. But the *Pro-Consul* was sometimes interrupted in his Works, by Skirmishes; and particularly by one, which was exceeding fierce. The Barbarians fell with great Fury on the Workmen, and put to flight the Roman Soldiers that supported them. At this sight, *Sylla*, in a Fit of Rage, which might have been deemed Rashness, if the present State of Things had not required it, flew to the Enemy, and cried out, *Will you desert me, fellow Soldiers! If so, remember, that it was at Orchomenos, that the Legionaries durst not follow their General!* At these Words, the *Romans* rallied, returned to the Charge, and routed the Barbarians. Then, they continued their Works, and *Sylla* began to promise himself

Frontin. Strat.  
L. 2. c. 3.

Id. L. 2. c. 8.

Victory. After these first Attempts, followed a Battle in form. Although the more celebrated Name of *Archelaus* has made the Historians almost forget that of *Dorylas* on this Occasion; the latter was the superior Officer in this Campaign, and the two Generals formed their Army in this Order. In the first Line, they placed their murdering Chariots, which were to begin the Attack, and put the *Legions* into Disorder; In the second the *Phalanx*; and in the third, the Auxiliaries, new Levies, and some *Italians*, who had fled from *Italy* during the late Wars there. *Sylla*, on the other hand, observed none of the Rules usually followed by the *Romans*, in forming their Troops; but had Regard only to the Place, and present Circumstances of Things. He divided his two first Lines into three Bodies, and left wide Openings between them, for the Passage of his Horse, which he posted in his Rear. He ordered his second Line to fix into the Ground before them, a barricado of Stakes, to secure them against the scythed Chariots; and the first Line had Orders to retire, as soon as the Chariots came up to them, and fall into the Spaces left in the second Line for their Retreat. And he posted his

Plut. in Sylla.

Blood, and he died upon the Spot; and the *Thebans*, who attended him in his Flight, erected a Tomb to him there.

<sup>80</sup> *Orchomenos* was formerly one of the most considerable Cities in *Bæotia*. It was famous for the rich Temple the *Greeks* had erected there, in Honour to *The Three Graces*. See Vol. 4.

<sup>81</sup> The ancient Geographers mention several Rivers of this Name, in *Greece*, *Thrace*, and *Asia Minor*. That here spoken of, rises at the Foot of Mount *Parnassus*; and *Pliny* observes, That the Wool of the Sheep that fed on the Banks of it, was black. *Plutarch* says, it was the deepest River in all *Greece*; That it would carry a Boat at its Head; and that about the Summer Solstice, it swelled, overflowed the neigh-

bouring Lands as the *Nile* does in *Egypt*, and produced many Plants like those that grow near the *Nile*; with this difference, that those near the *Melas* bore no Fruit. To which he adds, That after it had run a very short Course, the *Melas* discharged part of its Waters into marshy Grounds; and the rest into the *Cephissus*, a little farther on, in a Place where grow Canes fit to make Flutes. *Strabo* says, B. 9, That the Earth having opened near *Orchomenos*, the River *Melas* left its natural Bed, and overflowed the Territory of *Haliartus*. There it formed a Lake, or great Marsh, which *Plutarch* mentions. And whether its Waters ran off through subterranean Passages, or were entirely swallowed up by the neighbouring Lake; *Strabo* adds, That this River is lost.



Year of Dart-men and Slingers, at the sides of this Fence of Stakes, to frighten the Horses, and  
 R O M E keep off the Chariots with their Darts and Stones.

DCLXVII. As soon as the Trumpets sounded, the Chariots set out, with as much Swiftneſs as  
 the Voices and Whips of the Drivers could give them; and upon this, the first Line of  
 the Romans instantly disappeared, and covered themselves with the Pallisades the second  
 had fixed. Then the light-armed Troops threw a Shower of Darts on the Horses and  
 Chariots; and some of them were entangled and hung in the Stakes, others turned  
 back on the Asiatick Phalangites, and put them in disorder. So that the Romans would  
 have immediately gained the Victory, if it had not been suspended by the Attack of the  
 barbarian Cavalry. Sylla sustained it like a brave Soldier, and at the same time gave  
 Orders like a great General. The Battle was confused, and the Loss of the Asiatics  
 considerable. Diogenes, the Son-in-Law of Archelaus, lost his Life in it, after he had  
 given Proofs of an extraordinary Valour. At length, the Asiatick Archers, being dis-  
 ordered by the Chariots, and hard pressed in Flank, after they had a great while borne  
 the shock of the Legions, turned their Backs, and recovered their former Ground; and,  
 their Rout producing the like among the Phalangites, the Defeat was general. The  
 Loss of the Barbarians is said to have amounted to 15000 Men.

L. CORNELI-  
 US CINNA, &  
 L. VALERIUS  
 FLACCUS,  
 Consuls.  
 App. in Mi-  
 thridat.

§. XXIX. After this Victory, Sylla's chief Concern was to prevent the Escape of  
 Archelaus. He had hitherto made the Island of Eubæa his Refuge, after any Disaster;  
 and his Conqueror was not able to pursue him thither for want of Ships. Sylla there-  
 fore now posted Scouts on the Roads to Eubæa, and the Coasts of it, to stop him in his  
 Flight. The next Day after the Battle, the Romans, to insult the Enemy, dug a Ditch  
 quite up to the Gate of their Camp. The Asiatics made a Sally against the Pioneers,  
 but were put into Disorder, and repulsed with Loss. This new Advantage gave Sylla  
 an Opportunity to exhort his Troops, to compleat the Victory of the preceding Day;  
 and he said, *Let us not lose Time in Works that are more laborious than useful! Let us  
 throw aside the Shovel, take up the Sword; and brave the Enemy on their Ramparts!*  
 Whilst they were preparing to make an Assault, the Asiatick Chiefs, seeing the Insults  
 and Dangers with which they were threatened, said to their Soldiers: *Shall we be de-  
 feated in our Trenches as we were in the Plain, notwithstanding that we are superior in  
 Number? If we could not resist Fortune Yesterday, let us at least punish the Rashness of  
 the Enemy to Day!* And at these Words some of the Barbarians mounted their Ram-  
 parts to drive off the Romans with their Darts; while the rest were drawn up in Batta-  
 lia, within the Camp; in the Form of a Phalanx; and Dorylas and Archelaus shared  
 the Command between them.

The Romans begun the Attack, with one of those Approaches which the Ancients  
 called *Tortoisès*<sup>82</sup>. A great Battalion well closed, advanced with slow Pace to the Foot  
 of the Wall, with their Bucklers over their Heads, to guard them against the Darts  
 thrown from the Ramparts; and their Mattocks being sufficient to open a Fortification  
 of Earth, they soon made a large Breach in it. But when this was done, there was a  
 more dangerous Rampart to be broken through within the Entrenchments, which was  
 the Pikes of the Phalangites. They were so numerous and thick, that the Legionaries  
 were terrified, and hesitated when they came to mount their Breach. Till at length  
 Basilus, one of their Tribunes, encouraged them more by his Example, than his  
 Words; and when he had leaped into the Camp Sword in hand, the whole Roman Ar-  
 my followed him, and fought a Battle there, as in the open Plain. The Camp of the  
 Barbarians was pitched on the Banks of the Lake, into which the River Melas dis-  
 charged it self; and the Legionaries drove the Phalangites into it. How many perished  
 in their Tents, before they were forced into the Lake, is not known; but it is at least  
 certain, that Dorylas disappeared. Archelaus hid himself in a Marsh, and so covered  
 himself with Reeds, that he was not discovered, tho' he continued there two Days. After-  
 wards, being ready to perish with Hunger and Fatigue, he by accident found a Bark,  
 which brought him to Eubæa, loaded with the Shame of having lost the finest Army  
 his Master had. Thus Sylla gained a most compleat Victory; and in Consequence of  
 it, all Greece was delivered from the Barbarians, and the Roman Authority there en-  
 tirely re-established. And as the Pro-Consul severely punished the Cities that had gone  
 over to the Asiatics, by razing Anthedon<sup>83</sup>, Larymna<sup>84</sup>, and Alea<sup>85</sup>, so he was li-

<sup>82</sup> See See Vol. 2. p. 18. Note 66.

<sup>83</sup> Anthedon was a City of Bæotia, situated be-  
 tween Thebes and the Island of Eubæa. Pliny gives

this Name to a Port in Peloponnesus, on the Saronick  
 Gulph.

<sup>84</sup> Pomponius Mela places Larymna in Achaia, over  
 beral



beral in his Rewards. He gave *Basilus* a *Mural Crown* <sup>86</sup>, distributed other military Rewards to the bravest, and was profusely liberal of his Money to all his Troops. It could not now be long ere *Valerius Flaccus* arrived; and it was very necessary for him to attach his Soldiers to him, and fix them immoveably in his Service, by his Liberalities.

The Conqueror's Heart was not at rest, tho' *Greece* was entirely subdued. He daily expected a *Consular Fleet*, which would bring him as many Enemies as Soldiers. He knew the Orders with which *Valerius* was charged by the Senate were, That he should, as soon as he arrived, summons him to lay down his Command, and treat him as an Enemy to the Republick if he refused. This was in effect, a Decree of Proscription; and his only Expedient to evade it, was to march directly to *Eubœa*, drive *Archelaus* thence, and then immediately go over into *Asia*, and attack *Mithridates* himself. But the Difficulty was, how to execute this Scheme without Shipping. *Lucullus*, his *Quæstor*, was not yet returned with any Fleet from *Egypt*, and it was uncertain what was become of him. Nevertheless, tho' others might have been discouraged by these Uneasinesses, *Sylla* was superior to them, and took his Measures like a great Man. He came into *Thessaly*, built as many Ships at his own Expence, as might serve his Turn in any great Emergency, and there calmly waited among his Troops to whom he was very dear, for some happy Issue, both of his Quarrels with his own Republick, and of the War he had hitherto so happily carried on against *Mithridates*.

§. XXX. Indeed, the King of *Pontus* was altogether as restless at *Pergamus*, as *Sylla* in *Thessaly*. The ill Successes of his Son *Archibias*, and of *Taxiles*, *Archelaus* and *Dorylas*, in *Europe*, had diminished his Power, and increased his Troubles. Besides, he was alarmed, at the numerous Armies the *Romans* would have in the East, as soon as the *Consul Valerius* should appear there. He took it for granted, that the Misunderstandings between *Sylla* and his Republick, would not divert this great General from pursuing the Course he had begun; and concluded, that the *Consul* and *Pro-Consul*, tho' at variance between themselves, would both agree, in making War upon him. And since then, *Sylla* had already deprived him of his Conquests in *Europe*, with so small a Body of Men; what had he not Reason to fear, with respect to his Conquests in *Asia*? He well knew the Levity of the *Asiatics*; and that nothing but Force had brought them over to him. It was therefore to be expected, that as soon as the *Romans* should appear again in their respective Countries, their old Attachment to *Rome* would revive, and they would shake off the Yoke, as readily as they had submitted to it. These Reflections entered deep into the Mind of the Barbarian King, and led him to take Resolutions agreeable to his Ferocity. In order to put the *Asiatics* out of a Condition to hurt him, he resolved utterly to destroy, or at least grievously to oppress, them; and the *Gallo-Greeks* fell the first Sacrifice to this detestable Policy. They were more suspected, and more formidable than the rest, because braver. He therefore assembled all the Lords of *Galatia* at *Pergamus*, with all the Appearance of the most sincere Friendship; and the *Tetrarch Deiotarus*, one of the most powerful Kings of *Gallo-Greece*, with the rest, accepted of the Invitation. But notwithstanding these Demonstrations of Friendship, the *Gallo-Greeks* suspected Treachery, and to prevent it, entered into a Plot, against the Life of him whom they feared. *Torredorix*, a Lord of one of their Cantons, promised to carry *Mithridates* by force, from off his Throne, when he should come to the *Gymnasium*, to pronounce his Decrees there. But it happened by some unknown Accident, that the King did not appear there; so that nothing could be done. He sent for the *Gallo-Greeks* to an Audience; and then they resolved to fall upon him in a Body, and assassinate him. But the Plot was discovered, and sixty *Galatian* Lords with their Wives and Children perished by the Hands of the common Executioners. Only three escaped, among whom was *Deiotarus*, who lived till the Reign of *Julius Cæsar*. *Mithridates* seized the Estates of all these Princes, reduced *Galatia* to a Province, and sent *Eumachus*, whom *Deiotarus* afterwards drove out, to be Governour of it.

against *Eubœa*; and this Situation agrees with that which *Strabo* and *Pausanias* give it. According to the two latter Authors, it was a maritime City of *Bœotia*, at the Mouth of the *Cephissus*. But *Pliny* places it in *Laeris*; probably, because it bordered upon that Country.

<sup>85</sup> *Alea*, or *Allia*, was near *Anthedon* and *Larymna*; and therefore probably belonged to *Bœotia*.

<sup>86</sup> See Vol. 1. p. 290. Note 51; & Vol. 2. of the *military Crowns* the *Romans* gave the valiant.

Year of  
ROMAN  
DCLXV.  
L. CORNELIUS  
US CINNA, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS;  
Consuls.

App. in Mi-  
thridat.  
Plut. de Virt.  
Mulierum.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.  
App. in Mithri-  
dat.

The next that suffered were the *Ciots*. Some of them had declared for *Sylla*; which was enough for *Mithridates* to take umbrage at the whole Island; and he first sent thither *Zenobius*, one of his Favourites, to demand their Children to be given him, as Hostages for their Fidelity. Then, under false Pretences of their revolting and keeping a Correspondence with *Rome*, he laid on the Islanders a Tax of 2000 *Talents*; and their Regard for their Hostages obliging them to submit to this Exaction, the whole was paid. But *Zenobius* chicaned with them about the Weight of their Money; and, under Pretence of calling upon them to make the Sum compleat, but in reality to reduce them to Slavery, he assembled them in the Theatre, which he invested with Soldiers. These immediately seized the chief Inhabitants with their Wives and Children, and afterwards the Artificers themselves, and forced them to go on board some Ships, in order to be sent to *Colchis*; and that their Island might not be long left deserted, *Zenobius* sent for Colonies from *Pontus*, and distributed among them the Estates of the old Inhabitants. But the *Heracleans* had Compassion on the *Ciots* their Friends, stopped them in their Passage, and preserved them from the Slavery designed for them at *Colchis*: and at last *Sylla* re-established them in their old Country.

§. XXXI. Nor were the Orders *Mithridates* gave concerning the *Ephesians*, less rigorous; but they opposed his Oppressions with more Courage than the *Ciots*. *Zenobius* appeared before their City, at the Head of his Army; but the *Ephesians* refused to open their Gates to it, tho' so numerous. If *Zenobius*, said they, has any Orders to communicate to us, let him come into the City with a moderate Guard, and communicate them without Noise! We honour *Mithridates*, but remember that we are a free People. Nevertheless, the King of *Pontus* was Master in *Ephesus*; had made *Philopoemenes*, the Father of *Monimia*, whose Beauty and Virtue still captivated his Heart, Governour there; and after some Delay, *Zenobius* seemed inclined to declare his Master's Pleasure. But the *Ephesians* took it for granted before they knew it, that it must be prejudicial to them; and they assembled together, caballed, took up Arms, and resolved to deliver themselves from Oppression, by the Death of the Favourite. In short, they murdered *Zenobius* the Night, and in the Morning appeared upon the Ramparts, as if resolved to stand a Siege. After the Death of the General, the Army dispersed; and this Revolt of the *Ephesians* proved very prejudicial to the King. After their Example, *Smyrna*<sup>87</sup>, *Colophon*, *Sardis*, *Tralles*, *Hypæpene*<sup>88</sup>, and *Mesopolis*<sup>89</sup>, shook off his Yoke. Indeed he recovered and punished some of these Cities; but their Revolt made him at last change his Conduct. Instead of going on to oppress the Greek Cities in *Asia*, as he had at first resolved, he restored them to perfect Liberty. Nay, he declared, that even the Slaves themselves should have their Share of this universal Freedom. Such was the selfish Policy of a King, who was naturally inhuman. He hoped, by these Benefactions, to gain himself many Friends, and support his Faction on the Coasts of *Asia*, against the Arms of the *Romans*.

But he was hated in his own Family, as much as in the conquered Cities; and his greatest Confidants plotted against his Life. Some of these Plots were discovered to him, by those very Persons who had the chief Hand in them, and had assembled the Conspirators together for that very Purpose. This made him sensible, that he could have no Dependence on the many *Greeks*, about his Court, whom he honoured with his Confidence; and he was more fully convinced of it, when he heard that 80000 Citizens of *Pergamus* had entered into a Conspiracy against him. He pronounced Sentence of Death upon them, and ordered those of his Household to discover, and punish the Criminals; and they made a very ill use of his Authority. They filled the whole City with Slaughter, and rather took care to revenge themselves on their own personal Enemies, than on those of the King. However, these Sights made him dislike his Residence at *Pergamus*; and he resolved to leave a Country which abounded with Assassins, and where one Conspirator was no sooner executed, but others started up in his room. He set out for *Pontus*, hoping for more Safety and more Rest, in his old Dominions; and before his Departure, he thoroughly considered the State of the War which he had undertaken. He had indeed extended his Conquests so far, that all the Countries which *Rome* had formerly taken from *Antiochus the Great* were become subject to

87 See our Accounts of *Colophon*, *Sardis*, and *Tralles*, in the preceding Volumes.

88 *Hypæpene* was probably a City of *Ionia*. The ancient Geographers seem not to have known either its Name or Situation.

89 *Appian* is the only Author that mentions *Mesopolis*; and from the little he says of it, we infer, that it stood in *Ionia*, or one of the Provinces, that bordered upon it.



him. But at the Time when he had subdued them, *Italy* was embroiled with Civil Wars. Whereas, since she had begun to recover herself, she had sent a very formidable General against him, who was so very brave and fortunate, that though he had sent such an Inundation of *Asiatics* to oppose him, as had in a manner unpeopled his vast Dominions, *Sylla* alone had destroyed in *Greece* above 200000 of his Subjects. What then was he to expect, when *Valerius* should land his new Legions in *Asia*!

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXXII. These Considerations so struck him, that his Heart inclined to Peace; and he ordered *Archelaus* to treat with *Sylla*, and make a Peace with him, upon his own Terms. *Archelaus* obeyed; but before he durst venture on an Interview, he sounded the Inclinations of *Sylla* by another *Archelaus*, who was a Merchant of <sup>90</sup>*Delium*. The *Pro-Consul*, as may well be imagined, did not decline a Treaty: the bare Proposal of a Peace pleased him. This would put him out of all fear of the Arrival of *Valerius*; and, as he flattered himself, procure him an easy Victory over that *Consul*, who was charged with the Orders and Vengeance of *Cinna*. The Place he appointed for the Conference, was a Part of the Sea, off *Delium*; and there he met *Archelaus* in a Bark, in sight of the two Squadrons that had brought them. The *Asiatick* General began thus. *If Mithridates has taken up Arms against Rome, it ought to be imputed to the unjust Prætors, your Predecessors in Asia, whose Violences forced him to it. You have indeed conducted yourself with great Honour in Greece; and because surrounded with Glory, are therefore persecuted by the Tyrants who have usurped the Government in Rome. Mithridates has nothing more at Heart than to re-establish you in the Honours which you have deserved, and from which your Republick excludes you. He offers you Ships, Men, and Money, to carry you to Rome, to triumph over your Enemies there; and desires you would propose your own Terms.*

Plut. in Sylla.  
App.

To this *Sylla*, after a short Recollection, replied. *If Mithridates has been injured by our Prætors, he ought to have complained to the Republick by his Ambassadors. Whereas, he has possessed himself of all Asia, and Greece, by Violence; (not to mention the Massacre of our Romans by his Order, the Vengeance of which I leave to the Gods,) and is now terrified into a Repentance for what he has done. What then can we do more for him, than forgive him what is past, if his future Conduct shall convince us, that the Change is real? But have we any reason to think it is so? He only desires to amuse us with Delays. I refer it to yourself to judge, who have had the greatest Share in his Confidence. You have too great a Mind, Archelaus, not to have often groaned under the weight of the Slavery, in which this imperious Master keeps you. Dare then to be free, and reign in his Place. Sylla and his Republick offer to support you. Archelaus, who was a Man of Honour, was equally alarmed at the Suggestion of becoming a Traitor, or an Usurper, and answered; I am not come to beg a Crown, but to treat of a Peace. Upon what Terms will you make one? Upon such, returned Sylla haughtily, as the Conquerors shall think fit to give you. This struck *Archelaus* dumb, and he could only testify his Surprize and Grief, by his Silence. Upon which *Sylla* added, *The Terms are these. Let Mithridates deliver up his Fleets, and the Officers that command them. Let him return the Prisoners and Deserters. Let him re-establish the Ciots, and other Exiles, in their native Countries. Let him give up all the Kingdoms and Provinces he has conquered in Asia. Let him confine himself to his own Dominions, and live quietly there. Let him make Satisfaction to the Nations whom he has injured, and defray the Expence of the War which he has drawn upon himself. Upon these Terms he may hope for pardon.**

This said, they proceeded to debate on every one of these Articles; and at length *Archelaus* agreed, *That his Master should restore Bithynia to Nicomedes, and Cappadocia to Ariobarzanes; That he should withdraw his Troops from all the Coast of Asia, and evacuate Paphlagonia; and lastly, That he should pay the Romans 2000 Talents, by way of Satisfaction for their Expences.* The Roman General accepted the Offer; and *Archelaus*, by way of Preliminary, agreed to deliver up to him, all the Ships *Mithridates* had at Sea. And then *Sylla*, as soon as assured of a Fleet, was no longer in Pain about the Arrival of *Valerius Flaccus*, or the Decree of the Senate.

<sup>90</sup> This was formerly, a little maritime City of which the Greeks had built there in honour of *A-Bæotia*. *Plutarch* says, it was famous for a fine Temple *pello*.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
L. VALERIUS  
FLACCUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXXIII. Before the Conference ended, a Rumour was spread that the *Consul* so long expected, had at last landed two *Legions* in the *Levant*. His Arrival had been retarded by Accidents, in his Voyage. As he had not began it till *December*, towards the end of his *Consulship*; he no sooner got out to Sea, but a Storm overtook him. Some of his Ships had been beaten to pieces; others taken and burnt by the *Asiatick* Privateers which *Mitbridates* had sent into those Seas; and *Rome* thought it but an ill Omen of the Success of his Enterprize, to be thus attacked by Winds, and Enemies, almost in Port. Besides, the *Consul* was not a Man, from whom much was to be expected. He had scarce any Merit, but that of having seconded the Fury of *Marius* and *Cinna* with his own. He was fordidly covetous, and valued Honours only for what he got by them; and had neither the Valour nor Experience necessary for carrying on so great an Expedition. This *Cinna* had foreseen; and had therefore placed immediately under him *Lucius Fimbria*, a young Senator, who during the Civil Wars, had signalized himself more by his Boldness, than his Valour or Conduct. Whilst *Marius* lived, *Fimbria* had been the Minister of his Violences, and had shed more *Patrician* Blood with his own Hand, than had been spilt by the furious Company of Banditti which *Marius* kept in pay. So that the new General loved nothing but Robbery; and his Lieutenant delighted only in Blood. The one was inordinately covetous, the other inhumanly cruel.

It was probably the Avarice of the *Consul* that caused a Famine which the *Romans* suffered on board the Fleet. However, after many Dangers, they at last reached the Port of *Byzantium*, a flourishing City, on the Confines of *Asia* and *Europe*: And as soon as they landed, a Difference broke out between the *Consul* and his chief Officer. *Valerius* took up his Lodgings in <sup>91</sup> *Byzantium*, where he lived at ease, at the Expence of the Citizens, and left *Fimbria* to take up his Quarters in a Camp, which he pitched near the City. This drew Complaints from the *Legionaries*, whom the Lieutenant General encouraged in their Discontents; and thereby made himself as agreeable to them, as the *Consul* was odious. He observed to them, That they still continued in Tents, in a very rigorous Season; whilst their General, who ought to have shewn them an Example, was enjoying all the Conveniencies of Life, at the publick Expence; and then the *Legionaries* did not confine themselves to Murmurs. They were for deserting, and going over to *Sylla*; but *Fimbria* turned their designed Desertion into a Sedition. He, of his own Authority, without Orders from the *Consul*, led them from their Camp, to take up their Quarters in the City. An Act, which in the virtuous Ages of the Republick, would have been severely punished; but *Valerius* was very glad to accommodate Matters with *Fimbria*, and beat the Insults of his audacious Subaltern. The rest of the Winter was spent in continual Quarrels between the *Consul* and his Lieutenant; and when this was known at *Rome*, *Cinna*, who was still absolute Master there, resolved to take the Command from *Valerius*, and give it to *Fimbria*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO,  
Consuls.

§. XXXIV. On *The Calends of January*, *Cinna*, without assembling the *Comitia*, declared himself *Consul*, the third Time; and chose that *Papirius Carbo* to be his Colleague, who had been an Assistant and Accomplice in his Crimes, and was deemed the most desperate Zealot for *Marius*, and the most furious Enemy to the Senate. The other chief Dignities in the Republick were also filled with such Men, as were wholly devoted to the Tyrant, who reigned alone in *Rome*. *Publius Cethegus*, *Marcus Lætorius*, and *Cneius Granius*, whom *Sylla* had proscribed with *Marius*, either usurped the *Prætorship* themselves, or received it from *Cinna's* Hands. It may therefore well be imagined, that in so unsettled a State, the Nobility, especially *Sylla's* Friends, were not spared; and in short, the whole Face of the Republick was changed. There were no Remains to be seen of the old Institutions and wise Regulations, which the first Republicans had established. The Laws were sunk into Contempt; Equity was no more. All Things were governed by Caprice, or the Will of the prevailing Faction. The most just Opposition to the Pleasure of the lawless Men in Power, was instantly punished, in the severest Manner. The Forms of assembling the People to pass Sentence on a *Citizen*, before he was put to death, were not regarded. Juridical Sentences were laid aside; and *Citizens* condemned and executed, without Trial. The Effects of the rich were sold to the Tyrants by Auction; and among the rest,

<sup>91</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 62. Note 69.



*Sylla's* Lands were put up to sale, and *Metella* and her Children reduced to want. The Year of Men of Birth and Distinction therefore, that were left in the Capital, thought these *R O M E* Insults were no longer to be borne. Good Men looked on *Rome* as a Nest of Robbers, DCLXVIII. where it was neither honourable or safe for them to continue. They left it in Crowds; L. CORNELI- and whole Companies of illustrious Exiles came voluntarily to *Sylla* for Rest and Safety. US CINNA, & So that his Camp was a kind of *Rome*, and displayed more of the Majesty of the Ro- CN. PAPIRI- man Senate and People, than the Capital itself. *Metella* and her Children fled also to US CARBO, her Husband, for Bread and Safety; and at the Head of the Senators who were come Consuls. for refuge, implored his Assistance, against the Oppressions of the Tyrants who reigned in *Rome*. But the Time was not yet come for his leaving the East. The Peace he had agreed to with the Agent of *Mithridates* was not yet signed; and it would not have been for his Credit to have left to the *Pro-Consul Valerius Flaccus*, the Glory of finishing an Affair, which he had just brought to a Conclusion.

§. XXXV. In the mean Time, the Misunderstandings between *Valerius* and *Fim-* *Disd. Sic. apud*  
*bria* still continued. The latter omitted no means to gain the Affections of the Sol- *V. les.*  
diers. He connived at their Robberies even in the Territories of Friends, and laughed *App. in Mi-*  
at the Remonstrances and Orders of the General. *Valerius* therefore took all Opportu- *thrid.*  
nities to mortify him; and in a Dispute between him, and the *Quæstor* of the Army, determined it in favour of the latter. Upon this, the warm and audacious Lieutenant threatened his General, to go to *Rome* and complain to *Cinna*. To which *Valerius* proudly answered, *Be gone then; and since you renounce your Office, I give it to Ther-*  
*mus, with the Title of Pro-Prætor and with a Right to have Lictors and Fasces.* *Fim-*  
*bria* was very sensibly affected with this Blow; and *Valerius* resolved to set sail with his Fleet, for <sup>92</sup> *Chalcedon*. But no sooner had he left his Land-Forces under the Com-  
mand of *Thermus*, and embarked, than the deprived Lieutenant took that Opportu-  
nity to raise a Tumult. He came to *Byzantium*, and complained to the Soldiers, that the *Fasces* had been taken from him by *Thermus*, whose only Title to the *Pro-*  
*Prætorship* was the *Consul's* Nomination; whereas it had been given him, by the  
Consent of the *Legions*: And then immediately took away the *Fasces* from *Thermus*,  
and of his own Authority assumed them to himself. So great was the Insolence of  
this Man, who was formed on the Models of the *Marii*, and *Cinna*! Nor did he  
stop there. He assembled the Troops, and inveighed against their General with ve-  
hemence. *You know*, said he, *the Avarice of Valerius, and I assure you he is deter-*  
*mined to sacrifice your Lives, or Liberty, to it. He has sold you all to Mithridates;*  
*and you will soon, either perish by the Swords of the Asiatics, or languish in Chains, un-*  
*der their King. The Price is agreed on; and he has driven me from him, because he*  
*was afraid of my Affection for you. He does not care to have a Man near him, who*  
*will defend your Lives.*

Whether the Soldiers believed this Charge is not known. If not, they at least thought him better able to conduct a great Enterprize than *Valerius*, and proclaimed him General. *Fimbria*, in return for this great Favour, gave them great Liberties, suffered them to plunder the neighbouring Cities, without Distinction or Reserve, and they enriched themselves by these Robberies. The plundered People reduced to De-  
spair, came and complained to *Valerius*, at *Chalcedon*. The General immediately re-  
turned, crossed the *Bosphorus* to his Army at *Byzantium*, and when he had reprimanded *Fimbria*, ordered him to restore to the Owners the Effects he had taken from them. And then the Subaltern displayed his Impudence. He slightly excused himself for having permitted the plunder; but forbade the Soldiers to restore their Booty. This Dispute between the two Chiefs raised a Commotion among the Troops, and they all sided with *Fimbria* against *Valerius*. In short, the General was forced to give way, and returned to *Chalcedon*. The Army under the Command of *Fimbria* followed him thither, and in order to escape his Fury, the *Pro-Consul* fled to <sup>93</sup> *Nicomedia*, shut the Gates, and put himself into a Condition to sustain a Siege, against his own *Legions*. *Fimbria* very audaciously pursued him, and filled all the Places through which he passed with Horror. He left them to the Mercy of his Troops;

<sup>92</sup> This City belonged to *Bithynia*, and stood on the *Thracian Bosphorus*, which divides *Europe* and *Asia*. It is now but a small Place, where some Remains of its ancient State are still to be found. See Vol. 4. p. 62. Note 69.

<sup>93</sup> *Nicomedia*, one of the most famous Cities of *Bithynia*, took its Name from one *Nicomedes* who reigned there. It is now called *Schemith* by the Turks. See the former Volumes.



Year of and many Cities were sacked, and the whole Country laid waste. At length he arrived at the Gates of *Nicomedia*; and whether the City surrendered without Resistance, or was betrayed, he made himself Master of it. The only Object of his Search was the *Pro-Consul*, who was found in a Well, and dragged out thence to receive his Death at the Hands of a Subaltern, who had received Favours from him, and therefore ought to have shewn a Regard for him. But such is generally the Temper of the factious. The same Motive of Interest that unites them makes them Enemies, when occasion offers. And though in the first virtuous Ages of *Rome*, so monstrous a Crime would not have escaped unpunished, *Cinna*, and his Senate, approved of it; and *Fimbria* was nominated at *Rome*, to be General of the Armies of the Republick in the *Levant*.

L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO,  
Consuls.  
Epit. Livian.  
App. in Mi-  
thrid.  
Epit. Liv.  
L. 82. c. 64

§. XXXVI. In the mean time, *Sylla* played with the Divisions of the two Generals, who came from *Rome*, either to deprive him, or make War with him. The Peace agreed on with *Mithridates* left him at liberty to march out of *Greece*, which he had subdued; and during this short Interval of Rest, with respect to the *Asiatics* and *Romans*, he amused himself with other Enemies of less Consideration. The *Thracians* had joined in the general Revolt which *Archelaus* had raised in the East of *Europe*; and under Presence of their Alliance with *Mithridates*, had often made Incursions into *Macedon*, which was now become *Roman*, and committed Depredations there. Besides, *Macedon* had but lately been ravaged by *Archelaus* and *Taxiles*, and had not recovered what she had suffered by them. *Sylla*, tho' declared an Enemy to the Republick by a Decree, yet still retained the Affection of a *Citizen* for her; and indeed we cannot look upon him as a Rebel to his Country. It is true, he retained the Command of an Army in the *Levant*, contrary to the Inclinations of the Senate at *Rome*, and of *Cinna*, who was now an absolute Monarch over the *Roman* State. But what Obligation was he under to submit to an usurped Authority? *Cinna* had taken the *Consulship* by violence, without any juridical Election; and his Senators and *Prætors* were all his Creatures and Vassals. And therefore their Decree, who had no Authority to make any, had no force but with Cowards, or such as were not able to resist them. All the right of the Government was, properly speaking, in *Sylla's* Camp. He was the only Magistrate at this Time, who had been invested in his Office in a legal Manner. The Senate and People of *Rome* had regularly nominated him General of their Armies in the *Levant*. What right then had *Cinna*, who was himself an Intruder, to deprive him of an Employment which had been given him by the People assembled in *Comitia*? And as to the Senate, there was a Majority of them in the *Levant*, and they must have had at least as much Authority inherent in them, as the timorous few that were left at *Rome*.

Plut. in Sylla.

*Sylla* therefore did only what was just, in keeping his Post; and as he still retained the Sentiments of a true *Roman*, and had regard to the Interests of his Republick, he thought himself obliged to cover *Macedon* from the Invasion of the *Thracians*. To this end, he carried the War into the Country of this fierce People; but took care when he left *Greece*, to take *Archelaus* with him. Though the Peace was agreed on, he was afraid the *Asiatics* would break through it; and therefore thought it necessary to prevail on *Archelaus* to accompany him in his new Expedition. This *Cappadocian* Lord was a Man of true Honour, and very capable of Friendship, and the *Roman* General had a sincere Value for him. Neither Caresses, nor Favours, were spared to induce him to take this Journey; *Sylla* gave him 10000 Acres of Land for his Property in *Eubæa* and with it the Title, of a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People. After this they set out, and crossed *Thessaly* together, and *Archelaus* happening to fall dangerously sick at <sup>94</sup> *Larissa*, *Sylla*, though in haste to pursue his march, continued with him, and took as much care of him as he could have done of his dearest Friend. This gave the malicious occasion to say, That there had been an understanding between the two Generals, when they made War with one another; and That *Sylla* owed his Victories at *Chæronea* and *Orchomenos* to the Connivance of the *Asiatick*. But the *Roman* despised those Slanders; and in order to serve his Republick, entered *Macedon*, settled the Government of that great Province, drove back the *Thracians*, and forced them to keep themselves within their own Limits.

<sup>94</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 422. Note 128.



§. XXXVII. Thus was *Sylla* divided between two Affairs, one of which only indirectly concerned him, whilst the other was his own Work. At the same time that he settled the Affairs of *Macedon*, at *Philippi*<sup>95</sup>, he continued his Negotiations, in order to compleat the Peace agreed on with *Mithridates*; and this would have been sooner concluded, if *Fimbria* had not obstructed it. Nature had indeed endowed this seditious *Roman* with some Qualities proper to make a good Officer. He had Intrepidity, and that kind of Courage, which is more fit for a Subaltern, than a General. But not being Master of his Passions, he gave himself up to the Sallies of an impetuous Temper, and seemed to love War, only for the Pleasure of shedding Blood. He took his Measures too hastily, without any Circumspection; and had no regard to the publick Good, or indeed to any Thing, but his own Ambition. Had he at all consulted the Interest of his Country, he would have seconded *Sylla*, in the Design of reconquering *Asia*. But *Sylla*, who knew his turbulent Disposition, expected that he would turn his Arms against *Mithridates*, and renew the War which was in a manner ended. Nevertheless it happened, that his Hostilities only helped forward the Peace, which he designed to prevent; and the Mischief he intended fell wholly on himself. So much inferior was he to *Sylla*, in Conduct as well as true Valour!

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CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO,  
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As soon as he had, by the many Crimes before related, raised himself to the Command with which *Valerius* had been entrusted, he transported his Army to the Coasts of *Asia*; and the removal of the War soon recalled *Mithridates* to *Pergamus*. There, exposing his Person less, and being surrounded with fewer *Greeks* than formerly, he endeavoured to provide for the Security of his Conquests. *Bithynia* being most threatened, he sent his Son *Mithridates* thither; and the Prince being young, he joined with him the *Taxiles* before-mentioned, and *Menander*, and *Diophantes*, three Officers of great Experience. *Fimbria* turned his Arms that way, and the first Efforts of young *Mithridates* a little disconcerted the audacious *Roman*. But at last the latter got the ascendant, and drove the Enemy from Post to Post. *Fimbria* shewed some Address and Industry, as well as Courage, in the Operations of this Campaign. His Cavalry being inferior to that of the *Asiatics*, he always dug three Trenches at a proper distance before his Camp, one in front, and one in each flank. By this Means, he kept off the Enemy from insulting him in his Camp; or generally drove them back with loss, if they ventured to approach it. He also, as occasion offered, made a skilful use of the Advantages of his Situation. He one Day posted himself so, as to have the River<sup>96</sup> *Rhyndacus*, on the Confines of *Bithynia* and *Mysia*, between him and the Enemy; and at a Time when they did not expect him, the Season being very rainy, he crossed the River, and made a great Slaughter of them. This Blow terrified young *Mithridates*, who lost the best Part of his Troops; and then he returned for Safety to his Father at *Pergamus*.

App. in Mi-  
thridat.  
Memnon.

Front. Strat.  
L. 3. c. 17.

But the Father himself was no longer safe in his Capital. The victorious *Fimbria*, warmed with his first Success, was approaching towards it. This could not but cause great Confusion in a Court which did not expect it; and at the same Time, it was a shameful Thing to suffer the *Romans* to be so near, and not march out against them. The King therefore went himself, at the Head of a few Troops, the remains of his shattered Armies; but the *Asiatics* were affrighted at the Sight of the *Legions*, and dispersed without fighting. *Mithridates*, for fear of being besieged in *Pergamus*, fled to<sup>97</sup> *Pitane*; and the *Roman* Army instantly following him, had like to have taken him in his Retreat. At least, *Fimbria* flattered himself, that the King, who had shut himself in there, could not escape him. *Pitane* was a maritime City of *Æolis*, on the Confines of *Phrygia*, and not very strong; but its Communication with the Sea opened a way for the King's Retreat. However, by an unexpected Piece of good Fortune, it happened, that *Lucullus* now appeared off the Place, with the Fleet he had assembled together on the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*. We have before observed, That *Sylla* had sent this Officer, who was his *Quæstor*, and faithful Friend, to get a Fleet of

Plut. in Lu-  
cullus.

<sup>95</sup> *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* place the City of *Philippi* on the Confines of *Thrace*; and *Appian* pretends it was first called *Crenides*, and then *Datum*. Afterwards it changed its old Names, to take a new one from *Philip*, who defended it against the Invasion of the *Thracians*. It stood 12 Miles from the Coasts of the *Ægean* Sea; and it is now almost buried in its Ruins.

<sup>96</sup> This River, rises in the Pool of *Artynia* near

Mount *Olympus*; waters Part of *Mysia*, a Province of *Asia Minor*; and then falls into the *Propontis*.

<sup>97</sup> The ancient Geographers mention several Cities of this Name; one in *Peloponnesus*, near *Sparta*, and the River *Eurotas*; another on the Eastern Coast of *Macedon*; a third, in *Mysia*; and a fourth, which is here spoken of, on the Frontiers of *Æolis* and *Troas*, near the Gulph of *Smyrna*.



Year of the *Allies* of the Roman People; and That tho' he was honourably received by the King  
 ROME of Egypt, he could obtain no Gallies of him. But he afterwards fell down on the  
 DCLXVIII. Island of *Rhodes*; joined the *Rhodian* Fleet, to the Ships he had picked up in his way;  
 L. CORNELI- made a Descent on the Islands of *Cos* <sup>98</sup> and *Cnidus* <sup>99</sup>; engaged the Islanders to shake  
 US CINNA, & off the Yoke of *Mithridates*; had set the *Ciots* and *Colophonians* at Liberty; and was  
 CN. PAPIRI- now cruising to clear the Seas of the Pyrates, which swarmed in them, since the Wars  
 US CARBO, between the *Romans* and *Mithridates*.  
 Consuls.

§. XXXVIII. *Fimbria* therefore addressed himself to him, and intreated him to block up the Port of *Pitane* with his Fleet. He informed him, by his Messengers, That he had got the proud *Mithridates*, that Enemy to the Roman Name, safe in his Toils, and had cut off all Means of his escaping by Land; and That it would be as easy for him to prevent his Flight by Sea: and therefore desired him, not to decline doing his Country that Service, which Fortune and the other Gods had put in his Power. But the very Name of *Fimbria* was detested by all Men of Honour. The horrid Violence he had offered to his General, had made him execrable. Besides, *Lucullus* was engaged with *Sylla*, and could do nothing, without his Orders. Upon these Considerations therefore, he preferred Duty and Honour, to the Glory he might have acquired by taking *Mithridates* Prisoner, and putting an End to the War in *Asia*. In short, he disappeared, left the King an open Retreat from *Pontus*; and the Monarch taking the Rout of *Lesbos*, retired for Refuge to *Mitylene*.

App. in Mi-  
thridat.

In the mean time, *Fimbria* besieged *Pitane*, took it, and became Master of the Field; and then gave a full course to his own Cruelty, and the Avarice of his Soldiers. It was Matter of Diversion to him, to dismantle and destroy Cities, or at least to extort great Sums from them, and reduce them to extreme Want. Such Acts of Inhumanity are recorded of him, as are past all Belief. He is said to have crucified the unfortunate *Asiatics*, without having any Crime to lay to their Charge, or proposing any Service to the Publick by it; or indeed having any other Motive, than the Pleasure of seeing human Blood spilt. One Day, after some Crosses had been erected for the Execution of some innocent Persons whom he had condemned to die, and who were, as usual, first to be scourged; he was told, that there were more Crosses erected than there were Persons to suffer. To which the barbarous Wretch replied, *That they should not be useless*; and immediately ordered his *Lictors*, to seize such of the Persons present, as came first to their hands, and crucified them. *Cyzicus* <sup>100</sup> also felt the Effects of his Inhumanity; but no City suffered more by it, than *Ilium* <sup>101</sup>, which had been raised out of the Ashes of old *Troy*, the Mother of *Rome*. This Roman was to this new City of *Troy*, what *Agamemnon* had been to the old, only with less Pity. After he had sacked all the Cities of *Phrygia*, he appeared before this Place; and the *Ilians* judging of the Treatment they were to expect by the Fate of their Neighbours, rashly shut their Gates against him, and prepared to stand a Siege. At the same time, they sent a Deputation to *Sylla*, to declare that they submitted themselves to him, and would receive the Roman Yoke, from none but himself. *Sylla* was still as far off as *Macedon*; and sent Letters from thence to *Fimbria*, to forbid him to touch a City, which had surrendered to him, and put it self under the Protection of *Rome*. But the *Pro-Consul's* Prohibition only exasperated the proud *Fimbria* the more. He increased the Number of his Machines before the Place, and made himself Master of it in eleven Days. When he had made a Breach, he said, *Surely the Ilians will receive us into their City as Romans. This is the Place whence we originally came, the Parent of the Colony from which we all have sprung*: And after this malicious Sneer, which foreboded ill to the People, he gave full vent to his Fury. The Soldiers killed all they found without Distinction; and the City suffered more than when it was first destroyed. Not an Edifice, whether common or sacred, was spared. The famous Temple of *Minerva*, which had been rebuilt, was again reduced to Ashes; and with it, a Multitude of unfortunate People who had fled to it for Sanctuary. We are also told, that under the Ruins of a little Temple which was demolished, was found the famous *Palladium*, which the *Greeks* were said to have carried to *Argos*, and which the *Romans* boasted of having received from *Aeneas*. *Fimbria* was very merry on this pretended tutelary Goddess; and to shew the Vanity of her

<sup>98</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 201, Note 10.

<sup>99</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 533. Note 120.

<sup>100</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 151. Note 161.

<sup>101</sup> This City, according to *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*,

was rebuilt by the Children of *Hector*, after it had been utterly destroyed by the *Greeks*. See Vol. 4. p. 215, Note 39.



Protection, laid the City the protected level with the Ground. He did not leave one Year of Part of the Walls entire ; and to enjoy the Pleasure of this barbarous Sight, he walked *ROME* round the City, and often asked the People about him, whether they saw any Build- *DCLXVIII.* ing that was yet to be demolished. And lastly, he finished this terrible Execution, with *L. CORNELI-* putting to Death the Messengers who had brought him *Sylla's* Letter. Such were the *US CINNA, &* Monsters *Rome* now produced ! Not a Footstep of the Virtues and Humanity of the old *CN. PAPIRI-* *Romans* was to be seen, in the Disciples of *Marius* and *Cinna* ! *US CARBO,* *Consuls.*

§. XXXIX. *Sylla*, after he had subdued the *Thracians*, *Heneti*, *Sinti* <sup>102</sup> and *Scordisci*, was returned to *Macedon* ; and when he received Information of the Deva- *Epit. Liv. L.* <sup>84. c. 9.</sup> stations and Violences *Fimbria* was committing in *Asia*, his Heart was the more set on completing the Peace with *Mithridates*, that he might be at liberty to make War with the utmost Vigour on this *Roman* Citizen, who dishonoured his Republick by his Barbarities. To this end, he began his March through *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, for the *Hel-* *Ibid. c. 18.* *lespont* ; and there were two Things that favoured his Design. *Mithridates*, since his being beaten by *Fimbria*, and his Retreat to an Island for Refuge, was more inclined than ever to sign the Treaty ; and the Ships *Lucullus* had brought were sufficient to transport his Troops to *Asia*. At the same time therefore that he was marching by Land, he ordered *Lucullus* to carry his Fleet to the Ports of the *Chersonesus* <sup>103</sup>, and there wait for him ; and on the Road, some Ambassadors from *Mithridates* met him. Their Orders were to assure him, that the King was ready to confirm the Treaty in all Particulars, except that he would exclude *Paphlagonia*, and refused to deliver up his Ships ; and they added, *That if he refused these Proposals, Fimbria offered him better.* These last Words provoked the generous *Pro-Consul*, and he cried out ; *Let Mithridates then treat with Fimbria ; They will both soon find, that the Hopes of an imaginary Peace will plunge them into all the Horrors of War. Mithridates must be ruined before he will be brought to understand his own Interest. Let him then perish, since he wont accept of the Safety which I offer him !*

*Archelaus*, who was present at the Conference, did his utmost to appease the *Pro-Consul*, and said ; *Suffer me to speak, and be Mediator between you ! I give you my Word that I will either prevail on Mithridates to accept of all the Articles agreed to, or forfeit my Life and fall by my own Hands.* Upon this, *Sylla*, who knew the Probity of *Archelaus*, entrusted him with this important Negotiation, and sent him as his Agent to a Prince whom he had so long served. In the mean while, he returned back, and to keep himself in Action till he received *Mithridates's* Answer, he entered *Mædica* <sup>104</sup>, settled it in Peace, and came again into *Macedon*. As soon as he arrived at *Philippi*, *Archelaus* brought him word, That *Mithridates* had at last, upon his Re- *Plut. in Sylla,* *Epit. Liv.* <sup>83. c. 20.</sup> presentations, acquiesced ; That he had made him sensible, how dangerous it was to treat *with Fimbria*, who was well known to have neither Sincerity, Honour, nor Honesty ; *App. in Mithridat.* and That he would have nothing to do with any other *Roman*, but desired an Interview with him before the Affair was finally concluded. *Sylla* readily agreed to an Interview which could scarce fail of turning to his Honour, approved of the Place proposed for it, which was *Dardanus* <sup>105</sup> in *Phrygia*, began his March, crossed *Thrace*, and sent Orders *Epit. Liv.* <sup>83. c. 20.</sup> to *Lucullus* to wait with his Fleet at <sup>105</sup> *Abydos*. When the Army was come into *Chersonesus*, the brave Admiral, after he had chased the Enemy's <sup>107</sup> Ships in his Passage, came and took on board *Sylla's* Troops, and carried him safe into *Asia*, there first to conclude a Peace, and then to begin a new War. *Ibid.*

<sup>102</sup> The *Sinti* inhabited a Country of *Macedon* called *Sintica*, from *Sintia*, the Name of their Capital.

<sup>103</sup> The Ancients gave this Name to that Peninsula of *Thrace*, or *Romania*, which reaches, on one side to the *Propontis* ; and on the other to the *Ægean* Sea, near the *Straits of Gallipoli*, and the *Gulph Melas*. See Vol. 4.

<sup>104</sup> *Mædica*, or the Country of the *Mædi*. See Vol. 3. p. 422. Note 125.

<sup>105</sup> *Dardanus* was formerly a City of *Troas*, a Province of *Asia Minor*, which made Part of *Briam's* Kingdom. It stood on the Coast of the *Hellesthor*, eight Miles North of *Abydos*. Some think that the two neighbouring Castles of *Sestos* and *Abydos* were called the *Dardanelles*, from the Name of this City.

<sup>106</sup> *Abydos* or *Abydus*, anciently a City of *Phrygia*, at present scarce deserves the Name of a Town. It stood on the *Thracian Bosphorus* over against *Sestos*. We have elsewhere observed, That those Cities were formerly the Boundaries of *Asia* and *Europe*, as *The Dardanelles* in the same Neighbourhood now are.

<sup>107</sup> *Plutarch* says, That *Lucullus* beat *Mithridates's* Fleet twice. First, near *Latium* one of the Promontories of *Troas*. And being afterwards informed that *Neoptolemus* waited for him over against *Tenedos*, with a naval Force superior to his own, he resolved to attack him. Accordingly, he crowded all the Sail he could, came up with the Enemy, who flattered himself with Victory, dispersed his Gallies, obliged him to retire, and continued sole Master of the Seas.



Year of §. XL. Sylla came first to *Dardanus*, and there waited the Arrival of *Mithridates*,  
 R O M E who soon came with a Fleet of 200 Sail, and an Army of 26000 Men, and a great  
 DCLXVIII. Number of scythed Chariots. *Dardanus* was only a Village which formerly belonged  
 to the *Trojans*, but agreeably situated on the Coast of the *Hellefont*. The Roman Ar-  
 my, consisting of five *Legions*, encamped within reach of the *Asiatick*. A vast Plain  
 was chosen for the Place of Conference; and thither the two Generals came, each at-  
 tended with a small Number of Guards. As soon as the *Pro-Consul* appeared, the King  
 advanced some Paces, and held out his Hand to him; upon which Sylla said, *Well;*  
*Shall we have a Peace on the Terms which Archelaus has proposed to you?* But *Mi-*  
*thridates* held his Peace; and the Roman surprized at his Silence, haughtily proceeded  
 thus. *Speak, and give me your Answer! It is the Part of the vanquished to explain*  
*themselves in the Presence of their Conquerors. I only have a Right to speak, or be silent*  
*on this Occasion, as I think proper.* Then *Mithridates* began a studied Harangue, and  
 with an Air of Grief and Uneasiness said, *My Father was always a Friend to the Ro-*  
*mans; but it has been my Fate, not to be able to preserve their Good-Will which he trans-*  
*mitted to me. Shall I then accuse myself for this, or the Magistrates Rome long since*  
*sent to govern Asia? Alas, it was their Pride and Avarice that caused all these Disorders*  
*here. By them Ariobarzanes was placed on the Throne of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes on*  
*that of Bithynia. By them, Phrygia was taken from me. By them, . . . .* Here Sylla  
 interrupted him, and said, *I know you value your self on your Eloquence; but let us come*  
*to the Point. Have you any tolerable Pretensions to Phrygia? Indeed your Father*  
*bought it of Manius Aquilius; but the Senate and People of Rome disannulled the Act*  
*which put him in Possession of it. As for Nicomedes, you immediately became his Enemy,*  
*as soon as he declared himself a Friend to the Romans; and have supported, both against*  
*him and us, the Usurpation of his Brother, who was excluded from the Throne by his Fa-*  
*ther's Will. And with regard to Ariobarzanes, what manner of Pretence had you, to*  
*invade his Dominions? You have betrayed your self, Mithridates. You had nothing less*  
*in view, than to make your self Master of the whole World. This made you choose to de-*  
*clare your self an Enemy to Rome, at a Time, when Italy was in a Flame, with a civil*  
*War; and hence your immense Preparations. You entered into a Correspondence with the*  
*northern Nations of Asia; You covered the Sea with the Multitude of your Ships; You*  
*dried up Rivers with the infinite Numbers of Men and Horses, that you brought into the*  
*Field; and You drained Egypt and Phoenicia of Pilots and Seamen. Then, all the West*  
*of Asia, having lost its Defenders, was overpowered by the Number of your Troops.*  
*Then, tho' forbidden by the old Conventions, to pass the Boundaries of Europe, you there*  
*stirred up Nations which were subject to my Republick, to desert it. You drew Greece*  
*into a Revolt; and not content with that, proceeded to raise Disturbances in Macedon:*  
*And all this Success, was the Consequence of the most signal Barbarity. The Blood of*  
*above 100000 Romans, who were assassinated by your Orders, calls for Vengeance; and*  
*yet after all I offer you Peace. Speak then, and give me your Answer in two Words.*  
*Will you consent to the Treaty which Archelaus has proposed to you, or will you not? We*  
*have not brought two Armies hither, to lose Time in long Debates.*

App. in Mi-  
thridat.

Memnon apud  
Euseb.

These last Words terrified the King, and he complied. He answered, That he ac-  
 cepted the Peace in the manner required, and did so, on the Faith and Honour of  
 Sylla. The Roman insisted, That all the Authority of his Republick was with him  
 in his Camp; and therefore the Articles of it were not written on Brass, or sent to  
 Rome to be approved by the Senate, and fixed up in the *Capitol*. As soon as *Mithri-*  
*dates* had given his Word, Sylla held out his Hand to him, and embraced him. Then  
 he ordered *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes* to be brought forth, and reconciled them to the  
 King their Enemy; and they immediately set out to take Possession of their respective  
 Dominions, escorted by Guards of *Romans*. And the other Conditions of the Treaty  
 were likewise executed upon the Spot. *Mithridates* paid the *Pro-Consul* 3000 *Talents*  
 for the Expence of his Voyage; gave him 70 Gallies perfectly equipped; delivered up  
 to him the *Romans* he had taken in the War, and among the rest *Oppius* and *Cassius*,  
 who governed the *Asiatick Province* before the War begun; and restored the Kingdom  
 of *Pergamus* with its Dependencies, to the Republick. After this, he went to confine  
 himself to the Inheritance of his Fathers; from whence we shall soon see him break out  
 again, with greater Fury and Enmity to *Rome*, than ever.



§. XLI. In the mean time, the Army *Sylla* had landed in *Asia*, was impatient to come to a Battle with *Mithridates*. They hated the King personally. His having shed so much *Roman* Blood, in all the Cities in *Asia*, was a Crime, which these brave Men could not forgive; and therefore, when their General told them, that he had concluded a Peace with him, they murmured at it. *Shall Mithridates then, said they, carry off the most valuable Spoils of all Asia to his own Dominions with Impunity?* Nor could *Sylla* otherwise appease them, than by explaining to them, the Mystery of his Conduct. *It would have been too much for us, said he, to have had two Enemies upon us at once. Mithridates and Fimbria together, would have overpowered us with Numbers. One would have assisted the other; and the Impetuosity and Valour of the Romans, would have inspired the Asiatics with Vivacity and Ardour. But now, that we are delivered from the most formidable of the two, it will be the easier to subdue the other. And is it not more for your Honour to destroy a pernicious Citizen, than a foreign King? To preserve Rome from an Incendiary, a publick Pest, is of much more Consequence, than to give a loose to our Resentments, and revenge the Cause of the dead, whom we cannot call back to Life. Let us forget past Calamities, and be attentive only to the present Evils. He that has been the Creature of Marius, and the Minister and Agent of Cinna's Fury, ought now to be the only Object of our Hatred. Let us march to Fimbria, and by destroying him, deprive our Tyrants of their best resource!* Then all the Army cried out, *To Fimbria! To Fimbria;* and *Sylla* immediately took the Advantage of this universal Alacrity.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXVIII.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO,  
Consuls.

Plut. in *Sylla*.

App. in *Mi-  
thridat.*  
Plut. in *Sylla*.

Epit. Liv. L.  
83. c. 32.

*Fimbria's* Troops were then encamped under the Wall of *Thyatira*<sup>108</sup> in *Lydia*; and two *Roman* Armies seemed now ready to entertain the *Asiatics* with a Battle between themselves, in the Heart of *Asia*. But when the *Pro-Consul* came within about two *Stadia* of his Enemy, he sent him a Summons, *To surrender up his Troops to him, lay down the Generalship, and return into Italy.* *Fimbria* proudly answered, *That he despised the Orders of a proscribed Man, who was declared by the Senate an Enemy to the Roman People.* What remained then, but for the two Rivals to run to Arms? *Sylla*, who was the older and more active Officer, and superior on all accounts to young *Fimbria*, immediately began to invest the Enemy's Camp, in order so to inclose it, that they should at last want Provisions. To this end, he marked out a wide Ditch, which would make it difficult for the Convoys to pass; and as soon as his Men had began to open the Ground, *Fimbria's* Legionaries came out of their Tents in great Numbers, in their *Tunicks* only, and without Arms, embraced their Comrades of the other Side, and took up the Spade and Mattock, and helped them. This beginning foreboded ill to *Fimbria*; and therefore, when they were returned he assembled them, and made a Speech to them, wherein he shewed more Weakness than Authority. He intreated them *not to desert a General of their own choosing, who had enriched them with the Spoils of Asia; or suffer him to be injured.* This Language so unusual with Men of his Warmth and Vivacity, lessened him in the Esteem of his Soldiers; who took it for granted, that he distrusted his own Affairs, since he was come to Intreaties.

§. XLII. On the other hand, *Sylla* left nothing undone to draw off Numbers of his Rival's Men; and as the Passage was easy from one Camp to the other, they frequently deserted. They repented of having so long served under a General who had usurped the Command by Violence; and they that continued under his *Eagles*, publicly declared; that they would not take Arms against their Countrymen and Friends. So that *Fimbria* was forced to run through his Camp with Tears in his Eyes, and beg his Men not to abandon him. Nay, he went so far as to fall on his Knees before them. And then he experienced how short-liv'd those Combinations are, which are founded in Iniquity. The Repentance of the Soldiers, gave them a dislike to their General, and the Number of the Deserters greatly increased. However, he hoped to have found more steddiness among his Officers; and they seemingly approved of the Proposal he made, of administering the Oaths again to the few Troops who continued with him. The Design was to have called them all over by their Names; and the General began with his Friend and Confident *Nonnius*. But even his Fidelity was not answerable to *Fimbria's* Expectations; he refused to swear. Then *Fimbria*, in a Rage, drew his Sword, and would have stabbed him; but so great a Clamour arose in the Assembly, that the General was forced to spare his Life, to save his own. After

<sup>108</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 215. Note 37.



Year of this, he could not think himself safe in his own Camp, and therefore, as his last Re-  
 ROME source, resolved to have his Adversary assassinated. But the Slave who was to do this,  
 DCLXVIII. was very ill chosen. He betrayed himself, and discovered the Treachery of his Master.  
 L. CORNELI. When he was got into Sylla's Tent, there appeared so much Terror in his Looks, that  
 US CINNA, & it was concluded from thence, he must have some ill Design in view; and upon being  
 CN. PAPIRI- seized, he immediately confessed both *Fimbria's* Crime, and his own.  
 US CARBO,  
 Consuls.

This exasperated all the *Legionaries* in *Sylla's* Camp against the Author of so barbarous an Attempt; and they cried out, That the new Tyrant ought to be made to suffer *Athenio's* Fate. Since he has imitated the Cruelties of that pretended King of *Sicily*, he ought not, said they, to be suffered to enjoy his Usurpation long. *Sylla* took the Advantage of the Zeal of his Soldiers, and immediately led them to attack his Rival's Trenches. Upon sight of the Enemy, *Fimbria* abated much of his Pride; and his own Troops refused to defend their Camp. He was then sensible of his Guilt, and his Remorse made him timorous. Nevertheless he had the Boldness to mount the Rampart almost alone; and made Signs to the Enemy, that he desired an Interview with their General. But whether out of Contempt, or because he did not care to come near a Traitor who was capable of any desperate Act, *Sylla* only sent *Rutilius* one of his Officers, to treat with him. In the Conference, *Fimbria* seemed affected with the Disregard shewn him, and said, That the proudest of their Generals, had not thought it beneath them to treat in Person with foreign Commanders; but in other Instances, he was far from keeping up to his usual Pride and State. He humbled himself so far, as to cringe to his Rival's Messenger; and would fain have found some Pretence to excuse the Irregularity of his Conduct. The most specious he could think of, was his Youth, and his Engagements to *Marius* and *Cinna*, from his Infancy. And *Sylla* was not so inexorable now, as he afterwards appeared. He was affected with these Marks of Repentance, and sent him Word; That if he would leave Asia, and deliver up his Troops, he would not only save his Life, but furnish him with all Conveniencies for returning into Italy. At which Words, *Fimbria* cried out, with an unexpected return of Vigour, Return into Italy! No, I have another Voyage to make! And as soon as he said this, he instantly fled to *Pergamus*. When he arrived there, he entered into the Temple of *Æsculapius*, and stabbed himself with his own Sword; and the Wound not being mortal, he ordered the only Slave that attended him, to dispatch him. The faithful Servant did as he was ordered, and then plunged the same Sword into his own Bosom. Thus died that *C. Flavius Fimbria*, whose Memory would not have been so odious, if he had had the good Fortune to have lived in more peaceable Times. His Valour, if rightly directed, and the Genius he had for War, would have made him one of the Heroes of old Rome. It was the Education he received from two seditious Citizens, that corrupted him, and turned his natural Bravery into a kind of Ferocity of Temper.

§. XLIII. And now, *Sylla*, who was in the height of Joy, upon having victoriously subdued both *Greece* and *Asia*, made as moderate an use of the Advantage just gained over *Fimbria*, as he had done of his Superiority over *Mithridates*. The General was at present so wise, as to carry nothing to Extremities. He restored *Fimbria's* Body to his Friends; and told them, that he would not carry his Inhumanity so far as *Marius* and *Cinna* had done, who extended their Hatred even to the *Manes* of their Enemies. He also received *Fimbria's* Troops graciously, incorporated them with his own, without any Reproaches, and made no Distinction between them but that of old Friendship. After this, he extended his Compassion first to *Ilum*; enabled the Inhabitants by his Benefactions, to rebuild their City; granted them their Freedom with some new Privileges; and declared them the Friends and Allies of the Roman People. Then he granted the same Liberty, and gave the like Marks of his Good-Will, to the *Rhodians*, *Lycians*, *Cioti*, and the Inhabitants of *Magnesia*<sup>109</sup>. This done, he applied himself to settling the Affairs of the Asiatick Province, that is, of the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, and a vast Tract of Land, both along the Sea-Coasts, and in the inward Parts of the Continent; and afterwards punished the rebellious Provinces, and rewarded such Persons as had shewn themselves faithful to the Republick. The greatest Severity he shewed was to *Ephesus*, where he suffered his Men to live at Discretion; and obliged the Inhabitants to give every Officer 50 *Drachmæ*, and every Soldier 16 *Denarii* a Day, and two com-

<sup>109</sup> Which of the two Cities of this Name in *Asia Minor*, is here spoken of, we cannot determine. See Vol. 4. p. 216. Note 42; and p. 220. Note 55.



pleat Habits. And when all were quiet, and full of Dread, in *Asia*, he summoned the Deputies of all the Roman Cities of the *Pergamian* State, to a sort of general Diet at *Ephesus*; and there, ascending his *Tribune*, he, with the Dignity of a Conqueror, and the Vehemence of an Avenger, addressed himself to them thus.

*Who can express the Ingratitude, Imprudence, and Inconstancy of you Asiaticks! From the Time that Attalus gave up to us all the Rights his Fathers and himself had over you; You enjoyed the Sweetness of the mildest of Governments; and yet afterwards broke your Oaths, and preferred the Yoke of a Foreigner, to the Dominion of Rome. Under our Protection, you were secured from all Storms, Commerce flourished in your Ports, your Cities abounded with Plenty, and your Magazines overflowed with Corn. Nevertheless, as soon as Mithridates appeared, you forgot our Benefactions; and treacherously deserted us. Nor did this content you, without adding Cruelty to your Ingratitude. All the Romans and Italians which you could find in your Cities; you barbarously murdered. The most sacred Asyla could not screen them from Death. How great then is the Punishment which you have justly deserved! Is Blood for Blood more than is due to cruel Assassines? You may well look pale and tremble: But learn to know Rome. Clemency is a Virtue peculiar to her Generals. I think Mithridates has sufficiently avenged these Things, by the rigorous Slavery he kept you under; and I will shew you the Difference between his Government and ours. All the Punishment I shall inflict upon you, is this. I require you to pay me down immediately five Years Tribute, by way of advance; To make me Satisfaction for all the Expences of the War; and To furnish the Sums which will be necessary for settling the Asiatick Province in due order. I will take care that these Supplies shall be raised by an equal Tax; and if any Cities are refractory, I will treat them as Enemies.*

These last Words a little abated the Fears of the Deputies, and a Serenity again appeared in their Countenances: According *Sylla* divided all the Roman Dominions in *Asia* into 44 Districts; and to each of these was allotted its Share of the Contributions, according to its Ability: *Lucullus* was ordered to receive 110 them in Gold, Silver, or Brass, according to the Value of the Metal, and coin them into Roman Money; and it is very surprizing, that in the Discharge of so very odious an Office, he was neither accused of hard Treatment, nor even suspected of Male-Administration: The Mildness of his Temper, and his great Probity, already shewed him capable of becoming one of the Heroes of the expiring Republick. As for *Sylla*, when thus enriched with the Contributions of the *Asiaticks*, and the Sums he had drawn from *Mithridates*; he was wholly intent on returning to *Rome*. Tho' he had a considerable Fleet, he took no care to clear the Seas of the *Levant* of the 111 Pyrates that infested them; *Cinna* and his Faction were the only Objects of his Concern, after the Reduction of *Greece* and *Asia*. He knew, that *Cinna* reigned in an absolute manner at *Rome*; That he had abolished the *Comitia*; and That his Senate consisted only of such, as trembled at his Word. So that the Death of *Fimbria* was to *Sylla*, only a Prelude to the Wars he was to maintain with the opposite Faction; and he had great Reason to expect, that he should find Enemies in *Italy* of a very different kind, from the weak *Phalanxes* of *Mithridates*. Nevertheless, whether out of Vexation, or Ambition, or perhaps some Remains of Love for the publick Good, he resolved to return. He possibly might not yet have looked far enough into his own Heart, to know what were the true Springs that put him in motion.

§. XLIV. When the new Year came, it produced no Change in the Consulate. *Cinna* had the last Year taken the Precaution to appoint himself and *Papirius Carbo* Consuls, for two Years together. Which was indeed in a manner establishing themselves in their usurped Authority, for Life. And in order to settle himself more firmly in the Throne, he married his Daughter *Cornelia*, to a young Lord of the highest Extraction, and of the most distinguished Merit of any in *Rome*. This was the famous *Julius Cæsar*, who afterwards followed the Steps of his Father-in-Law, and being both

110 *Plutarch* says, the rebellious Cities in *Asia Minor* paid *Sylla* the Value of \*20000 Talents; which according to the French Way of computing, amount to about sixty Millions of *Livres*. So that the People of the *Asiatick* Provinces were stripped of all their Effects, and reduced to extreme Want.

111 The Pyrates had made themselves Masters of *Sassus* a maritime City of *Caria*, of *Clazomene*, and of the Islands of *Samos* and *Samo-thrace*; and their Avarice had not spared the famous Temple of the *Dii Cabiri*. They seized all the Riches which the Religion of the People had consecrated there, to the amount of \*1000 Talents, or 3 Millions of *Livres*.



Year of more brave and more successful, turned at last the Republick into a Monarchy. *Sylla* therefore, whilst in *Asia*, was forming Schemes for destroying this mighty *Colossus*, whom the well-affected *Citizens* could not look on without Indignation. The great Number of Senators that were fled to his Camp for Refuge, were continually representing to him, That he had in vain conquered *Mithridates* and *Fimbria*, if he did not deliver his Country; That he must march to *Rome*; and That the Tyranny of *Cinna* must be destroyed. His Wife joined her Intreaties with theirs, and his Army seemed disposed to follow him. So that every Thing favoured his Inclination to return. But, notwithstanding the Confusion the Republick was in, he thought it became him to act regularly, and observe old Customs. And therefore, before he left his Province, he judged it necessary, to send Advice of it to the Senate at *Rome*, as contemptible as they were. One *Lucius Valerius Flaccus*, Brother to him whose Office *Fimbria* usurped, was President of it: *Sylla* wrote a Letter to the *Conscript Fathers*, drawn up with the greatest Temper and Moderation. He \* neither complained of the Decree, whereby they had declared him an Enemy to the Republick; nor made any mention of the Confiscation of his Estate, or of the extream Want to which they had reduced his Wife and Children. It contained only a Narrative of his Exploits. He put them in Mind of his having taken *Jugurtha*, and brought him to *Rome* in Chains; of the Services he did the Republick in *Transalpine Gaul*; of the great Share he had in the Victory over the *Cimbri*; of the Advantages he gained over the rebellious *Allies* in *Italy*; of the taking of *Athens*; of the Recovery of all *Greece* and *Asia*, after three Victories over the General of *Mithridates*; and lastly, of his having obliged the King of *Pontus* to keep within his own Territories: And all these Things, when put together in a strong Light, struck the Senate both with Admiration and Terror. One of the Ancients thinks a Letter of such Moderation from *Sylla*, was a Master-piece, in point of Prudence; and as soon as *Valerius Flaccus* reported it to the *Fathers*, they seemed to recover their old Vigour. They had always borne the Yoke of *Cinna's* Tyranny with Reluctance, and the greatest Part of them were tired with being Slaves to his Will; and therefore they decreed two Things which were far from being agreeable to the ruling *Consul*. The first was, That an Embassy should be sent to *Sylla*, to intreat him, not to carry his Resentments so far, as to come to a Civil War; and the second, That *Cinna* should be forbidden to raise any new Levies, till the Ambassadors were returned. *Cinna* seemed to acquiesce in the Decree; but as soon as the Ambassadors were gone, he raised an Army, and provided a Fleet to hinder *Sylla* from landing in *Italy*.

\* See Pag. 388.  
Note 76.

Vell. Paterc.  
L. 2.

App. in Mi-  
thridat.

Plut. in Sylla.

In the mean time, all Things were got ready in *Asia* for the Return of the victorious Army. *Sylla* left *Lucius Murena* in the Kingdom of *Pergamus* with *Fimbria's* two *Legions*, and appointed him Governor of this vast Province, which he had extended to *Ionian*. Then he embarked at *Ephesus* for *Athens*, and came to an Anchor in the Port of *Piræus*, where he was initiated in *The Mysteries of Eleusis*; but he carried nothing from this stately City, except some curious Books, and among others *Aristotle's Works*<sup>113</sup>, which he had sought with Care. After a slight Fit of the Gout had kept him longer in *Greece* than he had designed, he went to the Waters of *Ædepsum*<sup>114</sup>; and when he was cured, marched by Land through *Thessaly* and *Macedon*, in

<sup>112</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 23. Note 53.

<sup>113</sup> *Aristotle*, at his Death, left the Care of his Writings and School to the famous *Theophrastus*, who transmitted them to *Neleus* the *Peripatetic*. The latter carried his Library to *Scepsis*, (a City of *Troas*) the Place of his Nativity; and his Heirs, who were very ignorant, and unacquainted with Letters, shut it up in a private Place, and absolutely refused to let the curious see it. Afterwards, hearing that the Kings of *Pergamus* were making Collections of the choicest Books from all Parts, to enrich their fine Library, they buried *Neleus's* Library, and in it *Aristotle's Works*, under Ground. But their Descendants long after thought fit to draw these Writings out of the Obscurity in which they had been so long buried; and one *Apellicon*, a Native of *Troas*, and afterwards a Citizen of *Athens*, bought them, though half eaten up by the Worms, and spoiled with Moisture. After his Death, they fell into the Hands of *Sylla*, who brought them from *Athens* to *Rome*, where *Aristotle's*

Doctrine was yet unknown: And for the different Revolutions which the Writings of this Philosopher afterwards underwent, we refer the curious Reader to *Strabo*, *Athenæus*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Vossius*, *Patricius*, and particularly to *Father Rapin*, in the Parallel he has drawn between *Aristotle* and *Plato*.

<sup>114</sup> *Strabo*, and *Stephens the Geographer*, place *Ædepsum*, in the Island of *Eubœa*, or the *Negropont*, as it is now called. According to *Plutarch*, this was a place of Pleasure to *Sylla*. Being rid of the Trouble of a War, which he had finished with so much Glory, he here for some Time enjoyed the Sweets of Tranquillity. He entertained himself sometimes with Concerts of Musick, sometimes with Shows, and sometimes with theatrical Performances. And it was here that some Fishermen pressed to make him a Present of some Fish, as he was walking by the Seaside; which he accepted with so much Grace and Condescension, that he charmed them.



order to embark his Troops at <sup>115</sup> *Dyrrachium*. His Fleet of 1200 Sail was ordered to wait for him there; and there, we are told, was shewn him, such a Monster as the Sculptors and Painters represent the <sup>116</sup> *Satyrs* to have been. A human Body supported by two Feet, Legs, and Thighs of a Goat. He had been surprized in his sleep, and brought to the General; who ordered him to be interrogated by People of different Countries, to know what Language he spoke. But the *Satyr* only answered with Cries not unlike those of Goats, and the neighing of Horses. The *Roman* General was shocked at this monstrous Mixture of two different Species; but was not superstitious enough to draw any *Augury* from so unusual an Event.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIX.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO,  
Consuls.

§. XLV. The nearer he drew to *Italy*, the greater need he was in, of the sincere Affection of his Troops. It was to be feared, that his Soldiers would abandon him upon their return; and being tired with military Labours, would go home to their Families, to enjoy the great Booties which they had brought from the Conquests of *Greece* and *Asia*. He also might have reason to apprehend, that his *Legionaries*, who had been used to plunder in an Enemy's Country, would ravage *Italy*, and thereby raise up the whole Country against him. But his Army prevented his Fears. They came of their own accord; without any Sollicitation, offered to take a new Oath of Fidelity to him; promised, that they would not plunder any of their Countrymen, whose Effects should be safe during their Marches; and not content with this, added a still more generous Act, to the General whom they so tenderly loved. They all offered him the Money, they had got together, in their Conquests. *Sylla* thanked them for their Generosity; and having brought great Sums from *Asia*, declined their Offer. But such a Proof of a disinterested Affection to their Leader could not but shew him, how dear he was to them.

At *Dyrrachium*, or *Apollonia*, he probably received the Ambassadors from the Senate; and was not so circumspect in the Answers he gave them, as he had been in his Letter. He frankly and openly declared his Intentions, and said, *I am coming to Rome, full of Rage and Revenge. If the Roman People will consent to it, all my unjust Persecutors shall either perish by the Sword, or the Axes of the common Executioners. I will spare none but such as shall have given Proofs of a very sincere Repentance. As for the common People, and the unactive, who have not appeared in our Quarrels, I shall have regard to their Innocence, and do them Justice. I demand, That the Decree which declares me an Enemy to the Republick be disannulled; That all my Effects be restored; That the Senate again invest me with all the civil and sacred Honours of which I have been deprived; That all the Senators banished by Cinna be restored to their Honours, Places, and Estates; and lastly, That they re-establish me in all the publick Employments which I enjoyed before my Departure.* Which was indeed declaring, That he claimed as absolute an Authority, as that which he had usurped, when he made himself Master of *Rome*.

App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

Fame published *Sylla's* Answer in *Italy* long before he, and the Ambassadors, arrived; and this shewed *Cinna* and *Papirius* That the Storm would fall upon them, and That nothing but the Success of their Arms could save their Lives. They therefore prepared to carry on a Civil War, notwithstanding the Prohibition of the Senate. They went through all *Italy* raising Troops, and collecting Money and Provisions. The *Freedmen* whom they had incorporated into the *Tribes*, and the Inhabitants of the *Municipia*, who held their Right of *Roman Citizenship* from them, joined to support them. They brought a Fleet from *Sicily* to guard the Coasts of *Italy*; and as these Preparations were made with the greatest Expedition, they therefore gave the People the more Terror. When the two *Consular* Armies were ready, the Difficulty was to know, where *Sylla* would enter *Italy*. He might, if he pleased, march thither by Land, through *Epirus* and *Dalmatia*. *Cinna* therefore thought it necessary, either to stop him in his Passage, or at least obstruct it. To this end, he embarked some of his *Cohorts* for *Dalmatia* and *Liburnia*; and the first Detachment arrived safe. But the se-

<sup>115</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 21. Note 44. Near *Dyrrachium* and *Apollonia* there was a charming Plain called *Nymphæum*. The Meadows that surrounded it on all Sides, were watered by the River *Anas*. *Plutarch* affirms, That the curious took great Pleasure in observing the Sports of Nature in the Fountains here; which instead of Water bubbled up little Flames, without hurting the Plants or Trees in this delicious Place.

<sup>116</sup> This *Satyr* which was brought to *Sylla*, was like those mentioned by *St. Jerom*, in his *Life of Paul the Hermit*, and by *St. Athanasius* in his *Life of St. Anthony*. *Pliny* and *Diodorus Siculus* have with reason considered as Monsters, the *Fawns* and *Satyrs*, which the ancient Pagans, through a deplorable Blindness, ranked among the Demi-Gods. The Dreams of the *Rabbins* and *Paracelsus* on this Head, don't deserve the Reader's Notice.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIX.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO,  
Consuls.  
Plut. in Pomp.  
Liv. Epit.  
App. in Mi-  
thridat.  
Auth. de Vir.  
Illustr.

cond met with a Storm, and was driven back on the Coasts of *Italy*. And these Sol-  
diers, being fatigued with the Sea, dispersed themselves, and declared where-ever they  
came, that they could not resolve to take up Arms against their Fellow-Citizens. In  
the mean time, *Cinna* prepared to go himself into *Dalmatia* with the rest of his Army,  
but found a great Coldness among his *Legionaries*. The Discourses of those whom  
the Storm had dispersed, had made an Impression upon their Minds; and they whom  
he would have embarked insolently refused to go. He was grieved at this Mutiny,  
and assembled his Troops in order to appease them. The Soldiers expected to hear  
Invectives against them, but resolved to despise them; and an Accident<sup>117</sup> turned the  
Mutiny into a Massacre. One of the *Lictors* who surrounded the *Consul* as usual,  
struck a Soldier, who drew too near the General, with violence. The Soldier returned  
Blow for Blow, and with his Outcries roused his Comrades. Upon this, the Stones  
instantly flew about, and they, who were nearest the *Consul*, fell upon him Sword in  
Hand. *Cinna* retired, and fled. A *Centurion* overtook him, and was going to stab  
him. Then the General bent his Knee to his Subaltern, and offering him a Ring of  
great Price, begged his Life. But the *Centurion* replied, *Die, Tyrant!* and buried his  
Sword in his Body. Such was the End of this ambitious Man, who rent the Re-  
publick in pieces, over-turned all the Laws, kept the *Consulate* four Years without the  
Consent of the People, tyrannized over the Nobility, and even carried the Crimes of  
*Marius* farther than he himself had done. He died by the Hands of his *Legionaries*;  
a Death for Generals which soon became too common in the *Roman* Camps. Officers  
raised themselves to the Head of Armies without lawful Authority, and this kept them  
dependent on their Soldiers, who upon the least Discontent revolted. Melancholy In-  
dications of the Republick's being on the Brink of Ruin!

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIX.  
CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO,  
Consul.  
Epit. Liv.  
Val. Max. L.  
6.  
Epit. Liv.  
L. 84. c. 7.

§. XLVI. After the Death of *Cinna*, *Papirius Carbo* was sole Master of the Re-  
publick. Nevertheless, the *Tribunes of the People* gave him notice of a *Plebiscitum*,  
which ordered him to return to *Rome*, to preside in the *Comitia*, that a new *Consul*  
might be regularly chosen, in the Room of the deceased. His Desire of continuing  
as long in Authority as *Cinna* had done, made him at first neglect the Order; but he  
was at last forced to obey, and hasten his Return. The *Comitia* were held; and the  
*Augurs*, gained no doubt by the Artifices of the *Consul*, found so many Defects in the  
Assembly, with Regard to Religion, that the Election was postponed, and *Carbo* con-  
tinued sole *Consul* all the Year. His first Care was to bring back the Troops which  
*Cinna* had sent to *Dalmatia*. It was now certain, that *Sylla* would return by Sea, and  
*Italy* wanted a great Army to defend it. *Carbo* took many Steps to strengthen his  
Party; and ran into an<sup>118</sup> Excess, which obliged the Senate to interpose. As he passed  
through all the Cities of the *Allies*, and all the *Roman Colonies*, he was not content  
with demanding of each its Contingent of Troops, but required Hostages of them,  
in order to secure them to his Interest. This was a new Precaution, and caused many  
to leave him. When he came to *Placentia*, and demanded these Pledges there, *Cas-  
tricius*, a venerable old Man, who was chief Magistrate in this his native City, went  
out to meet the *Consul*; and fearing neither his Dignity, nor his fierce Air, nor the  
Guard about him, absolutely refused to comply with the Demand. *What! I have  
many Swords here*, answered the *Consul* angrily? *And I many Years*, replied *Cas-  
tricius*. The Loss of a Life which must soon end, was no Matter of Terror to the  
brave Magistrate; and the Constancy of the old Man surprized the *Consul*, who soon  
after received an Order to put a Stop to these Oppressions.

Thus *Carbo's* Attempts to draw all *Italy* into a Revolt against *Sylla*, were not equal-  
ly successful every where; and in the midst of his Progress, he received a second Or-  
der, which was to return to *Rome*, to preside at the Election of the new *Consuls* in  
*The Field of Mars*. Though much against his Inclinations, he was forced to assemble the

<sup>117</sup> *Plutarch* relates this Matter differently. He says, That *Pompey*, after he had married *Antistia*, came to *Cinna's* Camp; and That the ill Behaviour of the General towards him, gave him Reason to believe that his Life was not safe. He therefore privately withdrew himself; and his Absence raised great Mur-  
murs in the Army. Most People imagined that *Cinna* had sacrificed him to his Suspicions; and the Re-  
port spreading among the Troops, they demanded young *Pompey* with great Clamours, and on this Ac-

count fell upon the *Consul*.

<sup>118</sup> *Sextus Lucilius*, who had been *Tribune* in the Year 668, was the Man who most constantly op-  
posed the Enterprizes of *Carbo*; and it cost this zealous Senator his Life. *Publius Popilius Lænas*, who was *Tribune* for this Year, and entirely devoted to the seditious *Consul*, threw *Sextus Lucilius* from the *Tarpeian Rock*; and the furious *Popilius's* own Col-  
leagues could no otherwise escape the same Fate, than by fleeing to *Sylla*.



*Tribes*, and choose Persons to succeed himself. However, he resolved, if possible, to get two chosen of his own Spirit, and immoveably attached to the Faction that opposed *Sylla*. To this end he proposed to the assembled People *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Junius Norbanus*, his Friends, and Accomplices in his Violences; and the *Tribes* being full of new *Citizens*, and *Freedmen* devoted to his Service, he had Interest enough to get them proclaimed *Consuls* elect. This Election was made immediately after the Summer *Solstice*; so that *Papirius* had still near six Months to continue alone in the *Consulate*. But nevertheless, he associated his Friends, the new *Consuls*, with him in the Government; and they all together proposed it to the Senate to make a Decree, That the People should take up Arms against *Sylla*, and treat him as an Enemy to his Country. Don't imagine, said these factious Men to the *Conscript Fathers*, that *Sylla* will disband his Troops as soon as he lands in Italy. He will make use of them to establish himself in as absolute an Authority, as he formerly had. What has he been doing in Asia, but preparing himself to maintain a civil War here? Nay, he has already begun it in the Levant. The Blood of *Fimbria* was the First-Fruits of it. And the great Pains he has been taking to secure the Affections of his Soldiers, threaten us with the Loss of our Liberty, if not of our Lives. The Senate were prevailed on by these Discourses, to come into the Measures proposed; and they declared it necessary to keep *Sylla* out of Italy by force of Arms, and to make war with him, with the utmost Vigour.

This Decree hastened the Preparations for maintaining the War with the Conqueror of *Mithridates*; and an Army was raised according to some of above 440 Cohorts. Others say, that they amounted to 700 Cohorts, and that to this Multitude were added many other Troops that *Carbo* and the new *Consuls* had Interest enough to raise. And as these Forces were numerous they were divided under several Leaders. Besides *Carbo* and the two *Consuls*, the Command of different Bodies of Men was given to *Ap. Claudius*, *Sertorius*, young *C. Marius*, *M. Marius*, *Flavius Fimbria* the Brother of him who killed himself in Asia, *Albinovanus*, and *Lucius Brutus Damasippus*, who were all native Romans. *Lamponius* also, and *Pontius Telesinus*, and *Gutta*, who were born in Italy, and had each his respective Command over the Militia of their respective Provinces, took up Arms against *Sylla*. All the Forces of the Republick in Italy were divided among these Generals, who were resolved, either to keep *Sylla* out of Italy, or over-power him with Numbers. In the mean while, the Ambassadors of the Senate arrived in the Ports of Italy before him; and hearing of *Cinna's* Death, turned back and joined him. They had seen the Appearance this great General made, and had foreboded, that he would certainly be victorious.

§. XLVII. In the mean time, *Sylla* embarked his Army on board his Fleet of 1200 Ships, left *Dyrrachium*; and notwithstanding all the Care his Enemies took to keep him out of all the Ports, was received at those of *Brundisium* and *Tarentum*. There he landed his Troops to the Number of 40000, including some Reinforcements of Greeks and Macedonians. But, after all, this was a weak Army, to oppose above 200000 Men, which were now in Arms in Italy. As soon as he was landed, his first Concern was about Religion. He made a Sacrifice to the Gods his Protectors; and the *Auspices* had the Address to imprint the Figure of a Crown of Laurel, on the Liver of the Victim. *Sylla* received the Augury with Thankfulness, and from that Time assured his Soldiers of Victory. Then he marched cross *Calabria* and *Apulia*, with all this Retinue; but the Troops were very scrupulous of damaging the Fruits and Harvests. Whilst he was on the Road, that *Q. Cæcilius Metellus Pius*, whom the Fury of the late Government had forced to banish himself into *Liguria*, came, and offered him his Service. *Metellus* was a great Soldier, whom the Republick had never deprived of the Title of *Pro-Consul* which he had had in *Africa* before the Civil Wars; and the two *Pro-Consuls* joined to make War with the two *Consuls*.

*L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Junius Norbanus* had entered upon their Office as soon as their Year began; and the Republick seemed to have recovered its ancient Form. The new *Consuls* had been regularly chosen. The *Prætors* sent to govern the Provinces, had been continued in their Employments. Only that of *Spain* had been recalled, or was dead, and the famous *Sertorius* put in his room. Though *Sylla* threatened the Capital, all was in Tranquillity there. The Courts of Justice were opened as usual, and the Noise and Confusion of Arms were only in other Places. The Roman Provinces in *Africa*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia* were governed by Men who were against

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXIX.  
L. CORNELI-  
US CINNA, &  
CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO,  
Consuls.  
App. in Mi-  
thridat.

Ap. Liv Epit.  
L. 84. c. 11.

Ibid.

*Sylla in Com-  
ment.*

Plut. in Sylla.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXX.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, &  
C. JUNIUS  
NORBANUS,  
Consuls.



Year of Sylla, and their Governments were not very peaceable. Sylla himself encamped in *ROM E Campania*, and kept his Troops under the most exact Discipline. He seemed by the *DCLXX.* first Steps he took, to have come into *Italy*, with a Spirit of Peace. Whether he was really inclined to Clemency, for he seemed not to have been cruel but by Restraint; or the Number of the Enemy's Troops made an Impression upon him; or he in Policy dessembled the Rage he concealed in his Heart; so in fact it was, that he at first behaved himself at the Head of his Army, like a *Citizen* inclined to Concord.

L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, & C. JUNIUS NORBANUS, Consuls.

*Epit. Liv.*

*Plut. in Sylla.*

§. XLVIII. In the mean time, *Norbanus* had drawn near him, and pitched his Camp between *Capua* and <sup>119</sup> *Casilinum*, a City on the Banks of the <sup>120</sup> *Vulturnus*. This *Consul* had chosen for his first Lieutenant-General, and his Confident, a young Man of <sup>121</sup> nineteen Years of Age, but one whose Name was exceedingly respected by the *Consular* Party. This was *C. Marius*, who though by birth Nephew to the great *Marius*, was become his Son, by Adoption. This young *Roman* had imbibed the Spirit of his Family; and his Heart breathed nothing but Trouble and Confusion. So that, Sylla's sending two of his Officers, (for he pretended at least to desire Peace) to the Camp of *Norbanus* and *Marius*, to make the first Offers for a Pacification, was in vain. They met with nothing but Insults and ill Usage. Then Sylla's Soldiers, who were accustomed to conquer and give Law in *Asia*, were so enraged at the Pride of the *Consul*, and the Fury of young *Marius*, that they ran to Arms without Orders from their General, drew themselves up in Battalia, and marched out to insult *Norbanus* and his numerous *Legions*. Upon this a Battle ensued, which was fought by Sylla's Troops with all the Fury of injured Men, and by the *Consular* Forces with the Languor and Faint-heartedness of Women. So that 7000 of these Cowards were killed on the Spot, and 6000 made Prisoners of War. The most surprizing Circumstance, though not uncommon with the fortunate Sylla, was, that this great Victory did not cost him, at most, above 120 Men. And this happy Beginning encouraged Sylla to attempt whatever he pleased, and to <sup>122</sup> hope for Success in all Things. He confessed, he had hitherto been apprehensive, that his Soldiers would disband themselves, and return home to their Families for some Repose. But their Boldness in running to the Battle without his Orders, and their Ardour in it, dissipated his Fears.

*Sylla in Comment. apud Plut.*

*Jul. Obseq. c. 118.*

The News of this unexpected Victory raised very great Commotions in *Italy*; and there was an extraordinary Concourse of the most illustrious *Romans* to the Camp of Sylla, whom, as we have observed, the *Pro-Consul Metellus* had already joined. Sylla had taken up Arms in defence of the *Patrician* Party; as *Marius*, *Cinna*, and their Successors, had declared for the *Plebeian*. Though it is probable, the Leaders of either Side, had nothing in view but aggrandizing themselves; some, under the Pretence of defending the Interests of the Nobility; others, of preserving the People from the Oppressions of the Great. Indeed the most zealous for the popular Faction were themselves *Patricians*; whom the Hopes of raising their Fortunes, rather than any regard to their Birth, had induced to espouse a Party, whose Numbers made them most powerful in Elections. But the Nobility for the most Part, were most ready to follow Sylla's Squadrons, as soon as his first Victory had foreboded greater Success. Besides, some pretended Prodigies, which the Superstition of the People interpreted to Sylla's Advantage, helped mightily to increase his Army. The Example of *Metellus* had also its Influence; and determined many wavering Minds to join the Party which that virtuous *Citizen* had espoused. They were persuaded, that Equity and the publick Good could be only on the Side that he chose; and this induced many of those to desert, who seemed most devoted to the contrary Party. That *Cethegus* who had so far signalized himself in favour of *Cinna* and *Marius*, as to be proscribed for them, came to Sylla, and offered him his personal Service, and Interest. And which was more surprizing,

<sup>119</sup> *Casilinum* was a City of *Campania*, near *Capua*.

<sup>120</sup> The *Vulturnus* waters the *Terra di Lavoro* in the Kingdom of *Naples*. It rises at the Foot of the *Apennines*, near the old Canton of the *Caracini*, a People of *Sammium*. After it has enlarged the *Calore* and the *Sabbato*, it falls into the *Tuscan Sea*. The Ancients also call it *Casilinus*, because it watered the City of *Casilinum*. It is now called the *Volturno*.

<sup>121</sup> The Abridger of *Livy*, and the Author of *The Lives of illustrious Men* affirm, That *Marius* was then

no more than nineteen. But *Appian* and *Velleius Paterculus* make him six or seven Years older, and consequently, about twenty six.

<sup>122</sup> *Plutarch* informs us, That the Slave of one *Pontius* a *Citizen* of *Silvium* in *Apulia*, came to congratulate Sylla on his new Victory; and at the same Time, putting on a prophetick Air, foretold to him, on the Part of *Bellona*, that the War he was engaged in should end to his Glory, and to the Confusion of his Enemies.



*Verres* the *Quæstor* of the *Pro-Consul* *Papirius Carbo's* Army, and *M. Papius Papi* Year of the *Quæstor* of *L. Scipio's* Army, both deserted at the same Time; but with their *RO AIT* different Circumstances. *Verres* carried with him his military Chest, no doubt to make *DCLXX* his Court to *Sylla*. But *Piso*<sup>123</sup> retired, without touching the Treasure of the Army; *Scipio* and preferred the Innocence of a private Life, to the Troubles and Crimes of a civil War.

§. XLIX. Thus the *Consular* Troops diminished, and the *Pro-Consul* (for so we shall call those of *Sylla* and *Metellus*) visibly increased. And now, *Sylla* thought himself strong enough to send out Detachments, and entrust the Command of them with the young Nobility who had offered to serve him. *M. Crassus*, who was yet in the Flower of his Age, had been one of the first to declare for him, and he sent him to make War in the Country of the *Marfi*. And when *Crassus* asked what Reinforcement he should have in case he was attacked; *Sylla* answered, *None*; but the Remembrance of your Father and Brother, who were basely murdered by our Enemies. An Answer, which supplied the Place of a great Army with young *Crassus*. He assembled together his Friends, made Inroads upon the Enemy with such Rapidity that he cut off many of their Parties, and revenged the Death of his Relations an hundred fold. Yet still, this increase of the *Pro-Consul's* Troops, and the Advantages he had gained, did not put him entirely upon a Level with the *Consuls*. They had all those Cities and Nations for them, who judge of the Equity of a Cause only by outward Appearances. These were on their Side. *Scipio* and *Norbanus* had been elected in the Field of Mars; and the Presumption was, that they were legal Representatives of the whole Body of the Republick. How could the Multitude penetrate into the Secrets of Elections, and discover whether they were conducted by Artifice and Partiality? Most honest Men therefore thought that it was fighting in a just Cause, to take up Arms for the *Consuls*. Hence the mighty Armies they drew after them. *Scipio* came and encamped near *Sylla*, and by the many flying Camps he posted round the *Pro-Consul's* Entrenchments, seemed to design to surround him. And it is certain, that this Situation of the Enemy, gave both *Sylla* and *Metellus* some Uneasiness. However, Industry and Artifice supplied the Want of Strength.

It was a common Thing with *Sylla*, when he found himself hard pressed by the Enemy, to amuse them with Proposals of Peace. By these Negotiations he gained Time, and by that Means often found out Expedients, or some lucky Minute, to extricate himself out of the bad State into which he happened to be brought. And now, he made use of the same Artifice, which had often been of Service to him, in his Wars with the *Allies*, and *Mithridates*. He sent Deputies to *Scipio's* Camp to treat of an Accommodation, agreed to a Cessation of Arms by way of Preliminary, and the Soldiers of both Armies conversed with one another, and entertained each other with their Adventures. Those of *Sylla* were old *Legionaries*, trained up by himself, and well qualified to debauch the young Soldiers that served under the *Consul*. During the Truce, after Hostages had been mutually given, the *Consul* and *Pro-Consul* had several Conferences together, each accompanied by only two Officers of his Council of War. Their Debates were kept secret; and all that was known was, That some of the Subjects on which they treated were, *Whether the Senate should continue in Possession of their original Authority*; *Whether the People should give their Suffrages with the same Liberty as formerly*; and *Whether all the Rights of Citizenship without any Restriction, should be given to a confused Multitude of Italians*. *Sylla* disputed on each of these Articles, and thereby prolonged the Negotiations. In the interim, the Soldiers of both Camps passed freely from one to the other; and that of *Sylla* rung with the Praises the Troops gave their General. He keeps us, said they, in exact Discipline, but without Compulsion. His Soldiers don't obey him out of Fear, but Affection. You may judge of his easiness of Temper, and liberal Indulgencies, by the vast Riches we have brought from Asia. And for this Reason, our Hearts, and Estates, and Lives, are all at his Service.

§. L. In the mean time, *Scipio* and *Sylla* brought Matters to a kind of Conclusion; but such a one as could not be agreeable to either Party. *Sertorius*, the *Prætor*, who was not yet gone for *Spain*, assisted at the Conferences with the *Consul*; and his Attachment to the *Plebeian* Party, made him dislike *Sylla's* Negotiations; or perhaps, he discovered the Deceit of the *Pro-Consul's* Delays. He went to inform *Norbanus* of the Progress of the Conferences, with a Design to put a stop to all Advances towards

123 We shall see this *Papius Piso* raised to the *Consulate*, with *M. Valerius Messala* in the Year 692.



Year of Peace, and renew the War; and when he came to *Suessa*, a City in *Sylla's* Interest, *ROME* where he and his Soldiers were received as in a Time of Truce, he seized *DCLXX.* it. *Sylla* complained of this to the *Consul*, and upon sending back his Hostages, demanded his own. These Proceedings indicated a Rupture, and the *Consul's* Army were enraged at it. They began to esteem and to fear *Sylla*. The Terms of Pacification which he had proposed, were thought proper ones; and if they had been accepted, the Republick would have recovered its Form, and Peace would have been restored. This Obstinacy in fomenting the Troubles, was ascribed to *Sertorius*; and *Scipio* was in part blamed for it, because suspected of acting in Concert with the *Spanish Prætor*, his Confident. And in short, all the Troops in the Enemy's Camp murmured against the *Consul*, and proclaimed the Glory of *Sylla*.

L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, &  
C. JUNIUS  
NORBANUS,  
Consuls.

The *Pro-Consul* was not a Stranger to their Dispositions in his Favour; and he took his Measures to gain over to himself the Army that kept him blocked up. After the Officers of it had given him their Words that they would surrender to him, as soon as he appeared; he detached 20 of his *Cohorts*, as if with design to force the *Consul's* Trenches. Their Approach put all *Scipio's* Camp in motion; and then he perceived that he was betrayed. The *Pro-Consular* Troops found the Gates open, and entered the Camp without Resistance, amidst the Acclamations of an Army consisting of 40 *Cohorts*; which all joined those of *Sylla*, and left *Scipio* and his Son by themselves in his Tent. An Instance of such extraordinary Address and Success, as all Antiquity can scarce parallel!

§. LI. *Sylla* might have put the *Consul* and his Son to Death, or made them Prisoners. But he judged, That Moderation would do him more Honour among the People; and That the Respect he should pay to a *Consul* would in the end turn to his own Advantage; and therefore he not only let *Scipio* escape, but gave him and his Son a Guard to conduct them back. Without doubt, he was under no Apprehensions from a General, who could so easily be deceived. *Sertorius* had advised him at parting, to guard against *Sylla's* Artifices. But, strange as it is, he had no Suspicion of the Revolt of his Troops, nor had any notice of it till the Moment it came to be put in Execution. And *Sertorius*, from that Time took it for granted, That no Conquests were to be expected from a General of so small Abilities. He immediately set out for his Province of *Spain*, and went to support the *Plebeian* Party there. The News of this Desertion was brought to *Papirius Carbo*, when he was encamped with an Army, to hinder the *Gauls* from declaring for *Sylla*; and being struck with the News, he cried out in surprize, *The General we have to deal with makes War like a Lion and a Fox at the same Time! But he is more formidable as a Fox, than as a Lion.*

Thus *Sylla's* Reputation increased with his Exploits; but he was more intent on gaining Hearts by feigned Virtues, than Cities and Provinces by Force of Arms. Young *Pompey* was captivated with the Reports spread by Fame to the Honour of the Conqueror of *Mithridates*, and of the present *Consuls*. At three and twenty Years of Age, this Roman Lord<sup>124</sup> raised the Expectations of the Republick from him so high, that it gave Umbrage to his Equals. His Father, after he had for some time wavered between the two Factions, had at last fixed to the *Patrician*. He had been killed by Lightning, when in Arms against *Marius* and *Cinna*; and his Example, who had by I know not what Means, engaged on the best side, was an Inducement to his Son to follow him. On the other hand, *Julius Cæsar*, who likewise began to shine, was in a manner naturally engaged in the contrary Faction. He was<sup>125</sup> Son-in-Law to *Cinna*, and had lately had a Daughter named *Julia*, by *Cornelia*. *Pompey* therefore readily determined for the Party which his Father had chosen, and which his Rivals in Glory opposed. He resolved to join *Sylla*, but in a manner suitable to his Dignity. He was then leading a retired Life, far from the Noise and Hurry of *Rome*, at *Picenum*, where he had an Estate. But being weary of spending his Life in Idleness, whilst the most virtuous of the Nobility repaired to *Sylla's* Camp, he resolved to signalize himself at his first setting out.

Plus. in Pomp.

<sup>124</sup> The Romans were already so prepossessed in favour of *Pompey*, that they compared him to *Alexander the Great*. They imagined, that he resembled him much in the Face; and this Prejudice led *Marcus Philippus* who pleaded for him, to say, *That Philip was obliged to declare for Alexander, to whom*

*he could not refuse that Mark of his Affection.*

<sup>125</sup> Besides, *Julia*, *Julius Cæsar's* Aunt, had married old *Marius*; and had by him had young *Marius*. So that *Cæsar* was attached to *Cinna's* Party by Blood as well as Inclination.



§. LII. The *Pompeian* Family had always been respected in <sup>126</sup> *Picenum*; and young *Pompey* made his Slaves and Clients take up Arms. Then he drew to his Standards the old Soldiers, who had formerly served under his Father. And when he had got together a large Body of Men, he ventured to give himself the Title of General, which he assumed, without asking any body's Consent, in the Presence of the Inhabitants of <sup>127</sup> *Auximum*, a City near his Estate. He mounted a *Tribune*, and declared himself an Enemy to the *Consulars*, and an Avenger of the injured Nobility. At this time, *Papirius Carbo* had sent one *Vidius*, of whom we know very little, to cause *Picenum* to rise in his Favour; and this Man, enraged at seeing young *Pompey* harangue the People for *Sylla*, cried out in a Passion, *What an Orator and General is here? He has scarce been come from School long enough to have made one Campaign!* But this Insult cost him dear. The Assembly stoned him to Death. Thus was *Pompey* authorized by the People, in his very first Step. Then he drove the Friends of the *Consuls* from *Auximum*, ran over all the Cities and Villages in the Country, raised Levies in them, and pursued all those who were well affected to the *Plebeian* Party to the utmost Extremities. When it was mentioned as a Reproach to him, that he, who was so rigid a Republican, should put himself at the Head of an Army without any Commission; he answered, That in Times of civil Wars, when it is not determined on which Side Justice is, every Citizen is a Soldier, and every Lord a General. However, his Troops increased so fast, that he had, in a few Days, Men enough to make three *Legions*; and he gave them *Tribunes* and *Centurions*, and formed an Army capable of keeping the Field. Then he advanced towards *Campania* to join *Sylla*, and signalized his March by Acts of Hostility against all the Cities and Detachments of the *Consular* Party that he met with.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXX.  
L. CORNELI-  
US SCIPIO, &  
C. JUNIUS  
NORBANUS,  
Consuls.

This March of the brave Youth drew on him three Generals, who commanded Bodies of Men, in that Neighbourhood, under the *Consuls*. *Carinas*, *Cælius*, and *Junius Brutus* agreed together to attack *Pompey*; not by joining and giving him Battle, but by harassing him in different Places, during his March. They thought, that by this Means, an Army tumultuously assembled, would easily be defeated, or dispersed. But *Pompey's* first Action was worthy of the oldest Generals. He, at the Head of his own Cavalry, attacked that of *Brutus*, which was *Gallic*, and not easily to be broken. *Pompey* however, stuck close to the *Gallic* General, and never lost sight of him. He pursued him, and never left him, till he had killed him with his own Lance: And when the Squadrons saw their General fallen, they fled, and in their Flight fell on *Brutus's* Infantry, and put them in Disorder. This first Success, which was wholly owing to his own personal Bravery, made *Pompey* formidable to his Enemies; and they sought all Means of Revenge. But their Leaders quarrell'd among themselves; and in their Councils, it was at last determined, to quit the Field, and leave the Country open to the Conqueror. So that *Pompey* retook all the Cities that had surrendered to the *Consuls*, and was victorious wherever he came.

§. LIII. Nevertheless, the *Consul Scipio*, who had since the Desertion of his Troops raised himself a new Army, thought proper to try it against *Pompey*; and the old General came and offered the young Hero Battle. But when the Infantry on both Sides were in fight, and advanced within Bow-shot, *Scipio's* Soldiers very civilly saluted those of *Pompey*; and all the *Consul's* Army instantly went over to the Enemy. So that *Scipio* was a second Time deserted by all his Troops, and retired with Shame. And then *Papirius Carbo* made his last Effort to stop *Pompey* in his March. He sent all his Cavalry against him, who fought him on the Banks of the *Æfis* <sup>128</sup>; but all the Advantage was on the side of the young General. He pressed the Enemy's Squadrons so closely, that they were driven into narrow Passes; and when they were surrounded on all Sides, they surrendered at Discretion. After all these Exploits, *Pompey* continued his Rout without Interruption. *Sylla* was yet a great way from him, and had heard nothing more of this zealous Friend, than that he had declared for him, and was making his Way to him, through numberless Dangers. In order therefore to facilitate their junction; *Sylla* resolved to march towards him, and assist him, in forcing his Way through the many

<sup>126</sup> *Picenum* was that Italian Province, which is now *The Marquisate of Ancona*.

<sup>127</sup> *Auximum*, now *Osimo*, stands on a Mountain. *Plutarch* says, it was, in *Pompey's* Time, one of the most considerable Cities in *Picenum*. It is now much

fallen from its ancient Splendor.

<sup>128</sup> The *Æfis*, which according to *Silius* the Poet, took its Name from a King of the *Pelasgi*, divided *Picenum* and *Umbria*. It rises at the Foot of the *Apennines*, and falls into the *Adriatick Sea*.



Year of *ROME* DCLXX. *L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, & C. JUNIUS NORBANUS, Consuls.* Armies that surrounded him. At last they met; and their first Interview was accompanied with all the Marks of the highest Esteem, and the most sincere Friendship. *Pompey* had drawn up his Troops in fine Order, and commanded them to put on their best Cloaths, and most shining Armour: And the Sight of three *Legions* under their *Eagles*, and much more the Relation *Pompey* gave him of his Adventures and Exploits, charmed *Sylla* at their first Meeting. He did the young *Roman* extraordinary Honours; gave him the Title of *Imperator*, which the *Legionaries* gave but rarely to their Generals; and whenever *Pompey* appeared before him, *Sylla* lifted up one of the Lappets of his Robe which covered his Head, advanced some Paces towards him, and distinguished him above all his Officers of what Extraction soever. Nor was this only a present and temporary Respect: *Sylla* did him the same Honours, even when he was *Dictator*.

*App in Mithridat.*

§. LIV. And now, the Increase of *Sylla's* Army, having increased the Fears of the People of *Rome*, and of the *Consuls*, the Capital was in a great Consternation; and *Scipio* as well as *Norbanus* and *Carbo*, drew near it, both to keep up their Party there, and to defend it, in case of an Attack. *Norbanus* encamped without the Walls, on the Road to *Campania*; and then *Sylla* sent again to him to treat of a Peace. And tho', it seems scarce credible, that he could have had any Design to surprize him, and debauch his Troops; but on the other hand, it seems much more probable, that he had a sincere Regard for the publick Good, and had nothing in view, but to avoid shedding *Roman* Blood, and to restore Tranquillity to *Rome*, and the Republick to its ancient Form; yet *Norbanus* suspected the same Artifices, by which *Scipio* had been over-reached, and therefore refused to treat. However, *Sylla* at least gained the Reputation of being of a pacifick Spirit by his Offer. Tho' he ravaged all the Places wherever he came, the Odium of these Expeditions all fell upon *Norbanus*, who was said to have refused a Peace: And *Papirius Carbo*, who was more turbulent than *Norbanus*, helped to enflame the Minds of the People. He entered *Rome* with his Army, and by the help of it, made himself Master of the Senate and *Comitia*, and forced them by Violence to declare *Metellus*, *Pompey*, and all the *Patricians* who had joined *Sylla*, Enemies to the Republick. And whilst *Carbo* was exerting his short Remains of Authority in *Rome*, like a Madman; it happened that the finest Building in this stately City was reduced to Ashes. The Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, built by *Tarquin the Proud*, and consecrated by the second *Consuls* of the Republick, 424 Years before it was first burnt, appeared in a Flame, on the Day before the Eve of *The Nones of July*. All its Ornaments which were for the most part of Wood plated over with Gold, were consumed; and the Fire penetrating into the Vault where the Books of the Sibyl of *Cumæ* were kept in a Stone-Chest, *Rome* was more concerned at this Loss, than at that of the Temple. According to their different Factions, some ascribed this to *Carbo*, and others to *Sylla*, who was said to have hired a Person to set it on fire. And what gave room for this Suspicion was, that a Fanatick had foretold this Misfortune to *Sylla*, long before he drew near to *Rome*. But the most common Opinion was, That the Fire was owing to the Negligence of the Man who kept the Temple. All the Gold and Silver that could be saved, was carried to *Præneste*, and put under the Care of young *Marius* <sup>129</sup>.

*Jul. Obf. c.*  
118.

Whilst *Carbo* was lording it over the People at *Rome*, and the *Consuls* continued in the Field, *Sylla* was wholly employed in gaining Friends in *Cisalpine Gaul*. This Country was most inclined to the *Plebeian* Party, and almost all the Nations near the *Alpes*, were in Motion to support the *Consuls*. *Sylla* had sent *Metellus* thither with an Army; but through his natural Dilatoriness, he delayed the Reduction of a Country, which *Sylla* was impatient to have for him. He therefore proposed it to *Pompey*, who was younger and more active than *Metellus*, to take his Place. But *Pompey* excused himself, for fear of affronting a Man of his high Rank: Till at length *Metellus* himself desired *Sylla* to send *Pompey* to him. And then he set out for *Gaul*, and signalized himself there by such Achievements, as the Historians would not have omitted, if his many greater Actions had not eclipsed his lesser Exploits, and caused them to be overlooked. It is certain, That he roused *Metellus's* Indolence; and That both together made a wonderful Progress, in favour of *Sylla*. Nevertheless, they could not hinder the

<sup>129</sup> Some Historians add, That the Temple of *Vesta* was damaged by the Fire; and That several sacred Edifices were thrown down by violent Earth-

quakes. The People looked on these sad Accidents as so many sure Presages of the Misfortunes that threatened *Rome*.



*Gauls* who dwelt on the Banks of the *Po*, from repairing to the *Consuls* Camp. So that after a Year's War, all that *Sylla* gained, was some additional Glory, and a greater Number of the Nobility to his Army. The Forces were still pretty equal on both Sides.

§. LV. The Design of *Papirius Carbo's* exerting his Authority in *Rome*, now appeared to be, that he might get himself chosen *Consul*, a third Time, and procure *C. Marius*, the Nephew of the great *Marius*, and his Son by Adoption, to be elected with him; and by Violence he made the People disregard all Rules. Young *Marius*, who was offered to the People as a Candidate, was yet only 20 Years of Age, or a little more, and consequently was thereby disqualified for holding the first Dignity. But he was nominated contrary to Law, and to the great Grief of his Mother, who looked on him as lost, as soon as she saw him a chief Commander and Conductor of a War, whose dreadful Consequences she foresaw. The Winter which was very severe, suspended Hostilities on both Sides, for some Months; and in that Time, the *Consuls* made it their Business to raise Money enough to pay the Troops which they had assembled in *Italy*, and which, under different Commanders, infested the several Parts of it. The publick Treasury was exhausted. The only Means left was to strip the Temples in *Rome*, which glittered with Gold and Silver; and a Decree was extorted from the Senate, whereby they ordered these Riches to be turned into Money. As soon as the Season would permit, all the Armies took the Field. The first Battle was fought on the Banks of the *Æfis*, between *Carinas*, one of the *Consular* Generals, and *Metellus*, who was *Sylla's* Right-Hand, and most avowed Advocate. After a long Dispute, which lasted from Morning till Night, all the Advantage was on the Side of *Metellus*; and this brought *Carbo* upon him. But his Efforts were fruitless. So that the beginning of the Campaign was not at all favourable to the *Consuls* and their Party.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXI.  
Cn. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO, &  
C. MARIUS,  
Consuls.  
App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

§. LVI. Nevertheless, *Sylla* was of Opinion, that he should never gain over the Nations of *Italy* to him, till he had removed out of their Minds a Prejudice which was fatal to his Interests. They believed, that as soon as he should come to *Rome*, he would disannul the Law, which granted them all the Rights of *Roman Citizenship*; and he therefore used all Means possible, to undeceive the *Colonies* and *Municipia*, on this important Article. He employed all his Friends in the chief Cities, to remove this Obstacle to his Dominion; and at last succeeded. And when the Pleaders, whose Causes ought to have been finally determined at *Rome*, came in Crowds to his Camp, to have them decided there; he sent them back to the Capital, with the Confidence of a Man, who depended on soon having all Authority there. His Affairs grew better every Day. This made the young *Consul* exceeding jealous of him; and being as cruel as his Father, he sent Orders to *Junius Brutus*, surnamed *Damasippus*, then *Prætor* in *Rome*, to put to Death all *Sylla's* Friends that still resided there. The *Prætor* assembled them together, in one of the Halls, where the Senate used to meet, under Pretence of consulting them, and there cruelly murdered them. Among the slain were *Papirius Carbo* the *Consul's* Brother, and that *P. Antistius* whose Daughter *Pompey* had married; and when *L. Domitius* endeavoured to flee from the Swords of the Assassines, he was killed at the Gate of the Palace. *Mucius Scaevola*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, escaped from thence, and thought himself safe in the Temple of *Vesta*; but his Executioners sacrificed him at the Foot of the Altar, and his Blood flew on the Image of the Goddess, and had like to have put out the sacred Fire. After this, the *Prætor*, to join Ignominy with his Cruelty, fixed *Carbo's* Head on a Stake, and shewed it in all the *Consular* Armies. The Wife of *Antistius*, like a true Heroine, who had none of the Vices of *Lucius Calpurnius Bestia* her Father, no sooner heard of the Death of her Husband, but she thought it became her to follow him to the *Elysian Fields*, and with a Knife she had in her Hand, she stabbed herself to the Heart.

§. LVII. All these Cruelties committed on his Friends at *Rome*, at last changed *Sylla's* Heart. He had hitherto discovered no great Marks of an inhuman Temper. His Youth had been spent in Pleasures, and the Politeness he had acquired among the *Roman Ladies*, had rather softened his Heart than hardened it. But the bad Example the opposite Faction gave him, made him change his Nature, if I may so speak, and brought him by degrees, as will soon appear, to be one of the most barbarous of Men. He was at present full of Fury, and in order to advance by degrees towards *Rome*, he possessed himself of *Setia*<sup>130</sup>, a City on the Banks of the *Liris*. Young *Marius* was

App. Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.  
P'ut. in Sylla.

<sup>130</sup> See Vol. 1. p. 266. Note 6; & Vol. 2. p. 58. Note 13.



Year of *ROME* DCLXXI. *CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO, & C. MARIUS, Consuls.*

grieved to see an Enemy, whom he had justly provoked, continually gain Ground upon him, and encamp so near the Capital; and he met the *Pro-Consular* Army, and posted himself in a Place called *Sacriportus*<sup>131</sup>, at some distance from <sup>132</sup>*Prænestæ*. But tho' the two Camps were near enough, *Sylla* doubted whether it would be proper for him to venture a Battle; and a Dream determined him. He imagined, that in his Sleep, he saw old *Marius*, persuading the *Consul* not to expose himself to the Danger that threatened him, the next Day. This he took to be a Notification from the Gods; and as soon as it was Day, marched towards the Enemy. *Dolabella*, one of his General-Officers, encamped at some distance, and *Sylla* sent him Orders to join him without Delay. But *Marius* did all that was possible to prevent their joining. His Troops possessed themselves of all the Passages, seized all the narrow Ways, and at certain distances, built little Forts of Stone or Turf. So that *Dolabella* and *Sylla* could not move one Step towards each other, without disputing every Inch of Ground. They were forced to come to little Battles at all the Works the *Consul* had erected against them. By this Means *Sylla's* Soldiers were so fatigued, with these Engagements, their March, and the Rain which fell in very great Quantities, that when they came to be drawn up in Battalia, they could scarce stand on their Feet. They were all so weary, that they rested themselves on their Javelins or Bucklers. This their General perceived; and it made him fear lest his Dream should turn against him, and despair of Conquest on a Day which he had thought lucky.

*Fenestella.*

On the other hand, *Marius* was as presumptuous, as *Sylla* was distrustful. The young *Consul* presumed on the Weariness of *Sylla's* old Soldiers, and instantly attacked them at the Head of his Cavalry. But as his pretending to break through these brave Men with only a few Squadrons, and without fighting a Battle in due Form, was treating them with Contempt, the Veterans, who were used to conquer in the East and West, were piqued at the Insult, and Anger recovered their Strength. They threw down their Darts on which they rested, drew their Swords without shooting their Arrows, and without any difficulty repulsed the Cavalry, and put them into Disorder. Then the *Consular* Cohorts engaged the *Pro-Consul's* Legions; and the Action became more furious. The Success was for some Time doubtful; but at last, *Marius's* left Wing gave way; and the Dispute was ended by the Desertion of seven of the *Consular* Cohorts. They threw down their Colours, and went over to *Sylla*. This was enough to put the rest of a shattered Army to flight, and they dispersed themselves confusedly about the Fields. The Conquerors forgot their Fatigue, and pursued them; and at last, made a great Slaughter of them. It is pretended, that *Marius* was not at this Instant in the Battle; but being overpowered with Sleep, was reposing himself under a Tree. But if so, it's certain, That the Flight of his Troops at least waked him. He mixed with the Fugitives, and made all haste to reach *Prænestæ*, which he had strengthened with new Fortifications. But the vanquished had fled thither in such Numbers, that the Inhabitants were obliged to shut the Gates before the *Consul* arrived; and he was forced to be drawn up the Wall with Cords, to save his Life. All the rest that were left without the Walls perished miserably by the Swords of the *Pro-Consulars*. According to *Sylla's* Memoirs, 20000 of the Enemy were killed upon the Spot in this single Action, and 8000 made Prisoners; whereas he lost only three and twenty Soldiers. Which if true, was indeed such good Fortune as is scarce to be conceived: And now, his Cruelty began to appear. All the *Samnites* that fell into his Hands were massacred without Mercy. He looked on this Nation, as eternal Enemies to the *Roman* Name, and the Incendiaries in all Seditions.

§. LVIII. Nor was this Campaign fortunate to *Sylla* alone; his leading Friends *Mitellus* and *Pompey*<sup>133</sup> likewise gained Battles. The former against *Papirius Carbo*<sup>134</sup>

<sup>131</sup> We know nothing more of the Place called *Sacriportus* by the *Roman* Historians, than that it was near *Prænestæ*.

<sup>132</sup> See Vol. I. p. 242. Note 27.

<sup>133</sup> At the same Time, that *Pompey* discovered all the Merit of a consummate General before the usual Age, his Modesty gave a new Lustre to his military Exploits. See above p. 442.

<sup>134</sup> Upon the News of *Sylla's* Victories, *Carbo*, who with his Army kept *Mitellus* closely shut up,

was in such a Consternation, that he abandoned his Post, after he had first evacuated the Places of which he had made himself Master. *Pompey*, who was lately arrived in *Cisalpine Gaul*, being informed of the precipitate Flight of *Carbo*, who took the Road to *Rimini*, immediately made himself Master of his Camp; and fell on the Rear-Guard of the Enemy's Army with such Success, that the greatest Part of them either fell by the Sword, or were forced to surrender at Discretion.



on the Confines of *Cisalpine Gaul*; the latter near <sup>135</sup> *Sienna* in *Hetruria*. So that the Year of three *Pro-Consular* Armies all insensibly drew near to *Rome*, on different Sides: But *Sylla*'s first Point was to shut up *Marius* in *Præneste*, and there destroy him by Famine. *R O M E*  
*He* thought that City too strong to be taken by Assault, or indeed openly attacked. It stood half Way up the Ascent of a Mountain, on the top of which was its Citadel; *DCLXXI.*  
 and this Mountain was not accessible on either hand, but through two Valleys which were made almost as steep as Precipices. *C N. PAPIRI- US CARBO, & C. MARIUS*  
*Sylla* therefore ordered it to be surrounded with a large Circumvallation, out of the Reach of the *Ballistæ*. And tho' he might have entrusted the Management of this great Work to several illustrious *Patricians*, who had long been in his Service; he chose to honour one *Lucretius Ofella* with it, an unknown Soldier of Fortune, who had lately come to him. The Nobility murmured at this; and plainly saw, That *Sylla*'s Ambition to reign alone in the Republick was too great, to permit any others to share the Honour of his Exploits with him. A Pre-sentiment which was but too well verified in the Sequel. The nearer he drew to *Rome*, the more he neglected his old Friends. All they whose Birth might excite them to aspire at great Dignities, gave him Umbrage. Which was plainly enough shewing the *Romans*, that he, who was going to destroy Tyranny, would be a new Tyrant him-self.

As soon as he had provided for the Blockade of *Præneste*, he ordered his *Legions* to try to enter *Rome* on different Sides, and to retire to *Ostia* if the Gates of the Capital were shut against them. But his Approach struck more Terror than that of *Pyrrhus*, or the *Gauls*, or *Hannibal*, had done; and wherever his Soldiers came, the Cities were opened to them, and the Villages supplied them with Refreshments. *Rome* herself did not refuse them Admittance within her Walls. A Famine began to be felt there, and Fear had sunk every one's Spirits. The Inhabitants began to be weary of these Troubles; the different Factions had long since reduced them to extreme Want. It was of little Consequence to the Multitude, whether they constantly obeyed one Master, or bore the Yoke of successive annual Tyrants, since none of them gave them any Ease. *Sylla* knew their Dispositions, came to *Rome* without any Obstruction, and encamped his Army in *The Field of Mars*. *App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.*

§. LIX. His Presence made all his Enemies disappear; they retired to different Places. The *Pro-Consul* gave Law like a Conqueror, and ordered the Estates of all those whose Fears had dispersed them to be confiscated. After which, he assembled the People in the usual Place, and addressed himself to them thus.

*How hard has been my Fate, to have been twice obliged to enter the City Sword in Hand, which was by the Appointment of the Gods made the Place of my Nativity! Was I born here, to see Licentiousness authorized, Liberty oppressed, and the Laws and ancient Form of the Republick overturned? Soon after Carthage was destroyed, we sunk into Depravity; and Ambition easily got Ground among vitious Men. Luxury and Debauchery corrupted Individuals, and these private Vices soon produced publick Misfortunes. Some pernicious Citizens, who well knew the Depravity of our Hearts, made such use of it, as turned most to their own Advantage; and then every Thing became venal among us. Money has been for some time the only Spring of Government; and indigent Virtue has not been able to aspire at publick Offices. Hence that Confusion of all Ranks and Orders of Men, which followed, and that Preference of the meanest of the People before the most venerable of the Nobility. The most illustrious Patricians, and indeed the whole Senatorial Order have sunk into Contempt; and if any of them has raised himself out of Obscurity, he has purchased his Distinctions by very mean and very servile Compliances. But it was not so, in the fortunate Ages of the Republick. Then every Order was in its due Place. The Nobility and People shared the publick Authority, but with a just Subordination. The Commons respected the Decrees of the Senate; and if any thing was attempted which they thought would be prejudicial to them, the Tribunes, their Protectors, contented themselves with rejecting the Law which would be injurious. And it has always been my Ambition to revive those happy Times. But how many Enemies have I*

<sup>135</sup> According to *Frontinus*, *Pompey* gave up the City of *Sienna* to be plundered, and then led his Army to *Milan*, which was taken and sacked. The Soldiers in their Fury spared nothing, sacred or prophane. The Senate of this Capital of the Province were massacred without Mercy, by a Company of Brutes, contrary to the General's Orders. When

*Pompey* was informed of this horrible Slaughter, he assembled his Soldiers, and after he had discovered the Authors of the Massacre, represented the horrible Nature of their Crime to his Troops in so pathetick a manner, that all the Army earnestly demanded, that those Villains should be punished, according to the Rigour of the Laws.



Year of drawn on myself by it? All your Tyrants, and the Defenders of Tyranny, became my  
 ROME Persecutors. My Goods were put up to publick Sale, my Wife and Children reduced to  
 DCLXXI. want, my Friends cruelly assassinated, and myself, in the midst of my Victories, very pro-  
 vokingly declared an Enemy to the Roman People. But at last, the Gods have in a  
 CN. PAPIRI- very extraordinary Manner brought me back to this Place. And what do you now expect  
 US CARBO, & C. MARIUS, from me, Romans? What use do you imagine I will make of my Conquest? This I know  
 Consuls. is what so much alarms you. But you may rest satisfied, that Sylla is not inclined to Bar-  
 barity; he did not suck the Milk of a Tyger in Rome. As for my virtuous Friends, I  
 will reward their Services, and my Bounty shall not fall short of their Affection. And  
 as for the Multitude, who have been unwarily drawn in to join with my Adversaries, I  
 will forget past Injuries, and ascribe even their bad Actions to their Weakness. The only  
 Revenge I will take of Rome, shall be to restore it to its ancient Splendor.

The simple Populace believed Sylla on his Word; but the Wise foresaw that so total  
 a Change in the Government could not be made without much Bloodshed. And in-  
 deed, how could all that Moderation which Sylla promised be reasonably expected from  
 him? He had been personally ill used, and in his Passion vowed Revenge. Whatever  
 Appearance of Mildness he might now put on, it was well known how far his Fury might  
 carry him. Some Instances of it had escaped him in his first Consulship. The Case  
 of the great Marius, and the twelve Senators he had formerly proscribed, foreboded a  
 greater Number of Proscriptions hereafter. In Civil Wars, said the Men of Observa-  
 tion, the Consequences of Victory are generally bloody. The Conqueror does not think him-  
 self secure against his Rivals, till he has taken off their Heads. Nor is his Revenge al-  
 ways confined even to the Persons he suspects. How many innocent People are confounded  
 with the guilty? Besides, the General is sometimes obliged to sacrifice to his Friends the  
 Lives of those they hate. So that it is not so much the personal Revenge of the Con-  
 queror that is to be feared, as that of all the Army with which he has conquered. And  
 to this is to be added the Consideration of the different Passions of the Victor himself,  
 which he will endeavour to gratify. If he is resolved to reign alone, he must cut off all  
 about him that give him Umbrage. If Money be his Passion, he will condemn the rich,  
 though innocent, to be punished, that he may have an Opportunity of seizing their Estates  
 under the Appearance of Justice. And in short, when Power makes all Things possible,  
 it is much to be feared, that there are very few Things which he will think unlawful.

Thus reasoned the most sensible of the Romans, and their Forebodings proved but  
 too true. Nevertheless, Sylla did not think fit to stain his first coming to the Capital  
 with any one Act of Cruelty. He contented himself with promoting his Friends to the  
 Offices he found vacant by the Flight of his Enemies; and then left the City with some  
 Precipitation.

§. LX. There were two Things that called him into the Field. One was the Surrender  
 of Præneste, where the Consul Marius was shut up. The other was the Approach of Cn.  
 Papirius Carbo, who was advancing, by great Marches, to attempt the Deliverance of his  
 App. L. 1. De Collegue. Carbo was already arrived at <sup>136</sup> Clusium in *Hetruria*; and was there assem-  
 Bell. Civ. bling all the Forces his Party could raise. But of all the Cohorts he could get together  
 in all Italy, his chief Dependance was on the Celtiberian Squadrons, which Barriemus,  
 Prætor of Hither Spain, had sent to his Assistance; and as soon as he knew of Sylla's  
 March, he sent these brave Spaniards against the Pro-Consular Cavalry. They met in  
 one of the Plains of the <sup>137</sup> Clanis; and there Sylla's Troops had all the Advantage.  
 Fifty Celtiberians were killed upon the Spot, and 270 of these brave Men went over  
 to the Pro-Consul, which cost their Countrymen very dear. Carbo, by an unparal-  
 lellled Act of Cruelty, caused all the Celtiberians that were left in his Army to be  
 massacred. And at length a general Battle was fought between the Leaders of the two  
 Factions. It began at Sun-rising, and lasted till after Sun-set, without any Advantage  
 gained on either side. But it was a Victory to Carbo, not to be conquered. He im-  
 mediately detached C. Albinus Carinas one of his Generals, to force the Lines, with  
 which Q. Lucretius Ofella had invested Præneste. This Motion of Carinas shewed  
 Sylla Carbo's Design, and he sent Pompey and P. Crassius to engage him. They fought  
 him in the Plains of Spoletto, killed 3000 of his Men, and rendered his Attempt fruitless.  
 Carinas himself had much Difficulty to escape, by favour of the Night; and to com-

<sup>136</sup> See Vol. 1. p. 113. Note 33.

*Chiana*. See Vol. 2. p. 340. Note 92; and Vol. 3

<sup>137</sup> The *Clanis* here spoken of, is now called *La* p. 154. Note 93.



pleat the Misfortune, his Troops after their Defeat fell into an Ambuscade which Sylla had laid for them, and there he lost 2000 Men more.

In the mean time, *Marius* was still blocked up in *Præneste*, and pressed with Want. *Carbo* thought a great Army necessary to set him at liberty, and he sent eight Legions under the Command of *Marcus Censorinus*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals; but *Censorinus*'s March was not more fortunate than that of *Carinas*. *Pompey* fell unexpectedly upon him, cut the greatest Part of his Army in pieces, and forced the rest to flee to the Hills for Safety. There the Night favoured their Retreat, but they were so angry with their General, that they deserted him; and went, some to *Ariminum*, others to their own Houses. In short, there returned but seven Cohorts of the eight Legions to *Censorinus*. A terrible Blow to the Consul's Army! Inſomuch, that he did not now think himself strong enough to attempt the Deliverance of his Collegue. Then, for Want of Roman Generals, three Commanders of the confederate Troops undertook it. *Pontius Teſſinus* with his *Samnites*, *M. Lamponius* with his *Lucanians*, and *Gutta* with his *Campani*, joining together, made a Body of 70000 Men; and with this numerous Army they advanced towards *Præneste*, flattering themselves, that they should have the Glory of delivering a Roman Consul. But they had to do with *Sylla*. He came in Person; shut up all the Passes that led to the City where *Marius* was invested; dispersed the three Bodies of Troops without coming to a Battle with them; and took from *Præneste* all Hopes of Relief.

§. LXI. *Marius*, though young, wanted neither Ability nor Experience; and did as much to procure his Escape as could have been expected from an old Officer. As there was a great Space between the Walls of *Præneste* and the Enemy's Lines, he there built a kind of Forts defended by wooden Towers full of *Ballistæ* and *Catapultæ*, and from them the besieged incessantly threw terrible Showers of Arrows. By the Help of these Machines, the Garrison attempted several Sallies, and endeavoured to break through the Besiegers Lines. But *Sylla*, who encamped in the Neighbourhood, ran to *Ofella*'s Assistance upon the first Motion of the Enemy, and forced the besieged to retire into their City. This Management lasted a great while, and the Famine in the Place increased. In the mean time, the Bodies *Sylla* had detached <sup>138</sup> against *Carbo*'s Partizans, were continually gaining Advantages over them. The two *Servilii* beat the Consular Troops near *Clusium*; *Marcus Lucullus* defeated an Army of them, in Sight of *Fidentia* <sup>139</sup>; and *Metellus* gained still greater Advantages near *Faventia* <sup>140</sup>, over *Carbo* and *Norbanus* together. The latter, though posted in a Vineyard, ventured to give Battle; but their Soldiers were embarrassed with the Vine-roots, gave way almost without any Resistance, and a terrible Slaughter was made of them. 10000 were killed upon the Spot, 6000 went over to *Metellus*; and the rest were so dispersed, that there did not remain above 1000 of them together, and they were forced to flee for Safety to the City of *Arezzo*, which had declared for the Consuls. And after this Victory, *Metellus* made himself Master of the fine Plains of *Uri*, which were the most fruitful in Corn, of any in *Italy*. Nor were *Sylla*'s Arms less fortunate in *Campania*. His Troops were brought into *Naples* by the Treachery of some of the Inhabitants; and after they had destroyed a great Number of the Inhabitants, without Distinction of Rank or Sex, they seized the Gallies in the Port, and sent all the Rowers to *Sylla*'s Camp. Every Thing seemed to concur to promote his Prosperity. A whole Legion commanded by *Albinovanus*, one of the Consular Generals, came over and joined *Metellus*. *Albinovanus* thought himself so unsafe in the Party he had embraced, that he resolved to renounce it; but by a Crime which has made his Name infamous. This avowed Zealot for *Marius* and *Cinna*, made his Peace privately with *Sylla*, upon Condition that he should display his Zeal against the Party he had embraced, by some remarkable Action; and he even sacrificed his Honour to make his Court. He invited *Nor-*

<sup>138</sup> According to *Appian*, a Detachment of *Sylla*'s Army had beaten some Consular Troops near *Saturnia*, a City in *Hetruria*, anciently called *Aurinia* and *Italia*, and honoured, according to *Livy*, with the Title of a Colony, in the Year of Rome 569.

<sup>139</sup> The modern Geographers place the City of *Fidentia*, where The Town of *St. Domin*, or *Borgo di san Domin*, now stands. So that it stood in that Part of *Lombardy* which now makes the *Dutchy of Parma*, near the Confines of the Territory of *Plai-*

*sance*. *Pliny* calls this City *Julia Fidentia*. The History of the Martyrdom of *St. Domin* calls it, *Julia Chrisopolis*; and some others, by the diminutive Appellation of *Fidentiola*; to shew it scarce deserves the Name of a City.

<sup>140</sup> *Faventia* is now *Faenza*, which the French call *Fayence*. It is a City of *Romagnia*, at a little distance from *Ravenna*, on the Banks of the *Damone*, a River which rises at the Foot of the *Apennines*, and falls into the *Adriatick* Sea.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXI.  
C N. P A P I R I -  
U S C A R B O, &  
C. M A R I U S,  
Consuls.



Year of *banus*, then his General, to an Entertainment with all the Officers of the Army, and among the rest *Apustius*, and *Fimbria* the Brother of him who had stabbed himself in *Asia*; and *Norbanus* happened not to accept of the Invitation. The Feast was splendid, but ended very tragically. When they were in the height of their Joy, the perfidious *Albinovanus* brought Assassins into the Hall who murdered all the Guests; and then he withdrew to *Sylla's* Camp. So horrible were the Effects that the Animosity of Parties produced! *Norbanus* was so alarmed with it, that he despaired of finding any Fidelity even among his own Friends. Being deserted by his Troops, and deprived of his chief Officers by Treachery, he resolved to seek for Safety in some other Country. Finding a Merchant-ship, ready to sail for the Island of *Rhodes*, he went aboard her without any Attendants, and sailed thither; but there met with that Fate, which he endeavoured to avoid by leaving *Italy*. The *Rhodians* who were better affected to *Sylla's* than the opposite Party, held a Council to deliberate whether they should give his Enemy Refuge; and upon this, *Norbanus* prevented their coming to a Determination, by stabbing himself with his own Sword, in the middle of the Market-Place.

CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO, &  
C. MARIUS,  
Consuls.

§. LXII. Thus fell one of the three chief Supports of the *Plebeian* Faction; and of the other two, *Carbo* and *Marius* the present *Consuls*, the latter was still shut up in *Præneste*, and all his Attempts to get out had proved fruitless. The former therefore now resolved to make his last Effort for his Deliverance; and sent *Junius Damasippus* with two *Legions* to reinforce, and carry Provisions into, the Place. But *Sylla*, who was still posted in the Defiles, stopped both the Succours and the Convoy; and *Præneste* continued to be as much shut up as ever, and nothing but the Obstinacy of *Marius* made it hold out. On the other hand, *Carbo* had so many Losses, that he seemed to be almost deserted. *Metellus* had lately added to *Sylla's* Party, all the Nations of *Cisalpine Gaul*, from *Ravenna* to the *Alpes*; and the Officers that fought under *Carbo* were discomfited, in all Places. In the Neighbourhood of *Placentia*, *Lucullus*, formerly *Sylla's* *Quæstor* in *Asia*, had lately defeated the Army *Quinctius* commanded for the *Consuls*, in a very extraordinary Manner. *Lucullus's* Troops were surrounded; and whilst they were seeking an Expedient to extricate themselves, the Wind blew fresh, and passing over a neighbouring Meadow, brought the Flowers that grew there, to the Camp; and scattered them upon their Heads and Bucklers. This the ignorant Soldiers thought a happy Prefage; and the General seized this Opportunity to attack the Enemy; which was done with such Vigour, that with sixteen *Cohorts* he beat fifty, killed 8000 of the Enemy, and made himself Master of their Camp. An Action of so much Valour, that it raised him to the Reputation of being one of the greatest Soldiers that the expiring Republick had produced. Besides, *Umbria* had been brought over to *Sylla*, by the Reduction of <sup>141</sup> *Tuder*, a *Municipium*, which had surrendered to *Marcus Crassus* <sup>142</sup>.

But notwithstanding the Loss of all these Forces, the *Plebeian* Faction was still formidable. *Carbo* had yet four Armies in the Field. He commanded the first himself, near *Clusium*; and had in his Camp 30000 effective Men. *Junius Damasippus* commanded two *Legions* for him; *Carinas* and *Marcus* two more; and the *Samnites* kept up a numerous Army, which seemed irreconcilable to *Sylla*. But *Carbo's* Courage failed him too soon. He despaired of Success in *Italy*, and without attending to the Condition to which *Marius* was reduced in *Præneste*, embarked with a few Friends for *Africa*, to carry the War thither; and to his Flight may be ascribed all the future Misfortunes of his Party. As soon as he was embarked, *Pompey* and the *Servilii* came and attacked the Army, which he had left near *Clusium*; and being destitute of a General, it made but a feint Resistance. Twenty thousand Men out of thirty Thousand were killed on the Spot, and the rest dispersed; and after this general Rout, *Sylla* might well have said, that he had no Enemies left. One of the *Consuls* was fled; and the other ready to perish with Want, in an invested Town, without Hopes of escaping. But when the War seemed ended, and *Sylla* depended on a compleat Conquest; a new Enemy appeared against him, who excelled the native *Romans* both in Valour and Experience.

<sup>141</sup> This City stood near the *Tyber*, between *Perouse* and *Narni*. The modern *Italians* call it *Todi*.

<sup>142</sup> According to *Plutarch*, *Marcus* discovered

his Avarice on this occasion, by appropriating to himself the greatest Part of the Booty which his Soldiers had taken from the Inhabitants.



§. LXIII. *Pontius Telestinus*, a *Samnite* of high Extraction, and often mentioned with Honour by the *Roman* Historians, was as brave as his Father; and had learned the Art of War, both in the Battles he had fought for the *Romans* as their Vassal, and in those he had fought against them during the Revolt of the *Allies*. As soon as *Sylla* had appeared in *Italy*, to subdue the *Plebeian* Party, this Man, and one of his Brothers had declared for the *Consular* Faction, and followed the Standards of *Carbo* and *Marius*; and after the Victory *Sylla* gained in the Plains of *Sacripertus*, the younger *Pontius* had fled for Refuge to *Prænestæ* with *Marius*, and there remained in a kind of Captivity. The elder had commanded the Troops of his Nation as a Subaltern; and, being eclipsed by the *Consuls*, had had a small Share of Glory. But when *Carbo* had disappeared, he was become almost the Head of his Party, and as much Master of the Fate of *Rome*, as the other *Roman* Generals; and then that Antipathy revived in his Breast, which the *Samnites* had ever had for a Republick which had oppressed them, and whose Yoke they had always borne with great Reluctance. Though his only Intention in serving under the *Consuls*, was to help forwards the Ruin of the *Romans* now violently set against one another in a Civil War, he had hitherto in Prudence dissimulated his Resentments; but now he thought it in his Power to destroy this proud City, which gave Law to the whole World, and more immediately to *Italy*. After the Ruin of the two *Consuls*, he had nothing to do, but to humble *Sylla*; and he hoped he should be able to put his politick Scheme in Execution.

In order to do this the more effectually, he first joined his Forces to those of *Carinas*, whom *Carbo* had left alone in *Italy*, to support his declining Party: and the Generals marched towards *Prænestæ*, with an Army of fourscore thousand Men, the greatest Part of whom were *Samnites*; the *Roman* to deliver *Marius*, the *Samnite* to set his Brother at Liberty. But the Posts which *Sylla* was possessed of, made the Design impracticable; and then *Pontius* proposed another Scheme, which was much greater, and more agreeable to his Inclinations. This was to surprize *Rome*, which had for some time been open to all Parties, and which *Sylla* could not put into a Condition to sustain a Siege; and the united Armies made a very expeditious March, and arrived towards the close of the Day, on *The Hill of Alba*, where they encamped, to spend the Night. The two Generals applauded themselves for having eluded the Vigilance of *Sylla*, by the Suddenness of their Departure; and flattered themselves with entering *Rome* the next Day, unknown to the Enemy. And indeed it is not to be doubted, but that the taking of *Rome* would have revived the *Plebeian* Party, if the Design had been as happily executed, as it was wisely formed. But *Pontius* and *Carinas* tarried too long at *Alba*. *Sylla* had Time to be informed of their March, and to arrive soon enough to hinder their entering the City. Nevertheless, before he appeared, the Head of the *Samnite* Army came and posted itself at the Gate *Collina*<sup>142</sup>; and at the Sight of the *Italian* Troops, the Consternation in *Rome* was inexpressible. The Women ran out of their Houses, with their Hair about their Shoulders; and filled the Streets, and publick Places, and Temples, with their Lamentations. At the same time, some of the young Nobility marched out of the City on Horseback, to skirmish, and were soon punished for their Rashness. The greatest part of them lost their Lives, and among the rest one *Appius Claudius*, a Youth of noble Extraction, and great Hopes.

§. LXIV. But whilst all were full of Terror in *Rome*, *Balbus* arrived full speed, at the Head of 700 Horse. *Sylla* had sent him before, and followed himself at the Head of his Infantry with as much Expedition as possible. About one in the Afternoon he came in sight of *Rome*; and his Troops being much fatigued, he ordered them to eat, and rest themselves for about two Hours; and then proposed immediately to give Battle. No General had ever more Authority over his Troops; and the *Legionaries* approved of the Proposal. *Dolabella* and *Torquatus* in vain represented to him, that it was hazarding all his extraordinary Success, upon very unequal Terms, to fight fresh Men with his fatigued Troops. His Experience and Superiority of Genius made him overlook common Prejudices. The Trumpets sounded, and the Attack began about four in the Afternoon, with equal Animosity on both Sides. The *Roman* Name was odious to the *Samnites*, and the *Samnite* Nation as much abhorred by the *Romans*. They had formerly had many Struggles in long Wars, and often with equal Success. And in the present Action, *Pontius Telestinus* was scarce inferior to *Sylla*, in any thing.

<sup>142</sup> See Vol. I p. 212. Note 60.  
VOL. V.



Year of except that extraordinary good Fortune which had hitherto attended him, but which  
 R O M E might now be the *Samnite's* Case; and the Victory continued long in suspense between  
 DCLXXI the two Generals.

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 CN. PAPIRI- In the *Roman* Army, *Sylla* commanded in the Left, and the brave *Crassus* in the  
 US CARBO, & Right. In the *Samnite*, *Pontius* commanded in the Right, and *Carinas* in the Left.  
 C. MARIUS, Upon the first Attack, *Crassus* had the Advantage over *Carinas*. The Troops of the  
 Consuls. latter gave way, and were put into Disorder. The Conqueror pursued them to *Antemne*, and from thence sent an Express to *Sylla*, to acquaint him with his Victory, and to desire Provisions. But the Courier could not get to him. *Pontius* had almost reduced him to the same State, to which *Crassus* had brought *Carinas*. His Wing was broken, and he was fully employed in rallying it. He was mounted on a white Horse, and being easily known by his Stature, flew through all the Ranks, exhorted some, threatened others, and led some back by the Hand to the Battle; and was on this Occasion in the greatest Danger, that ever befel him in his Life. As he was hurrying from Line to Line, and appearing in all Places, a *Samnite* Squadron came within reach of him, and two *Samnites* had their Arms lifted up, to throw their Darts at him, when one of his Attendants perceiving it, whipped his Horse, and made him quicken his Pace so very seasonably, that the Darts just grazed upon the Horse's Buttocks, and at a little distance, stuck deep into the Ground. *Sylla* returned *Apollo* Thanks for his Escape, kissed a little Statue of this God, which he had brought from *Delphi* and wore about his Neck, and then continued his Course. But notwithstanding all his Efforts, his Wing gave way, and after he had seen a great Number of his Friends fall, he had no Resource but in a Retreat; which he conducted like a great Commander, and brought his Troops back to his Camp.

*Pontius* looked on his having forced *Sylla* to leave the Field of Battle, as a Victory; and proud, of having seen him retire, he cried out in the midst of his Army, *Courage! My brave Samnites! We shall soon be Masters of Rome. There is no true Liberty for us to be had, till we have destroyed the Den of Wolves, which have deprived us of it!* Thus the Hopes of plundering *Rome*, and demolishing its Walls, encouraged the *Samnites*; and they drew near the City. A Crowd of the Inhabitants, whose Curiosity to see the Battle had brought them into the Plain, ran back to it; and for fear the *Samnites* should enter with them, the Port-Cullis was let down. This, with its Weight, killed a good Number of them, and among the rest, some Senators; and the Stop gave *Sylla* Time to recover himself. Fired with Shame at having been repulsed, he brought on his Troops again; and though the Day was declining, attacked the *Samnites* afresh, pressed them close, overpowered them, and at last routed them, about half an Hour after Sun-set. Then he gave Orders that no Quarter should be given to any *Samnite*, and all the Night was spent in pursuing and killing the vanquished. A memorable Battle, and decisive both for *Sylla* and for *Rome*! If *Pontius* had kept his first Advantage, the Capital of the World would have undergone the Fate of *Carthage* and *Corinth*; the *Roman* Republick would have been utterly destroyed; and the rest of the World would have recovered their ancient Liberty.

But *Sylla's* Victory was compleat. He took and plundered the *Samnites* Camp. So that now, of all the Enemy's Generals, only one was left that could continue the War. *Pontius* *Telestinus* was found expiring on the Field of Battle; and at his last Breath, there appeared in his Looks the Fiercenets and Rage of a disappointed Hero, who found he must die, without delivering the World from the Tyranny of *Rome*. *Carinas*, *Junius* *Damasippus*, and *Marcus*, who were taken in their Flight, were by *Sylla's* Order beheaded: And the next Day, all their Heads were brought to the Camp before *Præneste*. After the first Attack in which *Sylla* was worsted, a Report had been spread in *Ofella's* Camp, That *Sylla* was slain in the Battle, and his Army dispersed; and a great Number of *Romans* had abandoned *Ofella*, and the Consul *Marius* had resolved to force the Enemy's Lines. But upon the Sight of the Heads of the Enemy's Generals, the Alarm in *Ofella's* Camp was at an end, and they in *Præneste* grew more desperate.

§. LXV. If the Report then spread of *Sylla's* Death had proved true, his Name would have been transmitted to Posterity without Reproach. Hitherto nothing but the Hero had appeared in all his military Exploits. The Necessity he was under of taking up Arms against his Country, was an Excuse for it. The Republick was exposed to the Plunders of an ambitious Faction, and it seemed very necessary to deliver



her from them. The great Offices were either usurped without any Election, or the pretended Elections were not free. The *Consuls* and *Prætors* exercised their Offices without lawful Authority, and with all the Violences of Tyrants. The Senate were a contemptible Body of Men, devoted to the Wills of three or four factious Leaders, who alone dictated the Decrees, and *Plebiscita*. The Nobles were oppressed, and could no otherwise have access to Dignities, than by devoting themselves to the Passions of the *Plebeian* Party. In short, there was so little Correspondence between the different Orders of Men, that the whole *Roman* State was no better than a Chaos, where the Interests of private Persons prevailed over those of the Publick. And hitherto, *Sylla* had taken upon him the Character of the Avenger of the Nobility, the Restorer of the Laws, and the Reformer of the ancient Government. A glorious Design, which would have made him more illustrious than the *Camilli*, *Fabii*, *Pauli Æmilii*, and the *Scipio's*, even tho' he had sunk under the Weight of the Attempt. History would have done him Justice, by eternizing his Zeal, and lamenting his ill Fate. But it was much to the Injury of his Fame, that he survived his Victories in *Africa*, *Asia*, and *Italy*. After the Death of *Pontius Telestinus*, he seems to have no longer had the Heart of a *Roman*, but of a *Samnite*. He grew so cruel, that he did not seem to be the same Man; and the Regard Historians ought to have to Truth, will not suffer us to draw a Curtain over these tragical Scenes. We cannot indeed see so much Bloodshed, without Horror; but it will shew us the Miseries of Republicks, when once ambitious Rivals dispute for Authority in them.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXI.  
C.N. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO, &  
C. MARIUS,  
Consuls.

<sup>144</sup> As soon as *Sylla* had dispersed the Army that came to surprize *Rome*, he marched for *Antemne*, to pursue his Victory; and there he began to grow very unlike himself. That Spirit of Inhumanity with which he had so often reproached *Marius* and *Cinna*, seized him; after the Defeat of the *Samnites*. He was now at the highest pitch of human Grandeur. All his Enemies were vanquished. Of all the Party that opposed him, there remained only one Body of 10000 *Romans*; and they, in the last Battle, had lost *Carinas* their Commander, and had now no Resource but to surrender themselves up to him. And in such Circumstances, it seems to have been Wisdom, at least it's certain, it would have been Humanity, to have attached them to him, by shewing them Mercy. But when 3000 of these miserable Wretches sent to intreat him, to receive them among his *Legionaries*, and promised him an inviolable Fidelity, the cruel General gave them an Answer, which could scarce have been excused in a Barbarian. He ordered their Deputy to tell them, that if their Repentance was sincere, they should expiate their Fault, by killing all those of their own Body, who still persisted in their Obstinacy. Upon this, these unfortunate Men, to merit their Reconciliation, turned their Arms against their Comrades; and a bloody Battle ensued, and no stop was put to it, till they all <sup>145</sup> unanimously cried out, that they would go over to *Sylla* and obey his Orders. This Declaration, and the Step they afterwards took, in going to the Conqueror's Camp, without Arms, and in the Posture of Suppliants, seemed sufficient to have softened the hardest Heart: And *Sylla* pretended to pardon them. But he still resolved to execute upon them Vengeance elsewhere, in a more signal manner. He brought them to *Rome*, which he entered amidst the Acclamations of the People, and there made it his first Business to set them by themselves, shut them up in the *Circus*, and surround them with his Troops, whose private Orders were to massacre them all, at a Time appointed.

*Plut. in Syll.*

Then, with as much Coolness as if he had no cruel Execution in view, he assembled the Senate in the Temple of *Bellona*, to shew his Regard for old Customs; and there he harangued the *Conscript Fathers*. He told them, that all the Fruit he expected to reap from his Exploits, was to re-establish the Republick on the same Foot on which it stood in the best of Times; and they were very attentive to the Orator. But on a sudden, there arose a Cry on the Side of the *Circus* which surprized them; and then *Sylla*, with a very serene Countenance, and without any Emotion said, *You need not*

<sup>144</sup> The Night was far advanced when *Crassus* had sent an Express to *Sylla*, to give him an Account of his Victory. He had pursued the Enemy as far as *Antemne*, whither the Remains of the vanquished had retired, and the Night had forced him to encamp, within sight of the City. By break of Day *Sylla* came to his Camp; and after he had given him the

Praises due to his Valour, he went over the Field of Battle, and reckoned the Number of the Slain; which amounted on both Sides to 50000.

<sup>145</sup> *Appian* makes them to have been but 8000 in all; and *Plutarch* says, only 6000 surrendered to *Sylla*.



Year of *be disturbed about what passes without doors. The Noise you hear is only the Groans of a*  
 ROME *Company of Criminals whom I have ordered to be punished.* But when the Senators were  
 DCLXXI. informed of the Massacre in the Circus, and had learnt the Cause of it, they said, *We*  
 CN. PAPIRI- *have only changed the Tyrant. The Tyranny is not abolished.* The Circumstance that  
 US CARBO, & most alarmed them, was Sylla's Air of Composure and Tranquillity, when he heard the  
 C. MARIUS, Cries of so many dying Men. This made the most sensible of the People say, *Alas!*  
 Consuls. *we are become a Prey to a wild Beast. The Blood he shed in Battle did not sufficiently dis-*  
*cover the Fury that threatens us. But he has now thrown off the Mask. What have we*  
*not Reason to fear from the Heart of a Tyger, which has hitherto been concealed under the*  
*Appearances of Moderation!*

§. LXVI. Presentiments, which were but too fully verified, in the Sequel. Sylla's  
 Fury was not at all abated by the new Advantages he gained. *Prænestæ*, which had  
 been so long invested by *Ofella*, surrendered immediately after the late Battle. The  
 Heads of *Pontius*, *Carinas*, and the other Chiefs of the *Consular* Party, made a great  
 Impression on the *Prænestini*. Besides, Sylla was Master of *Rome*, *Carbo* was fled, their  
 City grievously distressed with Hunger; and tho' they had no Resource but to the Cle-  
 mency of the Conqueror, *Marius* was no longer heard. Notwithstanding all the  
 Opposition he could make, they delivered up their City to *Ofella*, who took all possible  
 Precautions, to get the young Consul into his Hands. He knew, that there were sever-  
 al subterranean Passages in *Prænestæ*, which opened into the neighbouring Plain; and  
 lest *Marius* should escape through any of them, he set Guards to them all. So that  
 the Consul, after he had walked some time under Ground, and was ready to have re-  
 turned to the Light, found himself surrounded with Enemies. Upon this, some say, he  
 stabbed himself with his own Sword, for fear of falling alive into the Enemy's Hands;  
 Others, That young *Pontius Telsinus*<sup>146</sup> and he voluntarily fought, each seeking his  
 own Death; and That *Pontius* falling first, the latter ordered<sup>147</sup> a Slave to kill him.  
 However, this last Operation of the Campaign, put the Conqueror in a Condition, to  
 do what he pleased; and he immediately hastened to *Prænestæ*. There *Ofella* had al-  
 ready executed some of the City Magistrates, and reserved the rest for the Severity of  
 Sylla, who cruelly condemned them all to die. Then he divided all the Soldiers he  
 found there, into three Companies, of *Romans*, *Samnites*, and *Prænestini*; made  
 them march out of the City; and through an unaccountable Fit of Clemency, gave the  
*Romans* their Lives, after he had made them sensible that they deserved to die. But,  
 he delivered the rest to his<sup>148</sup> Archers, who dispatched them with a Shower of Arrows;  
 and only the Women and Children had their Lives saved. After this, the City itself  
 was given up to be plundered, and from being one of the richest and most populous in  
*Italy*, became in one Day, the most poor and the most desolate.<sup>149</sup> *Norba* also, a  
 City of *Campania*, which had persisted in its Revolt, was entirely destroyed. *Æmi-*  
*lius Lepidus* took it for Sylla by Treachery; and the Inhabitants, grown desperate, pre-  
 vented the Fury of their Conquerors. Some strangled themselves; others stabbed them-  
 selves with their own Swords; others setting Fire to their Houses, perished in the  
 Flames; and the Fire robbed the greedy Soldiers of the Moveables and Money of these  
 unfortunate *Campani*.

<sup>146</sup> This *Pontius Telsinus* was the Brother to him who had commanded the *Samnite* Army, and had lost his Life fighting with Sylla.

<sup>147</sup> To which *Appian* adds, That *Marius's* Head was brought to Sylla; and afterwards exposed, by his Orders, in the *Forum*, to inspire Terror. And the same Historian affirms, That the *Pro-Consul* received this Present, with an Air of Insolence mixed with Indignation and Contempt; and alluding to *Marius's* Youth and Unexperience, said, *What did this rash Boy mean, to pretend to govern the Rudder, before he had handled the Oar.*

<sup>148</sup> According to the Historians, 7000 *Samnites* and 5000 *Prænestini* perished in this cruel Butchery. According to *Plutarch*, as soon as Sylla came to *Prænestæ*, he made it his first Business to bring the Inhabitants to a Trial. He cited them all, according to their Ranks; and sitting upon his Tribunal, after a slight Accusation, pronounced Sentence of Death upon them, to give his Cruelty the Appearance of Justice But

being at last tired out with the length of these Proceedings, which had already kept him some Days at *Prænestæ*, and retarded the Effects of his Vengeance; by his Orders, all those whom he had destined to die, were brought together into one Place, to the Number of 12000; and were there all cut in pieces, in Sylla's Presence, who chose to be a Spectator of this horrible Slaughter. He had indeed offered Mercy to one of the Citizens, who had received him hospitably. But the generous *Prænestin* chose rather to die, than survive the Massacre of his Country-men. *I should be ashamed*, said he to Sylla, *to owe my Life to the Executioner of my Country*; and this said, he offered himself to the Swords of the Murderers, and was soon confounded among the dead and dying.

<sup>149</sup> *Norba*, an ancient *Roman* Colony, stood on the Confines of *Latium* and *Campania*, in the Place where *Norma Rovinata* now stands. The River *Nymphæus*, which the *Italians* call *La Nympha*, watered the Territory of this City.



T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K LVIII.

§. I. **T**HE Terror of the Conqueror made all *Italy* give way before him; nevertheless, he was more intent on enslaving the People than gaining their Affections. He placed such Governors as were devoted to him, in all the *Italian Provinces*, put Garrisons in the Cities he suspected; and pitched several little Camps in different Districts to keep the Country in awe. *Italy* thus secured, he next turned his Thoughts to the great *Provinces* of the Roman State, which were without that Continent. He had nothing to fear in the East, from whence he was so lately returned; he had left his Friend *Murena* there with an Army of two *Legions*, and the People greatly revered the Name of the Conqueror of *Mithridates*. But the Case was different as to *Africa*, *Spain*, and *Sicily*. *Marius*, *Cinna*, and *Papirius Carbo*, the three successive Tyrants of *Rome*, had placed *Prætors* of their own Faction, in those great Governments. *Sertorius* was actually renewing the War in *Spain*, and *Carbo* in *Africa*; and for fear these two Generals should each make himself a little Sovereign in his District, *Sylla* sent against them three of his most faithful and most brave Commanders. *C. Annius* went first to *Spain*, and after him *Metellus*: And *Pompey* set out for *Africa*: But we must for the present postpone their military Exploits, and stop a little, to take a more particular View of *Sylla's* Proceedings at *Rome*.

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The new Master of the Republick had not yet fully discovered himself. He carried his Fury by degrees to such excess, as no *Roman* had reason to expect. The first Act of his Dominion was to assemble the People in *Comitia*; but his Speech was not that of a dutiful Citizen applying to lawful Judges for the Punishment of the old Disturbers of the publick Peace. His Conduct was that of a despotick Prince, who threatens, dictates, and determines, without any other Rule of Justice than his own Good-will and Pleasure. He began with a pompous Detail of his past Victories, and present Forces; the former of which gained him real Esteem, the latter filled every Breast with inexpressible Dread. It was evident enough, that if he had been a dutiful Republican, he would have dismissed them, and have left it to the People to inflict Ven-

App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

1 After he had made *Præneste* and *Norba* feel the most terrible Effects of his Vengeance, he decreed different Punishments against the other Cities of *Italy*, which had either freely, or by constraint, declared for the Faction of *Marius* and *Cinna*. Some were deprived of all the Privileges they enjoyed, as *Municipia*, or *Colonies*, or *Roman Citizens*. Others were dismantled, and their Citadels destroyed. And some were reduced to extreme Want by being overloaded with his Taxes. The Citizens of *Florentia*, *Spoleto*, and *Interamna* were sold like Slaves to the best Bidder; and *Sulmona*, one of the most considerable Cities in *Latium*, after it had sustained a Siege of some Days, was utterly destroyed.

2 One *Caius Fabius*, surnamed *Adrianus*, had lately governed *Africa* in quality of *Pro-Prætor*, and the enormous Robberies he had committed throughout his whole Province, had driven the Inhabitants of U-

*tica* into a Revolt. Then in order to guard against the Enterprizes of the Malecontents, he had attached the Slaves of that City to him, and those vile Wretches whom he had caressed were the Tools of his Ambition. It was publicly said, That he had a Design on the Lives of the Magistrates, and of all that could obstruct his Designs; and when this Report was got among the People, the *Roman Citizens* of *Utica*, whom *Fabius* had exasperated by his Extortions, raised an Insurrection in all Quarters of the City; giving themselves up to their Resentments, and being supported by the Populace, they ran to the *Prætor's* Palace, set Guards to all the Avenues to it, and setting Fire to the Building, there consumed the unfortunate *Fabius* with it. This Fact is related by *Cicero* in his *Oration against Verres*, *Epit. Liv. Orosius*, and *Val. Maximus*.



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geance by their Suffrages ; whereas he but too plainly declared in the close of his Speech, that he was resolved to be his own Avenger. *I am come, said he, to a fixed Resolution to restore the Republick to its first Lustre, and not to spare one of the seditious that have disturbed its Peace. When I returned to Italy, I did all I could, to put an End to Hostilities, and spare Roman Blood; and the Consul Scipio was willing to hearken to those Negotiations of Peace, that would have stopped the Progress of the Civil War. But some pernicious Citizens and turbulent Magistrates opposed my pacifick Designs. They would have a War; and I have conquered. Let them then suffer the Punishment they deserve for their Mutinies, and expiate the Blood they have made me shed, with their own ! I will not spare one Prætor, or Questor, or Tribune, that has borne Arms against me, since the Peace was broke off. In short all my Enemies shall perish.*

Had Lightning fallen on the Comitia, it would not have caused so general a Consternation as these Words ; and Sylla's Threatenings were soon followed with their Execution. There was that very Day fixed up a List of those he proscribed ; and this, though it contained the Names of 40 Senators, and 1600 Roman Knights, was only a Sketch of that Vengeance, of which he had formed the Plan. And if the Edict was cruel, the Execution of it was much more barbarous. The Tyrant had chosen such Agents to execute his Designs, as had even less Pity than himself. The famous Catiline, whose seditious Enterprizes we shall hereafter relate with Detestation, was to Sylla, what Fimbria had been to Marius. Though yet very young, he was the Instrument of all Sylla's Cruelties. Senators and Roman Knights were assassinated in the Streets, before they knew they were proscribed. The Persons named in the List, were sought for in their own Houses, in the Portico's, and even at the Feet of the Altars. Some were brought alive into Sylla's Presence, and were dashed in pieces by being thrown down from high Places, and trodden under Foot. The Estates of those that escaped were sold, and a great many of them were so closely pursued, that they were overtaken and stabbed. Nor was the Massacre confined to those named in the Lists. Sylla not only every Day published new Lists, and seemed never tired with shedding Roman Blood, but extended his Revenge even to the Posterity of the proscribed, whom by an Edict he expressly declared infamous, and deprived of the Right of Roman Citizenship. Besides, the Executors of the Decrees took this Opportunity to gratify likewise their own personal Revenge ; and left none of their own Enemies alive. Nor were these Horrors confined to the Capital, but extended to the Provinces. Every one there, who had declared against Sylla, or any of his Partizans, was punished with Death. Nay, the most innocent, and the most peaceable, were confounded with the most guilty. Rich Citizens were assassinated, purely for the sake of the Booty to be got by it; and one Brother killed another, to get Possession of his Inheritance. In short, the Slaughter was so terrible, both in City, and Country, that Sylla was reproached for it, in full Senate, by his best Friends. Metellus, one of the youngest Senators, ventured to say to him, openly in the House, *When will you put an End to our alarms ? We don't ask favour for your Enemies, whom it may be expedient to cut off ; but we desire that you would at least remove their Uneasiness whom you design to save.* Those, answered Sylla, whom I design to save ? *I am not yet absolutely determined who they shall be.* At least then, name those, replied Metellus, whom you resolve to destroy. To which Sylla answered, *You shall know that soon.*

§. II. And indeed, not many Days were past before a new List was fixed up of eighty Senators, and a great number of rich Citizens, who were proscribed. Among these were more than one Consul, as Cn. Papirius Carbo, L. Cornelius Scipio ; and others who were actually Prætors at this Time, as Sertorius, and Marius Gratidianus, the Brother of the Consul who was killed at Præneste. Indeed Sertorius was in Spain, out of Sylla's reach. But Marius was at Rome, and his Death was accompanied with all the sorts of Punishment that the most cruel Tyranny could invent. His Crimes were, That his Name was Marius, and That the People had carried their Re-

3 This had been Catiline's Case ; who, to justify in some Measure his Crime, or at least to conceal the Enormity of it, obtained leave of Sylla to have the Name of his Brother, whom he had long before killed, inserted among those of the proscribed, as if he had been still alive. And the Villain showed his Gratitude to the Tyrant, by becoming the Agent of his Cruelties.

4 Almost every Day produced a fresh List of proscribed Persons. Sylla seemed even to take a Pleasure in increasing the Terrors of the People, by affecting to declare that his Revenge was not satisfied by all these Proscriptions ; and he extended it even to the Posterity of those unfortunate People. He published an Edict on purpose to declare them infamous, and deprived of the Rights of Roman Citizens.



gard for him to great Excess, though they had already broken down the Statues which they had erected to him in his first *Prætorship*, for procuring a Regulation of the Coin; and his Executioner was *Catiline*. He was dragged out of a Stable, where he was hid, and whipped through all the Streets of *Rome*. Then he was brought, in this ignominious State, to the Tomb of the *Lutatian* Family, beyond the *Tyber*; and there *Sylla's* barbarous Agents first bored out his Eyes, then cut off his Hands and Ears, then tore out his Tongue, then dislocated all his Joints and broke his Bones, and then strangled him<sup>5</sup>. But, what seemed most inhuman in *Sylla's* Edicts (for he published three one after another) was this, That a Son was not permitted to conceal his Father, or a Woman her Husband. Nay, he promised<sup>7</sup> Rewards to the Slaves who should kill their proscribed Masters. Very exact Enquiries were made after all who had served under *Marius* and *Cinna*, and not one was spared. But after all, the Crime that was most severely punished, was that of being<sup>8</sup> rich. This was unpardonable. One *Q. Aurelius*, a rich Burgher of *Rome*, had always led a private Life, far from Employments, and publick Factions. Nevertheless, he, to his great surprize, read his own Name in a List of the proscribed; upon which he said, *It is not me they aim at, but my fine House at Alba*; and no sooner had he said it, but an Assassin dispatched him. Another, as he was reading the List, insulted over the Miseries of those whose Names he found there, but at last found his own, and was immediately punished for his ill-timed Insults. It was dangerous to mix with the Crowd that gathered round the Edict. There were some posted among them, on purpose to watch the Words, Gestures, and Looks of the Readers; and any Mark of Compassion for a Friend, or a Sigh extorted by the Misfortunes of the Times, were punished without delay. Nay, an ill Construction was put upon Silence itself; which was ascribed to a tacit Condemnation of the Conduct of the Tyrant. Sometimes it happened, that they of *Sylla's* Party took this Opportunity to screen themselves from Punishment, for the Crimes which they had committed. *Catiline* had stabbed his Brother; and to secure himself from the odious Accusation of Fratricide, put the Name of the murdered in the List of the proscribed. Nor was this all the Favour *Sylla* shewed him; he rewarded him further with the Command of his *Gallic* Guards, who executed his Orders. With their Assistance, *Catiline* assassinated several *Roman Knights*, and among others, *Q. Cæcilius*, his Sister's Husband; and made his Court to *Sylla*, by bringing him the Heads he had cut off. These were an agreeable Sight to the Tyrant, and he ordered them to be fixed on Poles in the *Comitium*, to terrify the *Romans*. In a Word, nine thousand Men, or as others, four thousand seven hundred, who were either Magistrates, or Senators, or *Knights*, or *Roman Citizens*, all perished by *Sylla's* Orders, or by the Fury of his Agents.

§. III. From *Rome* *Sylla* extended his Cruelties to the Cities in the neighbouring *Provinces* that had declared against him, and used them without Mercy. Some were dismantled, and their Citadels razed. Others were very heavily taxed, and great Sums raised upon them. All the Effects of the Inhabitants of *Florentia*, *Spoletum*, *Interamna*, and

<sup>5</sup> According to *Val. Maximus*, one *Marcus Platorius* disappeared upon seeing the terrible Torments which the unfortunate *Marius* endured; and the barbarous *Sylla* made, even this natural Compassion which he could not help, criminal; and *Platorius* was, by his Orders, killed upon the Spot. Even the being at all affected with the Sufferings of the proscribed Citizens, was what he would not forgive.

<sup>6</sup> Nor was even this all with regard to *Marius*. He was scarce expired in his Torments, when *Catiline* cut off his Head, carried it as a Trophy, and ostentatiously made a Show of it in the *Forum Romanum*. *Sylla* was then haranguing the People, and he received the shocking Present without discovering the least Emotion, or showing the least Concern when he looked at it. And *Catiline* was not ashamed to add Prophaneness to his Barbarity. His Hands being dawbed with the Blood he had shed, he went into the Temple of *Apollo*, which was near the *Forum*, and there purified himself by washing in the *Lustral* Water. Thus he made Religion a Sanction for his mournful and bloody Tragedies, with which he daily terrified the Citizens of *Rome*. Nor was *Sylla* even yet satisfied with his Revenge on this Family. Death having robbed him of

his chief Victim, in old *Marius*, he resolved at least to have the cruel Pleasure of revenging himself on the Ashes of that formidable Chief of the *Plæbeian* Faction. They were by his Orders taken out of his Tomb, and thrown into the *Anio*.

<sup>7</sup> He set a Price upon the Heads of the proscribed. Two Talents\*, which make about 2000 French Crowns, was the Reward he gave for each Murder; and promised the same to such Slaves as should kill their Masters. Upon this there were Children unnatural enough to come to *Sylla* reeking in the Blood of their Fathers, to demand the Rewards of their Parricide.

<sup>8</sup> *Sylla*, who thought Murders nothing, gave full Power to those of his Faction to revenge their private Quarrels with the Sword. Then the Voice of Nature, or of Blood, was no longer heard; they gave themselves wholly up to the Dictates of Revenge and Avarice. The Names of Father, Brother, Relation, or Friend, no longer carried any Endearment with them; if a Man was rich, how nearly soever related, that was enough to cause him to be condemned to die.

<sup>9</sup> *Florence* was a *Municipium* in *Sylla's* Time, according

<sup>1</sup> <sup>5</sup> <sup>10</sup> <sup>0</sup>  
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Stet.

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DCLXXI.  
CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO, &  
C. MARIUS,  
Consuls.  
Cic. de Petit.  
Conf.  
Seneca de Ira.  
Plin. L. 34.  
Appian.  
Florus.  
Orosius & alii.



Year of and *Sulmona* were sold to the best Bidder, their Lands given to *Sylla's* old Soldiers, and *ROME* their Owners transplanted to other Places. *Prænestæ* was razed, and never recovered its former flourishing State. Which was a just Punishment on a People who had deserved it by their former Seditions, and more by their late Cowardice. They might have overpowered *Sylla* after his return from *Asia*, but they made a very feint Resistance. Their ancient Love of Liberty might have roused the Courage of the *Italians* to shake off the Yoke he was bringing upon them. But they tamely submitted to it, without any considerable Opposition. All the old Pride of the *Romans*, and all their Love of their Country, seemed contained within the Breast of that <sup>10</sup> *Cato* only, who will hereafter be known by the Appellation of *Cato of Utica*; and was then but fourteen Years of Age. If their ancient Love of Liberty had revived the Courage of the *Italians*, they might perhaps have shaken off the Yoke, which brought them to Destruction. Whereas they submitted to it without Resistance. *Cato* alone discovered the Remains of the old Spirit. His Governor *Sarpedon*, brought him, by Order of his Family, to <sup>11</sup> make his Court to *Sylla*, where the young *Roman* was always graciously received: And, one Day, seeing a heap of Heads laying at *Sylla's* Feet, he said to his Governor, *What a Havock is here! Who can binder the Romans from adding the Head of him, who has done this, to all the rest?* Fear, replied *Sarpedon*, has more influence on disheartened Men, than Hatred. Give me a Sword then, returned the Youth, and I myself alone will attempt, what all *Rome* dares not undertake. *Sarpedon* was surprized at the Courage of his Pupil; but took care how he brought him again to the Court of *Sylla*.

§. IV. Whilst *Italy* was thus groaning under the Oppression of the Tyrant, *Pompey* was in *Africa* pursuing his good Fortune. Before he set out on this Expedition, *Sylla* resolved to attach him to himself by stronger Ties than those of Friendship. His Wife *Metella* advised him to marry his Grand-daughter *Æmilia*, who was already married, and big with Child by a Husband she loved, to the rising <sup>12</sup> Hero. In order to this, it was necessary there should be two Divorces. *Pompey* was obliged to divorce <sup>13</sup> *Antistia* his first Wife, the Daughter of that *Antistius* who had lost his Life in *Sylla's* Cause; and <sup>14</sup> *Æmilia*, the Daughter of *Æmilius Scaurus*, was forced to leave *Manius Acilius Glabrio* her Husband, to go to *Pompey*. This was extremely against the Inclinations of the two Husbands; but *Sylla* extended his Tyranny to the Hearts of Men. As soon as *Pompey* had entered into this Alliance with him, he set out for the *African Province*, whither *Carbo* had fled for Refuge. In his way, he landed in *Sicily*, and continued there for some time. The Island was then in the Hands of *Perperna*, *Carbo's* Friend; but the latter left the Country, and retired for Safety to *Carbo*; and after this, the only City from which *Pompey* had reason to expect any Resistance was *Catanea*. He therefore asked leave of the Inhabitants, as a Favour, to send his sick Men thither; and they consenting, he sent the bravest of his Troops, and by that Means made himself Master of the Place. In the mean time, *Carbo* was come from *Africa* to *Cossura*, and had Thoughts of retiring for greater Safety into *Egypt*, whose King was his Friend, and upon ill Terms with *Sylla*. But whilst he was preparing for his Embarkation, in the Island of <sup>15</sup> *Cossura*, between *Africa* and *Sicily*, he was surprized with the News that *Pompey* had possessed himself of *Catanea*; and looking on it as an uncertain Report, he sent *Brutus Damasippus* to get him a true Account. *Damasippus* set out in a Fisher-boat, and came to the Port of *Lilybæum*; where he was invested

according to *Florus*, L. 3. c. 21. who calls it *Fluentia*; and in some MSS of *Pliny*, the *Florentines* are called *Fuentini*. Of *Spoletum*, *Interamna*, and *Sulmona*, see the preceding Volumes.

<sup>10</sup> *Marcus Porcius Cato* was the great Grand-son of *Cato the Censor* by *Salonia* his second Wife. *Marcus Porcius Cato* his Father, died in canvassing for the *Prætorship*, and left his Son, and his Daughter *Porcia*, under the Guardianship of the famous Tribune of the People, *Lucius Drusus*, who was their Uncle, by the Mother's Side.

<sup>11</sup> *Plutarch* tells us, that *Sylla* had been in a very strict Friendship with the Father of *Cato of Utica*, and shewed great Regard to his Children. This *Cato*, and *Servilius Cæpio*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, had free Admission into his Palace. *Sylla* was always pleased to see them; and never sent them away with-

out some Marks of his Affection.

<sup>12</sup> *Sylla* was already so prepossessed with Esteem for the young Hero, that whenever he met him he dismounted from his Horse, or continued standing in his Presence, as a Testimony of his Respect. He said, according to *Valerius Maximus*, That he owed this Mark of Distinction to a Man, who had declared openly for him, at the Age of eighteen Years, and had engaged his Father's Troops in his Service.

<sup>13</sup> *Antistia's* Mother was so affected with the Affront *Pompey* offered her Daughter, that she killed herself.

<sup>14</sup> *Æmilia's* Mother was *Metella*, *Sylla's* Daughter; and consequently she must have been his Grand-daughter.

<sup>15</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 580. Note 11.



by some of *Pompey's* Party, and chose rather to kill himself, than be carried alive into his Enemy's Presence. He fixed his Sword against one of the Rower's Benches, threw himself upon it, and drove it thro' his Body. And it was not long before *Carbo* followed him.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXI.

CN. PAPIRI-  
US CARBO, &  
C. MARIUS,  
Consuls.

*Val. Max. L.*

5. c. 3, 6. c.

2. & 9. c. 13.

*Liv. Epit.*

*Ibid. c. 3.*

*Plut. in Pomp.*

*Livy ibid. c.*

6, 7.

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.*

*Ibid.*

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Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXI.  
Interregnum.

Cic. de Leg.  
Agrar. § a-  
libi.  
App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

in *Asia*, *Mithridates*, whose Adventures shall have their due Place, was already reviving his old Quarrels against *Rome*. But we must first give an Account of *Sylla's* Conduct. When the Misfortunes the two *Consuls*, *Marius* and *Carbo*, had brought on the Republick, had cost them their Lives; no *Roman* any longer refused to obey him, tho' an Usurper; and he might have utterly extinguished the *Roman* Liberty without Contradiction, and changed the *Republican* State into a Monarchy. But as he had, upon his first Arrival in *Italy*, assumed the Character of an Avenger of the Oppressions his Country had suffered from those three Tyrants; he resolved, after he had extinguished the Heat of his Fury in the Blood of all those whom he thought Accomplices in the Tyranny, to leave the *Roman* Senate and People, the Shadow at least, of their former Liberty. To this end, he retired into the Country for some Days, under Pretence of leaving the Senate entirely free; and desired *The Conscript Fathers*, to choose one of their own Body in his Absence, to govern the Commonwealth, which since the Death of the *Consuls* had had no legal Governour. The Senators, resolving to choose one for this important Office who was wholly devoted to *Sylla's* Interest, pitched on *L. Valerius Flaccus*, their President; and this put it in *Sylla's* Power, to bring them to execute his own Scheme. He desired *Flaccus* by Letter, to declare to the Senate and People, That in the present Situation, he thought it necessary to choose a *Dictator*, without limitation in point of Time; and intimated, That at their Request he would accept of the Employment. This Office was now in a manner abolished by disuse, since *Rome* had not raised any of her greatest Men to it, for these 120 Years. When Ambition was the prevailing Passion, instead of Zeal for the publick Good, it was thought dangerous to entrust any one Man with an absolute, tho' temporary, Authority. But nevertheless, the President of the *Interregnum* proposed *Sylla* to them for *Dictator*, and that in the unlimited manner he had himself suggested. *The Gods*, said he, *have given us in Sylla, an Avenger of Tyranny, and a Restorer of the Republick. By him, we see Concord already restored; and by his Means, we shall see the most ancient Laws recover their first Vigour, the Senate reinstated in all their Glory, and the People in the Possession of their Rights. We have seen him cure the Distempers of the Publick, like a wise Physician. As they were desperate ones, he was forced to make use of the Sword, and take away Blood in great Plenty. But still Rome is in a sickly State; and the same Hand that has raised her from the Grave, is yet wanting to restore her to perfect Health. What then can we do better, than give him in a legal manner, that Authority, which he would not extort from us by Force? Let us, with the Title of Dictator, give him an unlimited Power, till he has accomplished those great Designs, whose good Effects we already begin to feel! Let him be Arbiter of Peace and War! Let him dispose of the Lives of the Romans, as he pleases, without Appeal! Let him buy, sell, or exchange, the Goods of the Republick, as he thinks proper! Let him give, or take away Crowns, at Discretion! In a Word, let us, by a juridical Act, confirm all that is past, and give him for the future an absolute Power to conduct all Affairs as he pleases, without being accountable, before any Tribunal in the Republick!*

All Men of Sense thought this an exorbitant Request. It was indeed establishing that regal Authority in *Rome*, which had formerly been had in so much Abhorrence. But the Remembrance of the shedding of so much Blood, chilled every Heart. The Senate shewed their Surprise by their Silence; but the Law was accepted, none daring to contradict it. *Sylla* was declared *Dictator*, and not one *Roman* had Courage enough, so much as to limit the Duration of his Power. This was a terrible Wound to the *Republican* Government; and it afterwards encouraged other ambitious Men, to venture at more than the new *Dictator* attempted. It was *Sylla's* Affair that paved the Way for *Julius Caesar* to change the Republick into a Monarchy; and enslave it, without Redemption, to the Will of one Man. And as Flattery is the usual Consequence of Servitude; this People, who were formerly so furious against an independent Power, now worshipped the Idol which they had set up. They honoured *Sylla* with an Equestrian Statue of Brass gilt, in that very *Comitium*, where they had with Horror, seen the Heads of so many illustrious *Citizens* set up: And on the Pedestal was this Inscription, TO THE HONOUR OF L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, surnamed THE FORTUNATE: THE ROMAN SENATE AND PEOPLE HAVE ERECTED THIS MONUMENT. This Appellation of THE FORTUNATE was very agreeable to him. Some say he assumed it, immediately after the Death of young *Marius*, at *Prænestæ*; others, not till after his *Triumph*. However, the People likewise made their Court to him, by calling him

*Epaphro-*



*Epaphroditus*, as being the Favourite of *Fortune* and *Venus*. His continual Prosperity, and his regular Features, might then be taken for Proofs of his being in an uncommon degree of Favour with the two Goddeffes.

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§. VII. Thus was *Sylla* lawfully invested with an absolute Authority ; and he maintained it by the same Means, by which he had acquired it, Force and Artifice. From henceforward, he always appeared in Publick with a Guard of 24 *Lictors*, the usual Train of the old *Dictators* ; but no *Roman* now alive had ever seen so formidable an Appearance of Axes and *Fasces*. According to the Custom of *Dictators*, he also chose himself a *Master of the Horse*, which Honour he conferred on *L. Valerius Flaccus*, his Agent in procuring the *Dictatorship* ; and when seconded by a Man, so absolutely devoted to him, he undertook to reform the Government. The *Dictator*, and *Master of the Horse*, both made Laws ; but the latter always at the Instigation, or at least with the Consent, of the former. The first Law they offered related to the Election of the great Magistrates. Ever since the Republick had been so much depraved, it was become common to obtain the *Prætorship* or *Consulate*, without having passed through the inferior Degrees ; and it was therefore enacted, by the new Decree, That no Man should stand for the *Prætorship* till he had been *Quæstor*, or be elected *Consul* till he had been *Prætor*. This was only the Revival of the ancient Usage, which *Sylla* thought necessary as a previous Step, before he suffered an Election of new *Consuls* ; and when that was done, that the Republick might reassume its ancient Form, he ordered the People to reassemble in *The Campus Martius*, to choose their chief Magistrates. The Candidates for the *Consulate* put on white Robes, as usual ; and among them appeared that *Q. Lucretius Ofella*, who had carried on the Siege of *Præneste*, under *Sylla*. Tho' only a *Roman Knight*, he thought the Protection of the *Dictator* would support him in his Pretension, and the People have Regard to his Services. But, when he was making his Interest, *Sylla* denied him his ; and even forbad him to aspire at the first Dignity, since he had not passed through the inferior. *Ofella*, on the other hand, depended too much on his Merit, and forgot his Condition. Notwithstanding the repeated Advices of the *Dictator*, he still appeared in White, and pursued his Point. *Sylla* was shocked at this Audaciousness, in a Man who owed all to his Favour whose Orders he now disregarded, and had at Heart the Observation of the new Law, which the bold *Ofella* seemed to despise. One Day therefore, when the rash Man passed along the *Forum*, attended by the People whose Suffrages he was soliciting, *Sylla*, who saw him from his Tribunal, immediately dispatched a *Centurion* with Orders to cut off his Head. The *Centurion* obeyed ; but as it was not known that the *Dictator* had given those Orders, the People brought the Murderer before him. When he came, *Sylla* sternly said, *Let the Centurion go ! He has only obeyed my Orders*. This Declaration raised the Murmurs and Indignation of the Assembly ; but the *Dictator* soon suppressed this Appearance of a Mutiny. He immediately made them thoroughly sensible, that they had given themselves a Master, whom it was dangerous to contradict. *I have*, said he, *a Fable to tell you, which you may apply to yourselves. A Ploughman being bit by Vermin, pulled off his Cloaths, cleaned them, and continued his Work. The Vermin continued to torment him, and he killed more of them ; but being at length tired out with their teizing him afresh, he threw his Cloaths into the Fire. Your first Revolts have cost you but little Blood. Take care, that the next be not punished with Fire*.

L. CORNELI-  
US SYLLA,  
Dictator.

App. L. 1. de  
Bell. Civ.

App. ibid.

§. VIII. Then the Election of the *Consuls* was made, agreeably to *Sylla's* Will ; and *M. Tullius Decula*, and *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, two of the chief Officers of his Army who were used to obey him, were raised to that Dignity. By getting them promoted, *Sylla* put the Government into the Hands of those who were absolutely devoted to him ; and accordingly, he assigned them their *Provinces*, and gave the former *Gaul*, the latter *Macedon*. Each set out for his District, and left *Sylla* to reign alone in the Capital. And now, the *Dictator* and his *Master of the Horse*, applied themselves wholly to the Reformation of the Laws. They began with restoring the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, and *Decemviri* appointed to keep and explain the *Sybilline* Books, to their former Honours. By an unjust Regulation, they had been, for ten Years last past, deprived of the Power of filling up the Vacancies in their respective Bodies. The Right of choosing them had been transferred to the People, in the Times that the *Plebeian* Faction prevailed.

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L. CORNELI-  
US SYLLA,  
Dictator.

M. TULLIUS  
DECULA, &  
CN. CORNE-  
LIUS DOLA-  
BELLA, Con-  
suls.

Ascon.  
Padian. in  
Lib.

But *Sylla* restored to the *Pontifices* a Prerogative, which was as old as their Institution. It was likewise his Pleasure, That in each of these Colleges, instead of ten Persons, there should be fifteen ; which changed their Name from that of *Decemviri*, to

Cic. de Divi-  
natione.  
Dion. Hal.  
L. 4.

that



Year of that of *Quindecimviri*. The first Office he assigned them, was to repair the Loss of the *ROME Sybilline Books*, which had been burnt with the *Capitol*; and they sought for Copies, or at least Fragments of them, in the Cities of *Erythræa*, *Samos*, and *Ilium*, and in *Africa*, *Sicily*, and the Cities in the East of *Italy*. Out of this Collection, they made, as far as possible, a new Set of these Prophecies, which might probably be larger, but not so authentick, as the <sup>19</sup> Originals of the *Sybil of Cumæ*, which had been kept at *Rome*, ever since the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*: Tho' all the learned Men then in *Rome*, who were not few in Number, employed their Learning and Judgment, in endeavouring to distinguish the true Oracles from the false Copies, which had been dispersed in all the three Parts of the World.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, Dictator.  
M. TULLIUS DECULA, & CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, Consuls.  
*Tacit. Annal.*  
L. 5.

By

<sup>19</sup> The Number of the *Sybils*, has been a Problem for many Ages, which the Learned have not found it easy to solve. The Ancients differ so much on this Head, that we can come at no Certainty about it. Some, as *Suidas*, say there were fourteen. *Ælian* reckons but four. *Solinus* will admit of no more than three; and *Martianus Capella* reduces them to two. But most Writers adhere to *Varro*, who has plainly fixed their Number to ten. They give the first Rank to *Sambetha*, as the eldest. She was born on the Shores of the *Red Sea*, and uttered her Oracles in *Persia*. Next to her comes *Libya*, who according to *Euripides*, was the Daughter of *Jupiter* and *Lamia*. After she had rambled about in several Parts of *Asia*, she successively made some stay at *Claras*, *Delphi*, and *Samos*; and at last died at *Troas*, where her Tomb was the Object of the Veneration of the People, and of the Curiosity of Strangers. The third, whom *Diodorus Siculus* calls *Daphne*, was the Daughter of *Tiresias*. Having fallen into the Conqueror's Hands, after the Ruin of *Thebes*, she was consecrated to the Worship of *Apollo*, in the Temple of *Delphi*. There, says our Historian, being actuated by the Spirit of the God, she looked into the Secrets of Futurity, and uttered her Oracles in Verse; some of which *Homer* borrowed to adorn his Poems. The fourth was the *Sybil of Cumæ*, in *Ionia*; to whom *Lactantius* ascribes the *Sybilline Books* which *Tarquin* ordered to be kept in the *Capitol*, by a certain Number of Guardians appointed for that purpose. The fifth, whom *Plutarch* and *Pausanias* call *Herophila*, and who was famous during the *Trojan War*, was born at *Erythræa*, a City of *Ionia*; as was also another, whom *Strabo* calls *Athenais*, and who prophesied in the Time of *Alexander the Great*. The sixth took her Name from the City of *Cumæ* in *Italy*, which gave her Birth. The seventh was born at *Marpeffus*, a Town on the *Hellepont*, whence she is commonly called *Hellepontica*; and the eighth at *Samos*. The ninth called *Phrygia*, resided at *Ancyra*. And lastly, the tenth, who was named *Albanæa*, prophesied in the City of *Tibur*, or *Tivoli*. And if we believe some Writers, the Cities of *Babylon* in *Affyria*, and of *Colophon* and *Gergis* in *Asia Minor*, as also *Judæa*, *Egypt*, and *Epirus*, had all their *Sybils*. But this is not a proper Place to follow them in their Enquiries, and examine the Reasons each produces in Proof of his own Opinion. It is sufficient to observe here, That a Modern of this last Age thought he had very good Grounds, for uniting all the *Sybils* in one. He says, the false Reasonings which most Writers make use of, to prove there were several of these Prophetesses, the Inconsequences that follow from them, and the ridiculous Fictions they relate for certain Truths, obliged him to embrace this Opinion. So that, according to him, there was but one and the same *Sybil*, to whom were given different Names, from the several Places where she uttered her Oracles; and who had no fixed Abode, but being led by the Genius that inspired her, first published her Predictions in *Erythræa*, her native City, then rambled about the World, and at last ended

her Rambles and her Life at *Cumæ* in *Italy*. Besides, says he, all the Verses ascribed to the *Sybils* are *Greek*; and who can believe, that a *Persian* or *Egyptian* Woman, would have written in a Language, with which she was not acquainted? No wonder therefore, that *Plato*, *Plutarch*, *Dio Chrysostomus*, and *Cicero*, should mention only one *Sybil*. The Learned embraced this Opinion, because they thought it the most simple, and the most probable. But be that as it will, it is certain, the *Sybils* were held in great Veneration at *Rome*, and among the eastern Nations. A Collection was made of the Oracles they uttered in Verse, and Copies of them were multiplied in several Cities of *Greece* and *Asia*. The Pagans looked on these Prophetick Rhapsodies, as a mysterious Book, which contained the Decrees of Fate; or rather, the eternal Decrees of the Divinity, concerning the Government of the World. This was the usual Resource of People in Times of Calamity, and in important Affairs, the Success of which was doubtful. All that remains is to enquire, whether they really proceeded from a prophetick Spirit. *St. Jerome* thought that God gave them this wonderful Gift, in Reward for their Chastity. But he probably did not know, That one of the *Sybils* was not ashamed, to recite her Amours in her Verses; and to confess, That her Incontinence had provoked the Justice of the supreme Being. Some pretend, That the Devil discovered future Things to them. Others ascribe the Enthusiasm with which they were seized, to a melancholy Disposition, produced by the Vapours of the Cave, in which they lived. But is it not more natural to say, That they were fanatical Women, who gave themselves the Airs of Prophetesses, in order to impose on the Credulity of the simple; and That the Agreement of their Predictions with the Events, was purely accidental? At least, it's certain, as the Pagan Authors themselves confess, That the Terms in which their Prophecies were expressed, were the most obscure, and the most ambiguous. By this means, they were capable of the different Interpretations, which each Person thought fit to give them. *Cicero*, *De Divinatione*, L. 2, does not dissemble, that the different Rhapsodies of the *Sybilline Books*, were wrote and disposed in such a manner, as to be capable of being accommodated to all sorts of Events. *Callide enim, qui illa composuit, perfecit, ut quodcumque accidisset, prædictum videretur, hominem & temporum definitione sublatâ*. And the same Judgment ought to be made of the Collection, which was substituted in the Room of the old Books of the *Sybil of Cumæ*, by *Sylla's* Orders, after the burning of the *Capitol*. The different Fragments, out of which the Commissioners appointed by the Dictator, composed this Volume, contained the Dregs of Superstition, and were a jumble of all the Dreams of Paganism. Afterwards, some Men, who pretended to Inspiration, enlarged this Volume, as they thought fit. The Licentiousness of these Forgeries was carried so far, that *Tiberius* thought himself obliged to suppress so enormous an abuse. As to the eight Books, which now bear the Name of the *Sybils*, the Criticks agree, That they were



By a *Second Law*, *Sylla* shortened the Interval settled between the *Ædileship*, *Prætorship*, and *Consulate*. It was his Pleasure, that Persons might be removed from one Office to the other, without a Year's space intervening. But on the other hand, he revived the old Usage, which had often been broken by *Marius*, That no Man should enjoy a second *Consulate*, till ten Years after the first.

The *Third Law* related to the *Prætorship*. It enacted, That eight *Prætors* should be chosen every Year; That at least six of them should continue in *Rome* one whole Year, to preside in the Courts of Justice; and That then they should draw Lots for their Provinces.

By the *Fourth*, the Number of *Quæstors* was increased. *Sylla* ordained, That the Republick should have twenty every Year, one half chosen by the People, the other nominated by the *Consuls*; and That these should all have Places in the Senate. So that increasing their Number, was increasing that of the *Conscript Fathers*.

The *Fifth* tended only to diminish the Power of the *Tribunes of the People*; to which the *Dictator* ascribed all the late Troubles. He therefore endeavoured to weaken it by new Regulations. From being Sovereigns, he reduced them to be barely Protectors of the Rights of the Commons, without suffering them to make Speeches, either for or against any Laws that were in Agitation. Besides, he made the Office itself so odious, that no body solicited for it. He enacted, That for the future, only Senators should be chosen *Tribunes*; and That they who had borne this Office, should from thenceforwards be incapable of being raised to the superior Offices of the *Prætorship* and *Consulate*. This made the ambitious disdain Seats in a College, beyond which they could not rise.

By the *Seventh Law* *Sylla* restored the Senate to their ancient Lustre. He had always assumed the Character of an Avenger of the Nobility, and a Restorer of the Rights taken from the *Patrician Order*. Nevertheless the Number of the *Conscript Fathers* had been exceedingly diminished in his *Dictatorship*. The two Plagues, Civil War and Proscriptions, had swept away the greatest Part of those illustrious Men. In order therefore to fill up their Places, *Sylla* ordered that 300 *Knights* should be advanced to the Honour and Office of Senators. Some indeed pretend, that in his *Dictatorship*, the Senate consisted of 500 Persons<sup>20</sup>, including the Magistrates whom the People chose,

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suls.  
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Pomponius de  
Origine Juris.  
Tacit. Annal.  
L. 11.  
Cic. 3. de  
Leg.

were the Work, in part at least, of some Christian of the second Century. Those Fathers of the Church, who did not perceive the Imposture, thought it sufficient to have recourse to these supposititious Writings to establish Christianity on the Ruins of Paganism; and therefore often quoted this Book, whose Authority was great among the Pagans, in favour of the Christian Religion. Hence *Celsus* gives the *Christians* the Name of *Sybillists*. But *Origen* and *St. Austin* did not suffer themselves to be carried away with this common Error. The Puerilities dispersed in these Books, and the Barbarisms of Style, discovered the Supposititiousness of them. Besides, Verses made *ex post facto* were so unguardedly inserted in them, that it was not easy to be deceived by them. The Truths of Christianity are represented in them, rather as Mysteries already verified by the Events, than as Prophecies which were yet to be accomplished. And indeed, it is not at all credible, that these Pagan Women should be more favoured by God, with respect to Revelation, and more enlightened, than even the Prophets of the old Law were. This clear Evidence of Christianity, as stated in the *Sybilline Books*, made *Isaac Vossius* say, without any Proof, That a *Jew* had been the Author of them. But, besides that those Fragments which concern the true Religion, have no relation to *Judaism*, it is asked, whence this *Jew* took this particular Account of the Doctrines of Christianity; the Judgment, Hell, Purgatory, and the great Honours and Prerogatives of *Mary* the Mother of God. Dr. *Hyde*, who was shocked at the Contradictions and fabulous Adventures with which the Pagans stuffed the History of the *Sybils*, forsakes the common Opinion

of the Moderns, and strikes out a new Way of accounting for them. He observes in the Constellation called *The Virgin*, the bright Star which the *Persians* called *Sambula*; and remarks, That the *Persians* who were fond of judiciary Astrology, looked on the Sign of *The Virgin*, as having a greater Power, than all the other celestial Bodies, to discover future Things. The *Greeks*, having learnt the Sciences of the eastern Nations, soon adopted these trifling Opinions, and agreeably to their Genius, embellished them with their Fictions. Their Poets soon invented a *Sybil Virgin*, in allusion to the Term *Sambula*; carried her into several Countries, and made her act the Part of a Prophetess. But this is contradicting all the Ancients, and vending forced Hypotheses, and chimerical Allusions, for avowed Facts. The Author explains himself on this Head, in his Work *Of The Religion of the ancient Persians*.

<sup>20</sup> The Number of the Senators had been fixed to 300, till the Time of *Marcus Livius Drusus*, The Tribune of the People, who had added 300 *Knights* to this illustrious Body. But the Law that authorized this Promotion, and all the rest that he made in his *Tribuneship*, expired with him. They were annulled after his Death, at the Motion of the *Consul*, *Marcus Philippus*. So that the List of the *Conscript Fathers* was reduced to 300, as before. And it is certain, That *Sylla* honoured several of the *Citizens* who adhered to him with the Title of Senators, either to reward their Services, or strengthen his Party; but the Historians have not told us the exact Number of those on whom he bestowed this Distinction. All we know is, what *Cicero* tells us, in the 14th Letter



Year of chose, as *Quæstors*, *Ædiles*, *Prætors*, and *Consuls*; but it is well known, that the latter always had Seats in the Senate-House. And if on the one hand, he honoured the *Roman Knights* with promoting so great a Number of them; so he on the other restored to the Senators, the finest of the Privileges which they had lost. It had been thought proper, for these 50 Years, to appoint *Knights* only, to hear private Causes; But *Sylla* enacted, That no Cause should be pleaded before any but Senators, who alone should be chosen Judges in the several Courts of Justice.

After this Regulation with respect to the Judges, the *Eighth* Law prescribed the Forms of Trials. It enacted, That no Person should have Right to except to more than three of those, who were appointed to judge the Cause; and That in Criminal Cases, the Sentence should be pronounced publicly, or privately, as the accused desired.

By the *Ninth*, it was enacted, That an Action should lay against the Judges, who had suffered themselves to be corrupted, whatever their Rank and Quality was; as also against all those who had altered, forged, or mutilated *Wills*: and That the *Wills* made in *Rome* by Soldiers, who should afterwards be taken by the Enemy, and die in Captivity, should be in full Force.

The *Tenth* inflicted Punishments on Assassins, Poisoners, Incendiaries, Robbers, and all those who should mutilate young Persons for the Service of their Lusts; forbade voluntary Abortions; and inflicted Punishments on all those who should procure them, as well as on those, who should offer Violence to Women.

The *Eleventh*, inflicted the most grievous Pains, on such as should be convicted of robbing the Publick; and forbade the Judges granting them a long Time, for paying the Sums, which they should be condemned to raise.

The *Twelfth* forbade debasing the Coin, whether Gold or Silver, either by clipping, or adulterating it.

The *Thirteenth* restrained the Luxury of Meals; or rather, increased it, by the Method taken to reform it. It brought the Price of Delicacies very low, and thereby put it in the Power of Persons of moderate Fortunes to purchase them.

The *Fourteenth* related to the Power and Duty of the *Roman* Generals in their Provinces. It enacted, That such as should not be recalled, after their Year was expired, should retain the same Authority in their respective Provinces, as the *Pro-Consuls*, tho' the *Comitia by Curiae* had not granted them any new Powers: That no General or Governour, should continue in his Province more than 30 Days after the Arrival of his Successor; and That the Cities of their Provinces should only furnish them with certain fixed Sums, at their Departure.

The *Fifteenth* concerned the proscribed and their Children. It ordained, That they who escaped Death after their Proscription, should be put to Death, wherever they were found, as Enemies to the Republick; That they who concealed them, should be liable to the same Punishment; That their Effects, like those of Enemies killed in Battle, should be sold to the best Bidder; and That their Children should be incapable of holding any of the superior Offices in the Republick.

§. IX. These Laws, it must be allowed, with an Exception to that which related to the proscribed, were in general, both equitable and judicious. The greatest Part of them were only Revivals of the Edicts, which had been in force in the first Ages of the Republick; and the Observation of which would have preserved it in a flourishing State, if the *Tribunes* had not altered, or abolished them. Nevertheless *Sylla*, who had assumed the Character of the Restorer of ancient Usages, had the Mortification to see some of them sink into Discredit, before he died. But the greatest Part continued in Force, and are Parts of the *Roman Law* to this Day.

When the *Dictator* had thus settled the Government, Suits were revived, and the Bar frequented. Now first appeared, that great Light of the *Roman Eloquence*, *Cicero*; who seems to have been born, to equal the Rhetorick of the *Romans* to that of the *Greeks*, if not to surpass their *Demosthenes*. At the Age of 26, he undertook to defend *Quinctius*, whose Estate some would have taken from him by Chicanery. Indeed the Cause was

of his first Book to *Atticus*; That in the Year 692, an Assembly of the Senate which was held, on Account of the Sacrilege of *Cloelius*, consisted of 415 Persons. To whom, if we add those that were ab-

sent, either voluntarily, or out of Necessity, and the Magistrates, who were then actually in Office, we may find the 500, who had a Right to sit in the Senate in *Sylla's* Time.

pleaded



pleaded in private; but the young Orator spoke so well, that after this first Entrance at the Bar, he was emboldened to undertake the greatest Subjects, and plead the most important Causes.

§. X. As for *Sylla*, he was at the Top of human Glory, and the highest Pitch of Happiness. All the World obeyed his Orders, and *Rome* trembled at his Voice. He made himself Master of all the Wealth in the Capital; and deprived whomsoever he pleased of all he possessed. In the East, Kings revered his Decrees. He gave, or took away, Crowns, at Pleasure. *Egypt*<sup>21</sup> first felt this absolute Power of the *Roman Dictator*. *Ptolomy Lathurus* was just dead, after a Reign of 36 Years. *Cleopatra*<sup>22</sup>, the Widow of *Alexander* the Brother of *Lathurus*, sat alone on the Throne, which her Husband had enjoyed before his Brother; and the Queen had so much Deference for *Rome*, as to send thither for an Husband of the Race of the Kings of her Country, to hold the Reins of Government with her. *Sylla* happened to have in his Family, and in a manner among his Domesticks, a Prince of the Blood royal of *Egypt*. This was *Alexander*, the Son of that *Alexander*, who had reigned before his Brother *Lathurus*; and this Prince, who was born to the Purple, but not of that *Cleopatra* who now reigned, had met with many Adventures.

After the Death of his Father, he had been banished into the Island of *Cos*, probably by Order of his Uncle *Lathurus*, and was there brought up for some Time. But at length, the Islanders delivered him up into the Hands of *Mitridates*, and the young *Egyptian* Prince could not think himself safe with the King of *Pontus*, whose Cruelty and Tyranny was such, that he had polluted his Hands with the Blood of his own Children. He therefore fled from the Court of *Mitridates*, and took Refuge in *Sylla's* Camp, when he was making War in *Asia*; and he lived with the *Dictator*, with little or no Distinction, till *Cleopatra's* Ambassadors arrived. Then *Sylla* chose him to go and reign in *Egypt*; and *Alexander* left *Sylla* with fixed Resolutions to enrich himself with the Wealth of his new Kingdom. But when he had married his Mother-in-Law, incestuous Marriages being very customary in the *Egyptian* royal Family, the new Monarch made so much haste, to impoverish his new Subjects, in order thereby to preserve the Affection of the *Romans*, that it proved fatal to him. *Cleopatra* advised him to act with more Moderation, and he caused her to be assassinated. This made him insupportable to his Subjects, and they murdered him in the Market-Place at *Alexandria*, after a<sup>23</sup> Reign of nineteen Days.

§. XI. *Sylla* was little affected with the Death of the new King of *Egypt*. His Power daily increased in the Capital of the World. Under Pretence of supplying the Places of the many *Roman Citizens* who had perished in the Civil Wars, he gave Liberty and the Right of *Roman Citizenship*, to 10000 Slaves, chosen out of those, who had served the proscribed. They had all been forfeited with the rest of their Effects; and the *Dictator*, who had taken them to himself, enfranchised them, made them a kind of distinct *Tribe*, and called them from his own Name, *Cornelians*. These were bound in Gratitude to fight and vote for him, on all Occasions; and his next Step was to fill the *Provinces* with Men devoted to him. He had not yet rewarded those brave Soldiers, who had gained his conquests in the *Levant* and *Italy*, and whom he found immovable in their Fidelity; and he therefore now dismissed them the Service, and divided among them the Lands of the *Municipia* and *Colonies*, which had appeared against him. When thus surrounded by a Guard of *Freedmen* at *Rome*, and supported

21 According to *Appian*, his Father, having been driven from *Alexandria*, and forced to give up the Throne to *Ptolomy Lathurus* his elder Brother, had fled for Refuge to the Island of *Cos* with this *Ptolomy-Alexander* his Son. There he put the young Prince under the Protection of these Islanders; but they could not keep him out of the Hands of *Mitridates*, who charged himself with the Care of his Education; and under this Pretence, that avaritious Monarch seized the Treasures the King of *Egypt* had got together in *Cos*.

22 *Pausanias* calls her *Berenice*. She was the Daughter of *Ptolomy-Lathurus* the Brother of *Ptolomy-Alexander*; and consequently Cousin-German to the young Prince, who left *Rome*, to take Possession of the Throne of *Egypt*. To which that Author adds,

That the *Athenians* erected a Statue of Brass, in honour to this Princess and her Father, in Gratitude for the Benefactions they had received from both.

23 If, as *Appian* reports, *Alexander* was assassinated by the People of *Alexandria*, 19 Days after his Election to the Throne of *Egypt*, we cannot conceive why *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, makes his immediate Successor to have been *Ptolomy-Auletes*. This Prince did not obtain the Crown, till about the Year of *Rome* 688; which was 16 or 17 Years after the Death of *Alexander*, who died in the Year 672. It is therefore certain, that this Interval was filled up, by another *Alexander*, the Brother of the deceased; which we will reserve to be proved hereafter, in the course of the History, that we may not here interrupt the Order of Facts and Years.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXII.

L. CORNELI-  
US SYLLA,  
Dictator.  
M. TULLIUS  
DECULA, &  
CN. CORNE-  
LIUS DOLA-  
BELLA, Con-  
suls.  
*Appian. L. 1.  
de Bell. Civ.*

by



Year of by his old *Legionaries* in the Country, he had nothing to fear, either from Revolts in the City, or sudden Insurrections or Tumults among the *Allies*.

DCLXXII. All was so quiet in the Capital, that *Sylla* thought this a proper Time to decree himself a *Triumph*<sup>24</sup>, and order the Procession. It was past Dispute, that few Generals had better deserved it. The Reconquest of *Greece*, the succouring of *Macedon*, the subduing of *Thrace*, the delivering all the *Asiatick* Coast from the Chains of *Mithridates*, and lastly, the obliging the King of *Pontus* himself to accept of such a Peace, as the Conqueror would give him, were strong Arguments in his Favour. And *Sylla* had so much Moderation, as not to mention among the Facts for which he desired to triumph, either the Conquest of *Italy*, or the Victories gained over *Fimbria*, *Carbo*, and young *Marius*, or even over *Pontius*, the General of the *Sam-*

*App. L. 1. de nites*. He seemed to look back with some Horror, on all the *Roman* Blood, which the Necessity of the Times had forced him to shed. When all Things were ready for his triumphant Entry into the Capital, *Rome* had not for a great while seen one so magnificent. It lasted two Days, and raised the Admiration of all the Spectators. Not to mention the long Train of Carts loaded with the Spoils of *Asia*, and the Biers on which were carried the Figures of the conquered Cities, especially those of *Athens* and *Piræus*; the Sight that most affected the People, was that of the many illustrious *Romans* who had been delivered out of the Hands of *Marius* and *Cinna*, and who desired to accompany the Victor with Crowns of Flowers on their Heads. The amiable Names of *Saviour* and *Deliverer* which these gave him, were a pleasing Contrast to the Title of *A Tyrant disguised under the Appearance of a Dictator*, which the Soldiers bestowed on him, in the Licentiousness allowed on these Occasions. But what struck the Spectators most, was the great Sums of Money that were carried before his Chariot. *Pliny* tells us, *L. 23*, That in the first Day were shewn the People 15000 pounds Weight of Gold, and 115000 pounds Weight of Silver which *Sylla* had brought from his Conquests; and on the second Day was exposed to the view of the Spectators, the 13000 Pounds Weight of Gold, and the 7000 pounds Weight of Silver, which young *Marius* had saved out of the Fire of the *Capitol*, and which had been recovered at *Prænestæ*, after his Death. As soon as the Procession was over, the Conqueror, according to ancient Custom, mounted the *Rostra*, and by way of returning the People Thanks for the Honours he had just received, gave them a pompous Detail of his Exploits. Whether out of Modesty, or Superstition, he ascribed them all to *Fortune*; and ordered, That for the future, no<sup>25</sup> other Title should be given him but that of *The Fortunate*. He had assumed this Honour, before this Time; but now he took it upon him, in a juridical manner, as other Heroes had done the Appellations of *Africanus*, or *Asiaticus*.

*App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.* Nor was the Show of a *Triumph* deemed enough to soften the Minds of the People; *Sylla* added to it, some of the most magnificent Games *Rome* had ever seen. All the skilful Actors of *Greece* left it, to come and shew their Art in the Capital of the World. Some say, that only the Races could be performed, in the famous *Olympic Games*, which were celebrated this Year; all the other Shows being brought to the *Circus's*, *Theatres*, and *Amphitheatres*, in *Rome*. In order to enable himself to defray this vast Expence, the *Dictator* seized the Effects of the richest *Citizens* on the slightest Pretences; laid extraordinary Taxes on all Places, and demanded immense Tributes of the *Roman Provinces*, and even of the Kings, who had no Relation to *Rome*, but as in Alliance with her. In this manner, the *Dictator* was endeavouring to recover the lost Affections of the People at *Rome*, and depriving all that he suspected, of their Estates; whilst *Pompey* was in his Government of *Sicily*, watching over *Africa*, whither the chief Leaders of the *Marian* Faction had fled.

See Plate 15. Page 416. No. 3. 24 There are two Medals which have perpetuated to the Memory of the Exploits, by which *Sylla* merited the Honours of a *Triumph*. The Reverse of the first is charged with four Crowns, which probably represent the taking of *Athens*, and the three memorable Victories he gained over the Troops of *Mithridates*, particularly those in the Plains of *Cheronea* and *Orchomenos*. On the Reverse of the second, we see a *Roman Citizen*, who seems to claim the General's

Protection against the Furies of *Marius* and *Cinna*; to point out, agreeable to History, that he was the Refuge of the Proscribed, and the Deliverer of his Country; Titles which were given him by the Citizens of his Faction.

25 *Plutarch* says, That *Sylla* in most of his Letters, used only the Surname of *The Fortunate*, or *The Favourite of Venus*. And indeed, no other was inscribed on the Statues erected to his Honour.



§. XII. New Troubles had been raised in the *African Province*, since the Death of Year of the *Consul Papirius Carbo*. The Remains of the Faction of *Marius* and *Cinna* were *ROME* reviving there, and these Sparks gave the *Dictator* some Apprehensions that the Fire *DCLXXII.* would spread into *Italy*. *Marius* when banished, and seated on the Ruins of *Carthage*, had from smaller Beginnings risen up, as out of a Sleep, and appeared in *Rome* *L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, Dictator.* more powerful, and more furious than ever. And *Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus* his Ne- *M. TULLIUS DECULA, & Cn. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, Con-* phew was now proscribed, and rambling about all the Countries in *Africa*, as that *fuls:* great Man did; and was assembling together all the Forces he could, to make Head *Plut. in Sylla. Epit. Livian.* against *Sylla*, or at least ballance a little his exorbitant Power. He had already gained over to his Interest one of the Kings that had a Share of *Numidia*. This Kingdom, which the *Romans* had formerly conquered, had been almost entirely restored to two *Numidian* Princes, who governed it, in Subjection to *Rome*. One was *Hiarbas*, who had joined the *Marian* Faction; the other *Hiempsal*, who was determined to follow the contrary Party, to that which the little King his Neighbour had embraced. *Hiarbas* therefore furnished *Domitius* with Troops, and this *Roman* had already got an Army of above 20000 Men. This Progress made by a proscribed Person, gave *Sylla* Jealousy; and he sent Orders to *Pompey* to leave *Sicily*, which he had settled in Tranquillity, and go into *Africa*, to reduce *Domitius* and *Hiarbas*. *Pompey's* Attachment to *Sylla* was boundless, and his martial Ardour inclined him to go wherever Glory was to be acquired; and therefore when all Things were got ready, he put to Sea.

His Army consisted of no less than five *Legions* compleat; all fond of their General to Adoration. He embarked them, after he had appointed *Memmius* to govern *Sicily* in his Absence, on board a Fleet of 120 Gallies, which were accompanied with four-score Vessels laden with Ammunitions, and Machines of War. After a good Passage, he landed them partly in the Port of *Utica*, and partly in the Port which supplied *Carthage* with so much Riches, when it was in being. Upon their Arrival, some of *Pompey's* Soldiers found some Remains of the *Carthaginian* Wealth. In digging the Ground, they found a Treasure which they shared among themselves. This good Fortune encouraged the rest to take up the Spade and Mattock, and they all left the Service to remove the Earth, which they thought full of Riches. However, it fortunately happened, that the Army of *Domitius* was at a Distance, whilst they were spending some Days in this trifling Search, with such Earnestness that *Pompey* had a great deal of Difficulty to get together his Men, whose Avarice had dispersed them all over the Fields; and at last the Fatigue and Fruitlessnes of their Labour brought them back to the Camp. Nevertheless, the only Punishment *Pompey* inflicted on them was to rally them for the great Riches they had gotten; and they, charmed with his Goodness to them, cried out, That he should lead them to the Enemy, and they would shew him that their Arms had acquired fresh Strength by digging the Ground.

*Domitius* now drew near; and Desertions were frequent in his Army. Seven thousand of his Men came over to *Pompey*, at once. This was an unhappy Prefage; but a proscribed Man had nothing to do but to attempt the most desperate Things. At length he appeared in the Fields of *Utica*, and the Armies were in sight of each other. There was only one Hill between them; which was so steep as to be difficult of Ascent. The two Armies were drawn up in Battalia very early in the Morning; and a Storm arose, which made *Domitius* believe that *Pompey* would not attack him that Day. He therefore sounded a Retreat, and when his Troops were returning in Disorder to their Camp, *Pompey* took that Opportunity to fall upon him. He made his Men climb up the Hill, though very slippery with the Rain, extended his *Legions* in the Valley, and began the Assault. The Enemy retired, and *Pompey* pursued them as Fugitives; but on a sudden *Domitius* faced about, and fought with the Animosity that is usual on both Sides in Civil Wars. The Wind and Rain both favoured *Pompey*, being in his Back; but *Domitius's* Men could scarce stand the Violence of them. The latter fell in their Eyes and blinded them, the former took away their Breath. Nevertheless, the Battle was very terrible. They were *Romans* against *Romans*, without any difference in Arms or Habits, and could not easily distinguish Friends from Foes. And this Disorder had like to have cost *Pompey* dear. One of his Soldiers cried out to him, *Who goes there?* And he, being intent on viewing the Battle, and having his Face covered with his Helmet, was a little dilatory in giving the Word. So that the Soldier was just ready to stab him, when upon hearing his General speak, he knew his Voice. After some Hours Slaughter, the Affair ended in favour of *Pompey*. Of



Year of 20000 Men *Domitius* left 17000 dead upon the Spot, and had some Difficulty to re-  
 ROME cover his Camp, with the poor Remains of his shattered Troops. The Conquerors  
 DCLXXII. immediately ascribed the Victory to *Pompey*, and would have honoured him with the  
 L CORNELI- Title of IMPERATOR, which was never given to Generals, but after an illustrious Ac-  
 US SYLLA, tion. But *Pompey* refused to accept it, as long as the Victory continued imperfect;  
 Dictator. and said, *Domitius is yet alive, and his Camp entire; we have yet gained but half a*  
 M. TULLIUS Victory.  
 DECULA, &

CN. CORNE- This animated his Soldiers with fresh Spirit; and they marched with great Fury to  
 LIUS DOLA- attack the Camp. *Pompey* led them on, with his Head uncovered, for fear of a se-  
 BELLA, Con- cond Mistake. And then *Domitius* sought Death, which the Decree of Proscription  
 fuls. had pronounced against him. He was one of the first that fell in the Defence of the  
 Plut. in Pomp. Camp; and the Camp was soon taken, after his Death. It was plundered and de-  
 molished; King *Hiarbas* was made Prisoner of War; and in consequence of this  
 Success, *Pompey* recovered all the Cities of *Africa*, that had been drawn off from *Sylla's*  
 Party. He entered *Numidia*, gave *Hiempsal* the Dominions of *Hiarbas* his Prisoner;  
 and pushing his Conquests very far, into these Countries where the *Roman* Name be-  
 gan to grow less formidable, he filled them with Terror. But he made the wild  
 Beasts of the Country feel his Strength, more than the Inhabitants. He hunted the  
 Lions, and almost cleared all the Deserts of *Numidia* of them. This compleat Ex-  
 pedition cost him but forty Days, and it seemed to be rather Matter of Diversion than  
 of Business.

§. XIII. So rapid a Progress, by an Hero of 24 Years of Age, alarmed the  
*Dictator* himself. Indeed *Pompey* had only made this War for *Sylla's* Sake, and  
 by his Orders; but, whether from Policy, or Jealousy, the *Dictator* did not think  
 proper to suffer the young Warrior to continue any longer at the Head of a great  
 Army. When therefore *Pompey* returned to *Utica*, he found there an Order from  
*Sylla*, requiring him to return to *Rome*; disband his Troops, and keep only one *Le-*  
*gion* for his Successor. *Pompey* was sensibly affected with this Blow, but dissembled  
 it. His Soldiers were very clamorous; and if their General, whom they greatly loved,  
 had not appeased their Resentments, the Victory in *Africa* would have produced an-  
 other Civil War. But *Pompey* knew how to conduct himself with Temper; and in  
 order to appease his *Legionaries*, he assured them, that he would rather die by his own  
 Hands, than involve *Rome* in new Troubles. An Action worthy of an Hero, and  
 much beyond what might have been expected from his Age and Success! And there-  
 fore the *Dictator* gave too easy Credit to the false Report which was spread, that *Pom-*  
*pey* had revolted. *Must I still have Children to fight with,* said he, *at my Age!* *Pom-*  
*pey shall then soon follow young Marius.* But his Wrath was soon appeased, when he  
 was informed, that the supposed Rebel was the most submissive of all his Subjects.

*Pompey* was then near *Rome*, with no other Attendance than his Domesticks.  
 All the People came to meet him, as *Sylla* himself hastened to do. He was charmed  
 with his Submission, embraced him tenderly, and in the Presence of a numerous  
 Guard, honoured him with the Surname of *The Great*, which he retained ever  
 after. He had deserved it more by his Conquest over himself, than either his Victory  
 over *Domitius*, or his Reduction of *Numidia*. Nevertheless, he did not adopt this  
 Title, nor would he ever give it to himself, till the Multitude were so much accustomed  
 to it, that it created no Odium to assume it. *Sylla* indeed hoped that this glorious Title  
 would have satisfied the Desires of the young Conqueror; but he had greater Things  
 in view. He had deserved a *Triumph*, and was likely to obtain it. He therefore did  
 not enter the City, but continued in the Suburbs; and postponed the Prosecution of the  
 Affair, till the Ferment which was raised in *Rome*, on Account of the Elections for  
 the succeeding Year, should be entirely over. He was not ignorant, that there were se-  
 veral Difficulties in his Way. His Age of only 24 Years, his Rank, which was that  
 of a private *Roman Knight*, his Victory which had been gained under the Authority  
 of another, and over a domestick Enemy, and lastly, the Jealousy of *Sylla*, which  
 was more to be feared than all the rest, made him apprehensive that his Scheme  
 would prove abortive. But all this did not discourage him. He was as active and

26 *Plutarch* observes, That from the Birth of the said the People; and the second, *Fabius Rullus* who  
 Republic, to *Pompey's* Time, only two Romans had, had been five Times *Consuls*, and had well deserved to  
 been honoured with this Title: The first, the famous, by his great Exploits.  
*Valerius* who re-established Concord between the Senate



vigorous in the pursuit of Civil Honours, as in the Performance of military Ex-  
ploits.

§. XIV. When the *Roman Centuries* were assembled in the *Field of Mars* to choose new *Consuls*; *Sylla* himself, though *Dictator*, was willing to be elected *Consul*, without laying down his superior Office. And accordingly, as he was Master of the Suffrages, he got himself nominated, and with himself *Q. Cæcilius Metellus*, the first Nobleman that joined him after his return from *Asia*. He probably desired the Place of *Consul* only to keep up the usual Forms in the Republick, without lessening that Sovereignty which he was not fond of resigning. And after his Example, the Emperors themselves, when possessed of an absolute Monarchy, vouchsafed, for the Sake of Popularity, to demean themselves so far, as to take upon them the *Consulate* too. *Metellus's* Province was to go to *Spain* to make War with *Sertorius*, whose Progress gave Umbrage; but he did not hasten his Departure. He continued at *Rome*, and shared the Government with *Sylla*, whose Counsellor and Confident he was.

Never was any *Consular Year* more peaceable. Every Man trembled at the Name of *Sylla*, and the *Romans* were at last accustomed to bear the Authority of a Master. There was not even any Appearance of a Disagreement between the People and the Senate. It now appeared how essential a Means it was of securing the publick Peace, to confine the *Tribunate* solely to the Protection of defenceless Citizens. The *Comitium* no longer rung with the Noise of those Declaimers, who were continually reviving that hatred, which it will ever be easy to cultivate, between the Great and the Populace. Stones, Sticks, and Ponyards, were no longer the Recourse to maintain trifling Intests; which the Orators persuaded the hot-headed Multitude were of great Importance. The wise Laws *Sylla* had enacted were observed under his own Administration. Order was re-established in the Courts of Judicature, and Murders, which were formerly so very little regarded, were now punished with great Severity. The Senate, who confined themselves to publick Affairs, relating to Peace, or War, or the Government of the Provinces, regulated their Decrees by the good Will and Pleasure of the *Dictator*. The Causes of private Persons were brought into the Courts of the eight *Prætors* which *Sylla* had established; and Justice was administered with great Exactness and Impartiality, by Judges chosen only out of the senatorial Order. Inasmuch, that it may even be affirmed, That *Rome* would certainly have preferred this new kind of Government which was in a manner monarchical, to the Storms she had formerly felt, if the *Dictator* had regulated his own Conduct by the Laws which he had himself established.

§. XV. But *Sylla*, now at the height of Prosperity, grew debauched, covetous, and at the same time excessively profuse of the Wealth which he took from private Persons, to throw away in Bounties on his Friends. *Crassus*, one of his Generals, and Confidents, was more covetous than all the rest. Though born of a rich Family, and heir to a great Estate, he set no Bounds to his Avarice; and no Man got more by his Attachment to *Sylla*, than he did. As soon as the Effects of any proscribed Person were put up to sale, *Crassus* either obtained them as a free Gift from the *Dictator*, or got them sold to him at a very low Price; and at last came to think every Thing lawful, in order to accumulate Wealth. He, of his own Authority, proscribed an Inhabitant of *Bruttium*, in order to seize his Effects. *Sylla*, cruel as he was, received the News of this barbarous Proceeding with great Indignation; and from that Time no more honoured him with his Confidence, or employed him in the Administration. Not that *Crassus* was alone in this gainful Trade; the *Dictator's Freed-men* also profited by the Spoils of the unfortunate. And the highest Aggravation of this Iniquity was, that *Sylla* himself sat in Court in Person, presided at these Sales, and ordered the finest Parts of the Inheritances he had confiscated, to be given to Players, Buffoons, and infamous Women. So that the greatest Debauchees, and vilest of the People in *Rome*, became at once next to *Sylla*, the richest Persons there. As to himself, he usurped great Estates without number, and his Revenues amounted to an excessive Sum. This enabled him to give immense Bounties to the People, entertain them with magnificent Feasts, and amuse them with pompous Shows. The Accounts the Historians give us of these Things, will not easily find Credit in our Days. He thought fit to consecrate a sixth Part of his immense Wealth to *Hercules*; and after the Ceremony, he made a general Feast for all the People of *Rome*, and entertained them with the richest Wines, some of which were so old as to bear the Name of *Optimus*, who had been

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXIII.

L. CORNELI-  
US SYLLA,  
Dictator.

L. CORNELI-  
US SYLLA, &  
Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, Consuls.

Cic. in Bruto.

Plut. in Crasso.

Idem in Sylla.



Year of been *Consul* forty Years before, in a Year famous for a most excellent Vintage. And *ROME* as to Meats, the most delicate that the Sea, or Rivers, or Forests, or Fields, could afford, were provided with the greatest Profusion. The Plenty was so great, that much was left which the hungry People could not eat, and was afterwards thrown into the *Tyber*. But, as the Historians have not told us either the Place, or Order of these publick Feasts; there seems to be reason to doubt, whether all the *Romans* in general were invited to them.

L. CORNELI-  
US SYLLA, &  
DICTATOR.  
Q. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
LUS, Consuls.

§. XVI. The Joy of this magnificent Feast was a little abated, by the Sickneſs of *Metella*, the *Dictator's* Wife, whom he always respected, notwithstanding her Irregularities. She had brought him three Children, a Daughter and two Boys, the elder of which had been carried to the Funeral-Pile, a few Days before the Death of his Mother. The Father gave the ſurviving Son and Daughter the Surnames of *Fauftus*, and *Fauſta*, in Conformity to that of *Felix*, which he had taken himſelf. As ſoon as *Metella's* Diſtemper appeared to be dangerous, the *Dictator* divorced her, and ordered her to be carried from his own Houſe to another; under Pretence that it was indecent that a Houſe ſo much frequented as his, ſhould be troubled by funeral Ceremonies. Or rather, the *Pontifices* declared to him, That his Houſe would be polluted by her Death; and That he ought to prevent this fatal Accident, by a Divorce in form. But certainly, if he intended to puniſh *Metella* for her paſt Diſorders, he was too late. And who can believe, that ſuch timorous religious Sentiments could ever enter into an Heart ſo hardened as that of *Sylla*? We muſt therefore aſcribe this unreaſonable Method of divorcing his Wife, when ſhe was going out of the World, to the ſame Oddneſs and Capriciouſneſs of Temper, which led him, after he had divorced her, to perform very magnificent Obſequies for her. He had revived the Law, which forbade the Luxury of Funerals; but he thought himſelf above Rules. Notwithstanding his Law, he ſpared no Expence in this; either perhaps in Honour to his Wife, or to do Honour to himſelf, or to pleaſe *Metellus* his Collegue, the Brother of the deceased.

*Plut. in Sylla.*

However, the *Dictator's* Grief did not laſt long. He knew how to drown it in Pleaſure. He divided his Time between Buſineſs and Debauchery. He loved all Sorts of Shows, but that of *Gladiators* was moſt ſuitable to his cruel and ſanguinary Temper. He entertained the People with one, ſome Months after the Death of his Wife; and there, in the miſt of Horror and Blood, conceived a new Paſſion, for an Object that came accidentally in his way. *Valeria*, a young Woman of high Birth, and great Beauty, captivated him. She was the Daughter of *Mellala*, and Siſter of the famous Orator *Hortenſius*; had been, within a few Days, divorced from her Huſband; and enjoyed almoſt as much Liberty as that of Widowhood. The Seats, at Shows, were not then regulated; Men and Women all ſate promiſcuouſly without Diſtinction of Sex, or Rank; and the *Dictator* happened to be ſeated next to *Valeria*, whom he had never before ſeen. The young Lady, though virtuous, and of a good Reputation, was gay and free, and had a Livelineſs in her Manner which gave a Luſtre to her Beauty. She was delighted to be ſo near a Man ſo much feared and reſpected; and following the Dictates of her natural Vivacity, pulled an Hair out of the *Dictator's* Habit, and thereby drew his Attention from the Show. He turned ſuddenly about, and ſurprized with the Familiarity, ſaid, *With what Deſign have you committed a Robbery upon me, which I did not expect?* To which *Valeria* replied, *I muſt confeſs, I have always been very ambitious of being happy, and I fancied, that the leaſt bit of Down or Hair taken from the happieſt of Mortals, might bring me good Fortune.* *Sylla* took the answer, and was charmed with her Beauty. His Eyes immediately diſcovered what he felt for her; and afterwards, he addreſſed himſelf to her in form. *Valeria* was reſolute in her Virtue, and *Sylla* conſtant in his Paſſion. And in ſhort, their Amour ended in a Marriage, which did more Honour to the Wife, than to the Huſband. *Rome* was ſurprized to ſee an old Warrior, bred up in Blood and Slaughter, give way to ſuch Weakneſſes, as would ſcarce have been thought pardonable in a Youth.

*Plut. in Pomp.*

§. XVII. Whiſt the *Dictator* was thus amuſing himſelf, *Pompey* was fighting for the Triumph, which he did not deſpair of obtaining. The Glory he had acquired in his laſt Campaign, was ſo great, that if only the Senate and People had been concerned, they would eaſily have overlooked his Age, in regard to his Merit. *Sylla* was the only Perſon that oppoſed the Pretenſions of the young Conqueror, though he had himſelf reaped all the Fruits of his Victory, and the Pretence, on which he founded his Oppoſition was the Law, which forbade any but a *Conſul*, or *Prætor*, to triumph, and



and that for Battles gained under, their own *Auspices*. Whereas, *Pompey* had been Year of made General by an extraordinary Commission. Did then the Sovereign of Rome *ROME* make any real Scruple about over-looking this Law, in order to reward so great Ser- *DCLXXIII.* vices? His Affectation was suspected by *Pompey*. He plainly saw by these Proceedings, *L. CORNELI-* that *Sylla* either was jealous of him, or perhaps afraid of incurring some Odium, by *US SYLLA,* making use of his Power to authorize such irregular Honours; and the Method he *Dictator.* took to succeed was both prudent and bold. He complained to the *Dictator* himself *L. CORNELI-* of his Delays; and went so far as to say, *That many more People adored the rising Sun,* *US SYLLA, &* *Q. CÆCILI-* *US METEL-* *LUS, Consuls.* *than the setting.* These Words he spoke with so low a Voice, that the *Dictator* did not hear him; but when they were repeated, he fully understood their Meaning, perceived that his own Power was declining and that of *Pompey* increasing, and suddenly cried out, in a Passion, *Let him then triumph.* This he repeated twice, and *Plin. L. 8.* *Pompey* took Advantage of it. He immediately ordered every Thing to be got ready *c. 2.* for his Procession; and to give the more Uneasiness to those that envied him, gave Directions that his Chariot should be drawn by four Elephants. He had taken several of them in *Africa*, from the Kings he had subdued. But it unfortunately happened that the triumphal Arch was not wide enough for four Elephants to pass a-breast under it; and he was therefore forced to be content with Horses as usual.

Then the Covetousness of the *Legionaries* *Pompey* had brought from *Africa* started a new Difficulty. It was customary for the triumphant Victor, to give Money to the Soldiers who had served him in the War, and were to attend him in his Procession; and in the present Case, their Demands were exorbitant. If *Pompey* had complied with their Desires, he must have drained the publick Treasury of all he had brought to it, to distribute it among them. They demanded great Sums, and that in a seditious Way. But the young Hero was resolute. He declared, he would rather decline the *Triumph*, than gratify their Avarice; and this Resolution was so much applauded by the Senators, that they who had most opposed his having that Honour, declared, That notwithstanding his Age, they thought he now deserved it. His Claim, as has been observed, was not founded in his having conquered *Domitius*, but his having reduced King <sup>27</sup> *Hiarbas*, and reconquered *Numidia*. And now, a *Roman Knight*, who was only between five and six and twenty, was distinguished with the highest military Honours that could be conferred upon him, before he had arrived at a sufficient Age, to have a Seat in the Senate. In this instance at least, his good Fortune was greater than that of *The fortunate Sylla*; but Heaven was raising up against him a formidable Rival in the Person of <sup>28</sup> *Julius Cæsar*. In this very Year, *Cæsar* made *Suet. in Cæ-* *his* *sare.*

<sup>27</sup> According to *The Epitomy of Livy*, *Hiarbas* had been killed in a Battle with the *Romans*. But another Historian whose Works are ascribed to *Sallust*, say, That this Prince, whom he calls *Hierta*, had fled, hoping to escape from the Conqueror; That being pursued by *Bogud*, the Son of the King of *Mauritania*, he had been abandoned by his Troops, who surrendered themselves up to the young Prince without striking a Stroke; That he was afterwards besieged in a City in *Africa* where he was shut up, and could not withstand *Pompey's* Attacks; and That, upon the Surrendry of the City, the unfortunate *Hierta* was put to death, by order of the *Roman* General.

<sup>28</sup> *Gaius Julius Cæsar* was then nineteen Years of Age, having been born in the Year of *Rome* 654, the Consulate of *Marcus Antonius Nepos*, and *Aulus Postumius Albinus*. He was proud of his noble Extraction, and boasted of being descended from the Gods, in a direct Line, by *Iulus* the Son of *Æneas*, and Grandson of *Anchises* and the Goddess *Venus*. By his Grandmother *Marcia*, he carried up his Family to King *Æneus Marcius*. His Father *Gaius*, and his Uncle *Julius*, both died, according to *Pliny*, in the same manner, and in the Flower of their Age. They both dropped down dead in the Morning as they were dressing, the former at *Pisa*, after his Return from his *Prætorship* in *Macedon*; the latter at *Rome*, when he was *Prætor* there. *Nullis evidentibus causis obiere, dum calcantur matutino, duo Cæsares, Prætor, & Præ-*  
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*tura perfunctus Dictatoris Cæsaris pater; hic Pisis exanimatus, ille Romæ.* *Cæsar* was but sixteen when he lost his Father. But his Mother *Antistia*, one of the most virtuous Ladies in *Rome*, took all the Care of his Education that he could expect. His Relations had from his Infancy espoused him to the young Daughter of a *Knight* of an ancient Family, and with whom he might expect great Riches. But more powerful Motives of Interest and Ambition led him to divorce her, in order to marry *Cornelia*, the Daughter of the Consul, *Cornelius Cinna*. At the Age of seventeen, being supported by the *Marian* Faction, he was, according to *Suetonius*, appointed High-Priest of *Jupiter*. A little time after, *Sylla* endeavoured to prevailed on him to separate himself from *Cornelia*, who had already brought him his first Daughter *Julia*. But *Cæsar* had the Courage to resist this formidable Master to his Face; though he had just before forced *Piso* to divorce his Wife *Annia*, whom he tenderly loved. *Annia* had first married *Cornelius Cinna*, and for that Reason was in Disgrace with *Sylla*. The *Dictator*, exasperated at *Cæsar's* Refusal, deprived him of his sacerdotal Dignity, of the Fortune of his Wife *Cornelia*, and of the Inheritances that were fallen to him, by the Death of some of his Relations. But *Plutarch* tells us, That *Sylla* gave Law in *Rome*, when *Cæsar* stood for the Priesthood of *Jupiter*, and that he was excluded by the Intrigues of the prevailing Party. But be that as it will, his Ruin was resolved on, and he



Year of his first Campaign in the <sup>29</sup> East, signalized himself at the Siege of <sup>30</sup> *Mitylene*, and *ROME* there received several *Civic Crowns*. However, *Pompey* now began to act a very great Part; and nothing ingratiated him more with the People, than his Modesty after his *Triumph*. He ranked himself among the rest of the *Roman Knights* without any Distinction; and readily submitted to be reviewed with them, by the *Censors*.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, Dictator.

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, &

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, Consuls.

Plut. in Pomp. Epit. Liv.

§. XVIII. However, *Sylla's* Power did not suffer much, by these first Honours, & that were paid to *Pompey*. His absolute Authority in *Italy* was disputed by only two Cities, which still persisted in an Opposition to him. One was *Nola* of *Campania*, which the *Samnites* had seized; the other <sup>31</sup> *Volaterræ*, a City of *Hetruria*, and one of the twelve *Lucumonies*. But the latter, after some Days Siege, surrendered to *Sylla*; and *Nola*, which was defended by the most obstinate Troops in the World, was taken by Treachery. The Inhabitants brought into the Place *M. Æmilius Lepidus*, who resolved to cut all the Garrison in pieces. But the *Samnites* prevented the Vengeance of the *Roman*, by first setting Fire to their Houses, and then killing themselves. So that the Flames prevented the Pillage of a City, which was the last that had surrendered to the victorious Party. And it was, in this time of appearing <sup>32</sup> Tranquillity, that *Cicero* first pleaded in a publick Cause. His Eloquence made a great Impression on a very numerous Audience, to whom he appeared to be a compleat Orator, at twenty six Years of Age. The accused whom he defended, was charged with Parricide. One of *Sylla's* Favourites carried on the Prosecution against him under-hand. This *Freed-man* had already possessed himself of the Father's <sup>33</sup> Estate, and now wanted to deprive the Son of his Life by a most unjust Accusation. *Cicero* was sensible, that it was a dangerous Thing, to plead for a Man who was persecuted by all the *Dictator's* Faction. But he had Courage enough to speak for the defenceless, and was not very cautious in his Reflections on a Government which made *Rome* tremble. And therefore he thought it necessary to leave his Country, after he had given this publick

he would have been among the proscribed, if some Friends to the *Julian* Family, had not out of Interest or Inclination, made use of all their Credit with *Sylla* to suspend the Decree of Proscription. They all intreated him to excuse the Sallies of a warm and presumptuous Youth. To whom *Sylla* answered; *You are very short-sighted, if you don't discover several Marius's in this young Man. May the Gods grant, that you may never have the Mortification to be Witnesses of his Attempts against the Nobility!* When *Cæsar* heard this, he immediately resolved to retreat. He rambled, some Time, in the Country of the *Sabines*, without any fixed abode, that he might the more effectually escape the Search of his Enemies, who pursued him with great Fury. And being frequently obliged to take sudden Journeys, almost always in the Night, he at last had the Misfortune to be surprized by a Brigade of *Sylla's* Guards. But *Cornelius* their Captain, consented to let him go, upon his paying two *Talents*, that is, 2000 *French Crowns*, which was done upon the Spot. However, this plainly shewed *Cæsar*, that he would be in perpetual Danger, as long as he continued in *Italy*; and therefore, to be out of the *Dictator's* reach, he sought a safer Retreat, in the Court of *Nicomedes*, King of *Bithynia*. There he waited till the Death of *Sylla*, which gave him an Opportunity to discover the vast Designs he had formed for aggrandizing himself. And, if we are to give Credit to the defamatory *Chronicon*, *Cæsar's* Residence here proved fatal to his Modesty, and the private Hours he spent with this Prince, raised Suspicions not to his Honour. But *Suetonius* says nothing of *Cæsar's* Flight.

On the contrary, he affirms, That *Sylla*, at the Instigation of the *Vestals*, and *Marcus Æmilius*, and *Aurelius Cotta*, granted him his Pardon.

§. XIX. *Cæsar* then first made a Campaign in *Asia* under *Marcus Minucius Thermus*, the *Prætor*. *Suetonius* says, That this General sent him into *Bithynia*, and gave him the Command of the Fleet *Nicomedes* had fitted out, to assist at the Siege of *Mitylene*. *Cæsar* distinguished himself by his Valour at the taking

that City, and merited the *Civic Crown* which *Thermus* ordered to be given him. We have observed, in the second Volume, that the Generals ordered this glorious Reward to those who had saved the Lives of any *Citizen*, by killing the Enemy, who was ready to dispatch him.

<sup>30</sup> This was the only City in *Asia*, that had refused to submit to the *Roman* Dominion, after the Treaty of Peace concluded between *Mithridates* and *Sylla*. *Minucius* made himself Master of it, and razed it, by way of Punishment for its Revolt. See above, p. 98. Note 68.

<sup>31</sup> *Volaterræ*, an ancient City of *Hetruria*, was become the Refuge of most of those who had been proscribed by *Sylla*. It was then, by its Situation, one of the strongest Places in *Italy*; and being defended by four *Legions*, it had withstood all the *Dictator's* Forces, for two Years. The Remains of *Volaterræ* are still to be traced in *Volterra*, a City of *Tuscany*.

<sup>32</sup> The Fury of the Proscriptions was not yet so far abated, but that several still severely felt the Effects of them. A *Citizen* of *Rome*, named *Mutilus*, who was pursued by *Sylla's* Agents, fled to his own House, for Refuge; and *Bastia*, his own Wife, had the Barbarity to refuse him entrance, under Pretence that she durst not harbour a proscribed Person. Upon which, the unfortunate Man being driven to Despair, stabbed himself, with his own Sword, and fell down dead in the Fury's Sight.

<sup>33</sup> The Father of *Roscus* had been proscribed, and killed by *Sylla's* Orders; and the *Dictator* had assigned to *Chrysogonus*, for the Sum of 2000\* *Drachmæ*, that is 1000 *Liures*, all the Effects of the deceased, which were valued at least at 250\* *Talents*, which make 250000 *French Crowns*. The Orator described this most crying Injustice, in the most lively Colours; and by the Power of his Eloquence forced the Judges to give Sentence in favour of an unfortunate Son, who was deprived of the Inheritance of his Father, and forced to defend his Life, against the unjust Attacks of an Usurper.

Proof



Proof both of his fine Genius, and Intrepidity. He retired to *Athens*, where he perfected his Talents for Oratory, and improved his Taste for Philosophy, and Politicks.

§. XIX. And now, amidst all *Sylla's* good Fortune, the Burden of publick Affairs began to be too heavy for him. As soon as his *Consulate* was ended, the People came in Crowds to intreat him to accept of the same Office for the next Year; but he was displeased with it. It seems, he had accepted it the last Year, only in order to complete the Pacification of *Italy*, by the taking of *Nola*, and *Volaterræ*; whereas now all was quiet. Indeed, the Order he had re-established at Home and Abroad, might justly have been deemed a masterly Piece of Conduct, if he had not been obliged to shed so much Blood, in the Execution of it. But whatever Charm sovereign Power may have, especially in a State where it cannot but be odious, it satiates in the End. The first Proof *Sylla* gave of his being weary of it, was his Refusal of a third *Consulship*. He nominated *P. Servilius Vatia*, a Man of Merit and his old Friend, and *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, to be the new *Consuls*, and the People conferred the *Fasces* on them in a legal manner, in *The Field of Mars*. So that *Sylla* was now only *Dictator*; and he had Thoughts of easing himself of that Weight. Business began to languish in his Hands, and Pleasure was almost his whole Employment.

The *Consuls* took each his Province as usual; *Servilius* had *Sicily*, and was to make War with the Pyrates; *App. Claudius* went to govern *Macedon*. And *Metellus* the late *Consul* went with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, to *Spain*. This was the only Corner of the World, where the Faction of *Marius* and *Cinna* was still kept alive, by the Valour and Intrigues of *Sertorius*. But we shall at present postpone our Relation of them, as also that of the Wars of *Mitbridates*, which had been renewed in the East, till we have first finished *Sylla's* Story. All we shall here observe of them is, that the King of *Pontus* very artfully took the Opportunity of *Sylla's Dictatorship*, to get the Peace he had made with him ratified. We have above observed, that before *Sylla* left *Asia*, he had settled certain Articles with *Mitbridates* which were not signed. The two Generals who treated sword in hand, thought their Words sufficient, and little concerned themselves, about passing their Agreement in Form of Law. But afterwards the *Asiatick* King wanted better Security. He sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to have the Treaty judicially confirmed; which indeed Justice required. But *Ariobarzanes* complained, by his Ambassadors, of *Mitbridates's* Breach<sup>34</sup> of Faith, in still keeping from him a Part of his Dominions. Nevertheless the Matter was at last amicably accommodated by *Sylla*. So that the Peace the *Dictator* had concluded with *Mitbridates*, was, for the present, patched up, rather than established, by the Senate and People. However, upon these weak Assurances, *Mitbridates* restored the Cities and Provinces he had detained; and this imperfect Act of Pacification was the *Dictator's* last Work. His Heart was now wholly bent on Retirement and Repose.

§. XX. Had he consulted Ambition or Policy, there were very many Reasons that might have diverted him from abdicating the *Dictatorship*. Men's other Passions usually leave them in old Age, but the Desire of Power generally increases with it. The *Roman People* had set no Limits to his Power, in point of Time; and *Rome* was now accustomed to bear the Yoke. There were no domestick Troubles to oblige him to quit the Helm; and he had a Son, whom he might have hoped to have settled in the same supreme Station. His Friends, who were as much interested as himself in his Preservation, were a sufficient Security to him against the Attempts of the old zealous Republicans; whereas so many Dangers must surround him in a private Life, that he could never reasonably expect to be safe. But none of these Considerations had weight with him. And therefore, his venturing to put himself upon a Level with the rest of the People, after he had destroyed above 100000 *Roman Citizens*, taken away the Lives of 90 Senators, proscribed or cut the Throats of near 2600 *Knights*, and buried Multitudes of the *Allies* in the Ruins of their *Municipia* and *Colonies*, must doubtless have proceeded from a Greatness of Mind, to which none of the Historians have done Justice. Indeed *Julius Cæsar*, who was afterwards raised to the same Dignity, said of it, *That Sylla was very ignorant*. But if we will judge rightly of it, we must not

*Plut. in Sylla.*  
*App. Bell. Civ.*  
*L. I.*  
*Or. of. L. 5.*

*Epit. Liv. L.*  
*89. c. 39.*

<sup>34</sup> Tho' *Mitbridates* had given *Ariobarzanes* one of his Sons, of only four Years of Age, to guaranty his Performance of the Peace concluded between them; the perfidious Monarch still kept the Places in *Cappadocia* which he had promised to restore.



Year of ROME DCLXXIV. *Year of blindly follow the Sentiments of an ambitious Man, whose own Usurpation cost him dear. If we form our Judgment impartially on the Principles of Reason; what could a Man of the most refined Virtue have done more, than restore his Country to her ancient Liberty, re-establish the Republick in her old Form, after he had revived and enforced the Laws, and then offer so much Violence to himself, as to lay down his Power, as soon as it was no longer necessary for the publick Good? Could the warmest Patriot have shewn a more generous Regard for his Country? But the Hatred which his numberless Cruelties drew upon him, has induced the Historians to suppress these Reflections, tho' just, because so much to the Honour of his Memory. They have only shewn us his Tyranny, and drawn a Veil over his Heroism.*

L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, Dictator.  
P. SERVILIUS VATTIA, & APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, Consuls.

When he was come to a final Resolution in himself, he, without communicating it to his Friends, assembled the People, mounted the *Rostra*, and surprized Rome with so unexpected an Incident. He represented in a short Speech, the miserable Condition in which he had found the Republick at his Return from *Asia*; and added, *That the Danger being extreme, he had been forced to make use of violent Remedies. Ever since the Tribuneship of the Gracchi, said he, the People have all been running mad with Sedition. The Contagion began in the City, and spread into the Provinces. It was so epidemical, that all Orders of Men were infected with it; and in such a Case, the Loss of a little Blood only, would have increased the Distemper, instead of curing it. I therefore ventured, even to exhaust a little so robust a Body, in order to restore it to perfect Health. And now, Romans, I will leave you to your selves, to enjoy that happy Recovery, which I have procured for you. I resign my Office, and am ready to give an Account of all my Administration; to justify every Particular, even those of the Proscriptions; and to answer in a private Capacity, to all the Accusations that shall be brought against me.*

Year of ROME DCLXXIV. *This said, he dismissed his Lictors, came down from The Tribune, and walked a great while in the Forum. The Romans were so struck with this generous Act, that none of them dared to insult him. Tho' the City was full of the Children of proscribed Persons, and many of the proscribed themselves were there, who after the first Heat of the Massacres, were suffered to appear in Rome with Impunity; yet of all these Malecontents, there was only one Child that shewed any Resentment against the deposed Dictator. He pursued him with great Clamours to his House; but Sylla said to the few Friends he had about him, The Child is mad! If ever any other Person should be advanced to so high a pitch as I have been, he will not lay down his Power, for fear of such Insults. Then, in order to withdraw from the first Clamours of the Romans, he retired to his fine Country-House, near *Cumæ*; there spent some Days, in more Tranquillity than he could have done at Rome, in the innocent Diversions of Fishing and Hunting; and as soon as the fine Season was over, returned to the City, that his Enemies might not have occasion to say, that fear confined him to a Desert. When he was at Rome, tho' in no magisterial Office, he maintained the Rank of a Man of the first Distinction, both in the Army, and the State. But he no farther intermeddled in publick Affairs, than became a private Person, whose great Employments and powerful Friends gave him more Weight, than a common Citizen; and the only Mortification he had, was to see Pompey his Pupil, and if I may so speak his Creature, assume an Ascendant over him to his Disadvantage.*

P. SERVILIUS VATTIA, & APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER, Consuls.

§. XXI. Pompey, tho' scarce twenty nine Years of Age, already assumed as much Pre-eminence and Distinction in publick, as Sylla had acquired, after many Years, and important Services. But the young Roman chose to pursue more gentle Methods than the old Dictator had done. The latter had carried all before him by Force; the former was for procuring the same End, by Insinuation and Address. This appeared at the first Election of the great Magistrates after Sylla's Renunciation. Each of these illustrious Romans presented to the People his Friend to be the first Consul, who were of very different Characters. Pompey recommended one M. Æmilius Lepidus, who was passionate, and violent, and a very proper Person to revive the old Seditions. Sylla, whose long Experience had taught him to know Men, solicited for Q. Lutatius Catulus, a Man venerable for his Wisdom, and great Probity. The Emulation was greater between the Chiefs of the two Parties, than between the Candidates themselves;

<sup>35</sup> He was the Son of the famous Catulus the Conqueror of the Cimbri, who had been one of the Victims that had fallen a Sacrifice to the Fury of Marius.



and *Pompey* prevailed. His Friend *Lepidus* was first nominated *Consul*, and *Catulus* only second. Not that there was any difference between the Officers; but each Rival piqued himself on getting the better of all others, and having his Friend first chosen. *Pompey* triumphed at his Victory, even in *Sylla's* Presence; and the old *Dictator* replied, *Young Man, You have made an indiscreet Choice. I wish, that neither you, nor the Republick, may ever repent of it!* But the Event soon verified the Prediction.

In the mean time, *M. Æmilius Lepidus* and *Q. Lutatius Catulus* entered upon their Office, on the *Calends of January*; and the Republick was now governed as formerly, by *Consuls* only, and free from any absolute Authority. The two Heads drew Lots for their Provinces; and *Italy* fell to *Catulus*, and *Transalpine Gaul* to *Lepidus*. But as nothing required the speedy Departure of the latter for his Province, he continued a great while in *Italy*; and there discovered that turbulent and restless Spirit, which *Sylla* had foretold, and which *Pompey* had not sufficiently known. As for *Sylla*, he was probably intent only, on withdrawing from the Storms, which the Misunderstandings between the two *Consuls* plainly foretold, and which threatened the Capital. He retired again to the Country-House he had built between *Cumæ* and *Puteoli*; and there his youthful Passions revived, and he gave himself up to the most infamous Debauchery, tho' full sixty Years of Age. The Charms of his Wife *Valeria* could not keep him from a scandalous Commerce with Actresses, and Female Musicians. The Pleasures of a splendid Table no longer affected him. He chose to spend his Days and Nights in drinking, on a Straw-Bed, as if he had been in a Guard-Room with 36 vile Fellows, who had nothing to recommend them, but their Love of Debauchery, and the Jest they had stolen from the Stage. These Excesses soon brought a Distemper upon him, which he carried about him a great while, before he knew it. His Blood was corrupted, and bred an Impostume in his Bowels. The Corruption within infected his Flesh, and all his Body swarmed with Vermin. The more they were picked off from him, the more they increased; and even the Water of the Baths which he used, was full of them. And now, finding his End approaching, and having his Understanding still entire, he finished his *Memoirs* of his own Life, wherein he declared, That the *Chaldean* Astrologers had foretold, that he should not long survive his Advancement to the supreme Dignity in his Republick. We have now no Remains left of these *Memoirs*, except the Fragments which Authors have quoted. However, his Dreams now became very troublesome to him; and he, one Night, imagined, that he saw the *Shade* of his eldest Son, who had been dead some Months, inviting him to come to the Infernal Regions, to him and his Mother *Metella*.

§. XXII. Tho' the Impostume he had within him, was almost ripe, he still engaged in such publick Business as lay within his reach. Ten Days before his Death he appeased a Sedition in *Puteoli*, mediated between the Parties, first re-established Tranquillity among them, and then confirmed it by wise Laws; and lastly, gave them a Form of Government which they adopted. Nevertheless *Granius*, the chief Magistrate of *Puteoli*, had not paid the Taxes which had been laid on all the Cities, towards repairing the *Capitol*; designing to postpone it, till *Sylla's* Death, and thereby to evade it. *Sylla* was provoked at the Insolence of a Man who founded his Hopes on his approaching Death, and he sent for *Granius* into his Bed-Chamber, and with great Clamour and violent Gesticulations, ordered him to be strangled before his Face. His Vehemence in the Heat of his Passion broke the Impostume; he threw up great Quantities of black and corrupted Blood; and at Night, his Pain carried him off. What other Fate could this sanguinary Man expect, than to die weltring in Blood? It was indeed a just Punishment of Heaven, on a Man, whose violent Passions had robbed him even of the Principles of Humanity. Tho' after all, if we take away his insatiable Thirst of shedding Blood, either to aggrandize himself, or re-establish Order in his Republick; in all other Particulars, his Glory will equal, if not excel, that of the most illustrious Heroes of *Rome*. He was a prudent and intrepid Warrior, moderate in his Counsels, steady to his Religion, extremely artful in ingratiating himself with the People, very industrious in debauching the Enemy's Men, knowing in the Art of encamping and forming Troops in a proper manner, according to the Circumstances of Time and Place, as faithful to his Promises as terrible in his Threatnings,

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXV.  
M. ÆMILI-  
US LEPIDUS,  
& Q. LUTA-  
TIUS CATU-  
LUS, Consuls.

Plut. in Sylla.

Epit. Liv. L.  
90. c. 4.

36 *Plutarch* says, That *Roscus* the Actor, *Sorix* the chief Mimick, and *Metrobius*, who acted the Parts of Women on the Stage, were his chief Confidants.



Year of and in short, both a great Soldier, and a great Statesman. But his Cruelty eclipsed and  
 ROME blemished all his Talents; and as to his Debaucheries, they were his Resource towards  
 DCLXXV. the end of Life, to stifle his Remorses.

M. ÆMILI-  
 US LEPIDUS,  
 & Q. LUTA-  
 TIUS CATU-  
 LUS, Consuls.

His Funeral raised a kind of Division in the Republick. The Consul *Lepidus* was for having him carried to the Burial-place of his Ancestors, without any Mark of Distinction. But *Catulus* made use of the Authority his Office gave him, and *Pompey* of the Interest he had with the People, to prevail on them, to pay the deceased all the Funeral-Honours that were due to his Merit: And the latter prevailed. So true is it, that the Services he did his Republick, got the better even of the Discontents, which his Proscriptions had raised!

App. Bell. Civ.  
 L. 1.

On the Day appointed, his funeral Procession was made with all the Magnificence of the finest *Triumph*. His Corpse laid on a Litter plated over with Gold, was attended by a large Body of Horse, and a vast Multitude of old Soldiers, who came to assist at the Obsequies of their General. Many Trumpets filled the Air with mournful Sounds; and the same *Lictors* which the Dictator had had in his Service when alive, preceded his Body armed with their Axes and *Fasces*. This Procession was made from *Cumæ* to *Rome*; and when it came to the Capital, its Magnificence increased. The 2000 Gold Crowns, which the Conqueror had received from the Cities he had taken by Assault, or saved from being plundered, and from the *Legions* which he had led to Conquest, were carried through the City, before the Bier, and the *Pontifices* and *Vestals* followed it in great Order. After them came the Senate and all the *Curule* Magistrates; and in the last Place, the *Roman Knights*, and a numerous Train of Officers, who had acquired Glory under the Standards of the deceased. Great Acclamations in favour of the Dead, were distinctly repeated, first by the Senators, then by the *Knights*, and after them by the whole Multitude. Praises which were the more sincere, as they could not now be extorted by Fear. In this manner the Body was carried to *The Comitium*. There it was placed on an high Couch, in State; and the most eloquent Orator of the Age, in the Room of *Faustus, Sylla's* Son, who was not old enough to appear on the *Rostra*, spake a funeral Oration over it, in Honour to *Sylla*. This done, the Corpse was again placed on a Bier, and carried on the Shoulders of four Senators, to *The Field of Mars*, where no Funeral-pile had ever yet been raised, except for the Obsequies of the first Kings of *Rome*. But this was now done for *Sylla*; and when the *Roman Knights*, and the rest of the Soldiery, had made their Evolutions round the Pile, Fire was set to it, and the Body burnt. I say burnt, because *Sylla* was the only one of the *Patrician* Branch of the *Cornelii*, that was not buried, according to the Privilege of his Family. It was feared, that his Bones, like those of *Marius*, might be dug up, and thrown into the *Anio*. It was observed, that even the Heavens seemed to favour the Honours of the deceased. It was very cloudy the whole Day, and as soon as the Ceremony was over it began to rain; which made the People say, That *Sylla's* good Fortune attended him even after he was dead. But after all, what real Happiness could a Tyrant enjoy, who had oppressed his Republick, and had Reason to be in continual Fears, that some Avenger or other would start up, and revenge the Cause of his injured Country? Tho' happy in the Eyes of the Vulgar, he was in reality more miserable than those, whose Estates he had sold for his own Use. In the midst of all his Power, he carried a Tormentor in his own Breast; which he could never stifle, even when drunk with Pleasures.

§. XXIII. Immediately after his Ashes were deposited in the stately Tomb prepared for them, the *Marian* Faction began to revive. Notwithstanding the Persecution it had suffered, there was still a Leaven of it remaining, which fermented again, and caused the Ruin of the Republick. *Æmilius Lepidus* the Consul, tho' an utter Enemy to the Dictator, had escaped the Proscription; and *Pompey*, to the great Misfortune of the Publick, had raised him to the Consulate. He was a Villain, who, when *Prætor* of *Sicily*, had oppressed his Province with enormous Exactions; and the *Metelli* who accused him for it, had desisted from the Prosecution, for fear of stirring up the People, whose Part he had taken, and whose Protection he had begged. But after all, the Affair only slept, and might be revived; and as he had no Resource, but in the Divisions of the Nobility and the People, *Lepidus* made use of the Advantage his Consulate gave him, to bring them into new Quarrels. He began with attempting to annul *Sylla's* Acts; which would, not only have put the proscribed in Possession of their Estates, but likewise have deprived the Republick of the many wise Laws the Dictator had made,

App. de Bell.  
 Civ. L. 1.



made, to preserve Order in it. It would rob it of its present Peace, and expose it to Year of greater Concussions than it had felt in the most tempestuous Times. *Catulus* therefore *ROME* opposed the Innovations of his Collegue, and broke with him. Upon this, *Lepidus* *DCLXXV.* carried his Rage so far, as to threaten *Catulus*, that he would raise up the *Allies* of *M. ÆMILI-* *Italy* a second Time, and restore them the Lands which the *Gracchi*, the *Marii*, and *US LEPIDUS,* *Cinna*, had given them. The Senate dreaded the Consequences of these Beginnings of *& Q. LUTAT-* Strife, and forced the two Collegues to swear, That they would not carry their Quar- *TIUS CATU-* rel so far as to take up Arms against one another. Care was also taken to separate the *LUS, Consuls,* Rivals, and to make *Lepidus* set out without further delay, for his Province of *Trans-* *alpine Gaul*. But the Incendiary put his own Construction on the Obligation of his Oath. He thought he was bound by it, only during his *Consular* Year; and resolved to make War on his Collegue, as soon as they were out of their present Office, and were at the Head of their Armies, as *Pro-Consuls*. He was fond of this false Maxim, and would not pass the *Alpes* all the Year, but continued in *Hetruria*, making new Levies to enlarge his *Legions*. The Plots of the seditious *Consul* did not escape the Penetration of the Senate; and they would fain have drawn him to *Rome*, under pretence of his presiding at the Election of the new *Consuls*. But he thought this intended Honour a Snare, and obstinately continued in his Camp, sowed Divisions in a great Part of *Italy*, and brought some Cities into his Interest by his Liberalities, and whole Provinces by his Promises.

And now, *Rome* was at length sensible, that she was threatened with a new Civil War, and recollected with Horror all the Miseries, that *Marius* and *Sylla* had brought on this unfortunate Capital, which was thus continually exposed to fresh intestine Calamities. A new Tyrant arose out of the Ashes of the preceding, and one publick Misfortune succeeded another, without Interruption. The wisest Men were therefore for putting rigorously in execution *The Plautian Law*; and for adding such Clauses to it, as would make it more formidable: And it was published in these Words. *All Men are forbidden to take up Arms, or enter into any Conspiracy, against the Republick. The Judgment of all Causes concerning Rebellions, shall belong to the Prætor, who may hear them, and pronounce Sentence against the guilty, even on Festivals.* But what Regard is paid to the best of Laws by the audacious and the violent? *Lepidus* had already forgotten his Oath; and after he had refused to come to *Rome* to the Elections, drew near it at the Head of his *Consular* Army, in order to procure himself a second *Consulate* by Force, if he could not succeed without it. This was following the Steps of *Cinna* and *Papirius Carbo*; and then the Senate thought it necessary to oppose such Force and Temerity, with Force. But the Misfortune was, that *Catulus* was no Sol- *Cicero pro Sex-* *tio.* dier. *Rome* had few *Citizens* of more approved Virtue, greater Capacities for Business, or more Intrepidity in Council; but all great Talents do not center in one Man. For want of a *Consul* therefore, *Pompey* offered his Service to defend the Senate. Tho' a Friend to *Lepidus* he was more so to his Country. He had taken a false Step, in raising this pernicious *Citizen* to the *Consulate*, contrary to *Sylla's* Opinion; and he made amends for it, by destroying the Idol which he had set up.

*Lepidus* had already brought his *Legions* near *Rome*, and expected to have led them into the City without Opposition, in regard to his Dignity, and the *Fasces* that attended him. But to his great Surprise, he saw his Collegue and *Pompey* both under Arms; one posted at the Entrance of the Bridge *Milvius*, the other drawn up in Battalia, at the Foot of the *Janiculus*. However, the seditious *Consul* without much Deliberation, began an attack; the *Campus Martius* was the Field of Battle, where the two *Consuls* fought, in sight of the *Romans*, who ran to the Ramparts to see the Action; and *Catulus* was too well seconded to be defeated. *Pompey* put the Army of *Lepidus* into Disorder, upon the first Onset, and forced him to return to *Hetruria* faster than he came from it.

§. XXIV. Nevertheless, one single Victory was not sufficient to destroy the Schemes of an almost general Conspiracy, which the seditious *Consul* had formed in *Italy*. *Lepidus* had for one of his Lieutenant Generals, one *Marcus Junius Brutus*, the Father of the famous *Brutus*, who murdered *Julius Cæsar*. This *Brutus*, who had embark- *Plut. in Pomp.* ed in this bad Cause, commanded a great Detachment of *Lepidus's* Army in *Cisalpine Gaul*, and was there making a dangerous Progress. Against him therefore *Pompey* turned his Arms, after he had put the *Consul* to flight. *Brutus* wanted neither Courage, nor



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nor Experience in War. He shut himself up in *Mutina* <sup>37</sup>, and took great Care not to expose his Men, which were the only Resource *Lepidus* had left, to the Hazards of a Battle. *Pompey* besieged the Place; and after some Time, *Brutus* voluntarily surrendered up his whole Army at Discretion; which seems to have lessened the Severity of his Punishment. *Pompey*, at present, only sent him as a Prisoner of War, to a little City on the Banks of *The Po*; tho' he afterwards put in practise against him, the Instructions he had learnt from *Sylla*. He considered, that a Man who had once rebelled against his Country, would be always a bad Subject; and therefore beheaded the unfortunate *Brutus*, without regarding the Hatred that so odious an execution might bring upon him.

Whilst *Pompey* was busy before *Mutina*, *Lepidus*, with fresh Assurance, came, and once more approached *Rome*. To the great Surprise of the Inhabitants, he appeared at the Foot of the Wall, and demanded a second *Consulate*. The Elections had been suspended, tho' the *Consular* Year was expired; the Times being such, as would not admit of the People's assembling in *The Field of Mars*. This Alarm from *Lepidus* made the *Conscript Fathers* the more active; and they assembled, and at the Motion of *Q. Philippus* came to these two Resolutions. 1. That the Republick was fallen into an *Interregnum*, and that *App. Claudius* should be President, and take Care of the Government. - 2. That the President in the *Interregnum*, and *Catulus* then declared *Pro-Consul*, should provide for the publick Safety. Upon this, *Catulus* immediately took Arms, and was preparing to drive *Lepidus* farther off; when Letters came from *Pompey* which were more effectual than all the Efforts of *Catulus*. He wrote the Senate Word, that *Mutina* was taken, and *Brutus* dead; and as *Pompey's* Victories all fell on *Lepidus* in the end, the Senate declared him an Enemy to the Republick, and drove him a second time into *Hetruria*.

Year of §. XXV. Then the Republick was in more Tranquillity, and the great Elections  
R O M E were made with Freedom. The President of the *Interregnum* presided at them, and  
DCLXXVI. *D. Junius Brutus* surnamed *Lepidus*, was chosen, with *Mamercus Æmilius*, surnamed  
D. JUNIUS *Livianus*. The latter found some difficulty in his Election, because he was suspected  
BRUTUS LE- of Avarice. He had declined being *Ædile*, to avoid the Expence of the publick Games.  
PIDUS, & Their Administration was distinguished by some considerable Events, which shall be  
MAM. ÆMI- related hereafter. But we must not lose sight of the Rebel *Æmilius Lepidus*; till we  
LIUS LIVIA- have seen him suffer such a Punishment, as his Fury and Rebellion deserved.  
NUS, Consuls.

After he had been beaten a second Time, and received the Mortification of failing of the *Consulate*, he resolved to leave *Italy*. With this View he drew near the Sea, and encamped under *Cosa* <sup>38</sup>, a maritime City of *Hetruria*. *Catulus* followed him thither; there fought a third Battle with him, in which also he was worsted; and then came *Pompey*, and gave him the finishing Stroke. After all these Losses, he embarked himself and his Troops; and was more concerned at the Loss of *Apuleia* his Wife whom he tenderly loved, than at that of his Country. He appeared off *Sardinia*, where the *Prætor* received him as a seditious Man, whose Misfortunes rather than his Rebellion had made him contemptible; and the Fugitive coasted round the Island, and had great difficulty to find a Spot of Land where he could get ashore. There, being worn out with Labour, after the Fatigues of the Sea, and devoured with Vexation, he fell into a languishing State, which it was feared, would affect his Life. But it was not despaired of, till he received a Letter, which put an end to his Misfortunes. It informed him, that his Wife, who had been suspected of Gallantries, had broke through all the Bounds of Modesty. This raised so furious a Contest between Love and Hatred in the Breast of the injured Husband, that he sunk under it. He died in a Fit of Rage, more affected by the Infamy that dishonoured his Family, than the Troubles he had raised in the Republick. Thus ended the War of *Lepidus*, which was one of the Consequences of the Commotions of *Marius* and *Cinna*; and *Catulus* and *Pompey* had all the Honour of having saved *Rome* from the new Misfortunes that threatened her.

§. XXVI. But to return to those Commotions in *Asia* and *Spain*, which we postponed till after the Death of *Sylla*. The East and West were both disturbed, in this *Consulate*; one with the Wars the *Romans* carried on against foreign Kings; the other with the Continuance of those intestine Seditions, which had passed from *Italy* into

<sup>27</sup> Now *Modena*, a famous City between the *Po* and the *Apennines*.

<sup>38</sup> See Vol. 2. p. 489. Note 36.



*Spain.* *Mithridates* had raised new Forces, and began to get the ascendant. *Serto-* Year of  
*rius*, to the great Misfortune of the Republick, still kept up the Party, which *Sylla* *ROME*  
had not been able to extinguish, with the Blood of the great Numbers he had pro- *DCLXXVI.*  
scribed. And we will now look back, and take a View, of the Progress they made, *D. JUNIUS*  
during the domestick Troubles in *Italy*, which we have related. It may be just Matter *BRUTUS LE-*  
of Admiration, how *Rome* could still maintain her ground and triumph, though at- *PIDUS, &*  
tacked at the same Time by her own Children, and the most formidable Power in the *MAM. ÆMI-*  
*Levant.* And after all, the two ever-contending Factions of the *Patricians* and *Ple-* *LIVIA-*  
*beians* were like an Ulcer in her own Bowels, which we shall see end at last, in *NUS, Consuls.*  
changing the Republick into a Monarchy.

As soon as *Sylla* had left the East which he thought pacified, a new Storm began *App. in Mi-*  
to arise. He left *L. Licinius Murena* to govern *The Asiatick Province*, in quality of *thridat.*  
*Prætor*; and *Murena* suffered himself to be hurried away with the desire of a *Triumph*; *Plut. in Sylla.*  
a Passion not uncommon among the *Roman* Generals. As he was at the Head of a  
considerable Army, *Sylla* having left him two *Legions*, and it being in his Power upon  
the first Signal, to assemble a great Body of *Asiatick* Troops, he thought himself strong  
enough, to renew the War with *Mithridates*. Indeed the King of *Pontus* had made  
Peace with *Rome*, and the *Roman* Senate and People had sent *Murena* no Commission  
to renew Hostilities. But Affairs were so embroiled in *Italy*, that he made no Diffi-  
culty of making himself the sole Arbiter of his Conduct. *Mithridates*, on the other  
hand, depended on the Alliance he had made with *Rome*, and had no Thoughts of  
breaking it. He was returned home, and wholly intent on bringing back to their Duty  
the Cities near the <sup>39</sup> *Bosphorus*, and the People of <sup>40</sup> *Colchis*, who had withdrawn them-  
selves from his Dominion whilst he was making War with *Sylla*. The *Colchians* first  
offered to submit, and upon Terms which they could not but think agreeable to the  
King. He had a Son of his own Name, who had given Proof of his Valour against  
*Fimbria*, and seemed worthy to reign; and they demanded him of his Father, to place  
him on the Throne of *Colchis*, refusing to acknowledge the Sovereignty of the King of  
*Pontus*, otherwise than in this his other self. But, though other Princes have been pleased  
with conquering in order to give Sceptres to their Children; *Mithridates* was enraged,  
that his rebellious Subjects should presume to divide his Empire before his Death; and  
he punished his Child, for the Good-will they had shewn to him. The young Prince  
was arrested by the King's Order, loaded with Chains of Gold, and sacrificed to the  
Suspensions and Ambition of his own Father.

But tho' the Murder of the Prince was a very odious Act, *Murena* did not think this  
a sufficient Pretence for declaring War with the King of *Pontus*. He waited for a more  
favourable Opportunity, which soon offered itself. *Mithridates* prepared a great Ar-  
mament, and raised a great many Troops, in order to reduce *Colchis*, and the Coun-  
tries near the *Bosphorus*, at the same Time; and the *Roman* *Prætor*, who wanted an  
Occasion to quarrel, pretended that his sole Design in these great Preparations was to  
fall on the Provinces of the Republick in *Asia*. Besides, *Ariobarzanes* still complained,  
that *Mithridates* kept some of his Cities from him; and *Archelaus* himself was now  
continually exciting *Murena* to break with the King of *Pontus*. The Fortune of the  
latter had changed at the Court of *Mithridates*. After having been the King's Confi-  
dent, and Commander-General of his Armies, he fell into Disgrace; and to avoid suf-  
fering by the Hand of a Prince, who spared not the Blood of his own Children, he  
was retired with all his Family to *Murena's* Camp. There he was ever prompting the  
*Prætor* to a War, and had no great Difficulty to bring him to resolve on what was  
agreeable to his own Inclinations. In short, the *Roman* entered *Cappadocia*, recon-  
quered the Cities the King had usurped there, and overran *Comania* like a Torrent.  
*Mithridates* at first sent only a few Squadrons to oppose these Incursions; and this  
weak Body being soon cut in pieces, he then had recourse to Complaints, and Repre-  
sentations. His Ambassadors represented to *Murena* himself, the great Injustice of his

39 The *Cimmerian Bosphorus* is here meant; which is now called the *Streights of Caffa*. It is bounded by the *Taurica Chersonesus* to the West, *Sarmatia Asiatia* to the East, the *Palus Mæotis* to the North, and the *Euxine Sea* to the South. The neighbouring Countries composed the Kingdom of *Bosphorus*, the Conquest of which *Mithridates* had projected. See Vol. V.

of the Country of the *Cimmerians*, above, p. 193, Note 71, of this Volume.

40 *Colchis* is the Country so famous in Fable for *Jason's* Expedition, who stole the Golden Fleece. It bordered on the *Palus Mæotis* and *Iberia*; and is now one of the Provinces ascribed to *Mingrelia*. We have spoken of it, in the preceding Volumes.



Year of Infraction of the Peace which *Sylla* had sworn to observe. But the King had chosen *ROME* some perfidious *Greeks* for his Ambassadors, who, far from persuading the *Prætor* to *DCLXXVI.* Peace, encouraged him to War. *Murena* insisted on seeing the Treaty signed by *Sylla*, though he knew it could not be produced, because never put in Writing; the two Generals having been satisfied with their mutual Faith; and *Mithridates* therefore sent a Deputation to *Rome* to *Sylla*, who was then in the height of his Prosperity.

D. JUNIUS  
BRUTUS LE-  
PIDUS, &  
MAM. ÆMI-  
LIUS LIVIA-  
NUS, Consuls.  
App. in Mi-  
thridat.

§. XXVII. The *Roman* Senate seemed willing to do the King Justice, and *Sylla* shewed an Inclination to keep his Honour. A Senator was sent back with the *Asiatic* Ambassadors, with the Orders of the Republick to *Murena*. But the *Prætor* had, as soon as the Spring returned, passed the River <sup>41</sup> *Halys*, and pillaged the finest Provinces of *Mithridates's* Kingdom, without Resistance. He had already penetrated with his Troops, loaded with Spoils, as far as to *Galatia*; when *Callidius* the Envoy from the Senate, signified to him, by Word of Mouth, in the Presence of a great Number of People, a Command not to do any Act of Violence against a King, who was a Friend and Ally of the *Roman* People. Nevertheless, *Callidius* took the *Prætor* aside, and after some private Conversation with him, *Murena* appeared more ardent than ever in continuing the War. But *Mithridates* was not deceived, by Orders publicly given and privately revoked. He suspected Double-dealing in the *Romans*, and resolved to oppose them with all his Forces. And thus much at least he had gained by his late Proceedings, that he had entirely secured himself from the Reproach of being the Author of the Rupture. He made great Marches towards the City of <sup>42</sup> *Gordium*, ravaged all the Country about it, and posted himself near the Enemy, with only a River between them. Then a Battle began with a Skirmish with Darts thrown from each side of the River; in which the *Asiatics* had all the Advantage. This encouraged them to pass the River, and fall upon the *Romans* with all the Vigour that Rage and Numbers could inspire. *Murena* gave way, and in his Retreat, after he had lost a great many Men, posted himself on an Eminence, where he had like to have been surrounded. Then despairing of being able to resist the Enemy in so bad a Post, he immediately marched away, crossed Rocks deemed impassable, and brought his shattered Troops, with which he had been shamefully beaten out of the Field, into *Phrygia*.

Liv. Epit.  
L. 86. c. 18.

Ibid.

Ibid.

*Mithridates* returned the Gods Thanks for this first Victory, after the Manner of his Country. He first carried Wood with his own Hand to the top of a Mountain, there to build a Pile; and then his Soldiers brought more Wood to it, till it was raised to a great height. Round this larger Pyramid, was raised a lower Pile, on which were placed Tables of Wood; and a great Entertainment was served upon them. When the Feast was ended, and great Quantities of Wine, Milk, Honey, and perfumed Liquors, had been poured upon the top of the highest Pile, Fire was set to both, and they, and the Tables, were all consumed. The Fire was so great, that it was seen 130 Miles round; and the Air was so much heated, that no one could come to the Place for several Days after it. This Ceremony had been brought to *Pontus* from *Persia*, for *Mithridates* came originally from thence <sup>43</sup>.

§. XXVIII. After this Rout of *Murena*, *Mithridates* gained great Advantages, recovered all the Cities the *Romans* had taken from him, and forced *Ariobarzanes* to be content with a small Part of his Kingdom of *Cappadocia*. In short, the News of his Successes was brought to *Rome*, and struck Terror there; and *Sylla* who then reigned, did not think proper to engage his Republick in a new War, in a distant Country. Tho', he had himself left *Murena* in that Command, and had perhaps privately advised him to make this fruitless Attempt, he now sent *Gabinus* to him, to order him in good earnest to put an end to the Troubles, and reconcile *Mithridates* and *Ariobarzanes*; and *Murena* met with more Success in his Negotiation of Peace, than he had done in his military Expedition. He managed the two Kings so artfully, that he prevailed on *Ariobarzanes*, to give up for the present at least, a Part of the Kingdom which had been taken from him, and on *Mithridates* to give his Son, of four Years old, for an Hostage that he would deliver up the rest. Thus was Peace concluded be-

<sup>41</sup> The ancient Geographers mention two Rivers of this Name; one in *Lydia*, which *Herodotus* mentions; the other, which is here meant, rises in *Galatia*, waters several Cities in that Country and *Paphlagonia*, and falls into the *Euxine* Sea. *Gyllius* pretends, That the People of the East, commonly call

the latter *Casliirmar*, or *The red River*.

<sup>42</sup> *Xenophon* places this City in *Great Phrygia*. It has been made known by *The Gordian Knot*, which *Alexander the Great* cut there.

<sup>43</sup> See above; p. 318. Note 53.



tween *Rome* and the two Kings; and *Mithridates* had all the Advantage of this successful Negotiation. He testified his Joy at it, by making a Feast after the *Perſian* Manner, to which *Murena* and *Ariobarzanes* were invited; and *Gabinus* only excuſed himſelf. In order to enliven the Feast, the King of *Pontus* offered Prizes to the greateſt Eaters, and Drinkers, and to thoſe who entertained the Gueſts with the moſt agreeable Buffooneries. Thus ended the ſecond War with *Mithridates*, which did more Honour to him, than to the *Romans*, his Aggreſſors. Nevertheleſs *Murena* had a *Triumph* <sup>44</sup> when he returned to *Rome*; not ſo much for having conquered *Aſia*, as for having ſettled it in Peace.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXVI.  
D. JUNIUS  
BRUTUS LE-  
PIDUS, &  
MAM. ÆMI-  
LIUS LIVIA-  
NUS, Conſuls.  
*Cicero pro lege  
Manilia.*  
*Faſti Capitol.*

Then *Mithridates* took Advantage of the ſhort Reſt the *Romans* gave him, marched againſt the *Aſiatick Scythians*, near *The Cimmerian Boſphorus*, who had withdrawn themſelves from his Obedience, during his Wars with *Sylla*, brought them to their Duty, and the better to ſecure their Fidelity for the future, made *Machares*, one of his Sons, their King. So that he voluntarily did for the *Boſphorans* what he reſuſed to the *Colchians*, who perſiſted in their Revolt; and he in the next place attempted to reduce them. But in order to come into *Colchis*, he muſt croſs a Country poſſeſſed by the *Achæans* (who at their return from the Siege of *Troy*, had been driven thither by a Tempeſt, and there ſettled) and theſe tranſplanted *Greeks* made a very vigorous Reſiſtance. The King's Army was almoſt entirely cut off, partly by Ambuſcades, partly in pitched Battles, and partly by the Rigour of the Cold. Upon this *Mithridates* returned to his Dominions; and ſent Ambaſſadors to *Rome* to get the Peace ratified which he made with her. *Ariobarzanes* likewiſe ſent others, to complain of the King's Delays in reſtoring him his Cities; and *Sylla* gave Judgment in favour of the latter, and all *Cappadocia* was reſtored to him. It may well be imagined, that it was with Reluctance, and in pure Regard to the *Dictator*, that *Mithridates* reſtored a Prey which he had kept ſo long; and therefore when *Sylla* was dead, the Fear of the Republick no longer reſtrained him. He then, in his turn, became the Author of a new War with *Rome*; but with Caution, and in a borrowed Name.

*App. in Mi-  
thridat.*

He underhand ſtirred up *Tigranes*, King of *Armenia*, his Son-in-Law, to march into *Cappadocia*, and ſeize the Dominions of the weak *Ariobarzanes*, who, had it not been for the Protection of the *Romans*, would have been the Sport of his Neighbours. The King of *Armenia* was brave and enterprizing. He appeared in *Cappadocia*, and his Preſence was ſufficient to terrify the new King, and make him ſurrender up his Throne. *Tigranes* ſeated himſelf on it, and then returned into *Armenia*, where he was founding a new City, which he called *Tigranocerta* <sup>45</sup>, on the Banks of the River *Nymphæus* <sup>46</sup>. The Walls were built, and nothing wanting but Inhabitants to people it, and Huſbandmen to cultivate the Lands about it, which bordered on <sup>47</sup> *Aſſyria*. He therefore brought from *Cappadocia*, above 300000 Men, whom he carried into the fartheſt Parts of *Armenia*, and planted in the new City, and its Territory. All theſe Steps were ſo many Attempts againſt the Dominion of *Rome* in the *Levant*; and *Mithridates* was ſuſpected of being at the bottom of them. But this was not a proper Time to break with him. A more formidable Enemy threatened the Republick, nearer Home; which was the brave *Sertorius*, the *Prætor* of *Spain*, whoſe Proceedings ſince his Proſcription and Flight have been poſtponed for this Place.

§. XXIX. Upon the firſt Advantages *Sylla* had gained in *Italy*, *Sertorius* plainly ſaw that his Party was declining; and as the People had juridically appointed him to be *Prætor* in *Spain*, he retired thither, without waiting for the Revolution which threatened *Rome*. This great Officer had it then in his view, to continue the War in his Government, and there ſupport the Faction of *Marius* and *Cinna*, which he foreſaw would be ruined in *Italy*. And at length, notwithstanding the Storms he met with at home, and the Oppoſition the Barbarians made to his Paſſage, he arrived in *Spain*. His Followers were not numerous; but he had entertained Hopes, that as ſoon as he ſhould be ſettled in his Government, all the proſcribed, and all that were diſſatisfied

*Plut. in Serto-  
rio.*

<sup>44</sup> There is a braſs Medal extant which ſeems to allude to *Murena's Triumph*. The Reverse is a winged Victory crowning a Trophy.

<sup>45</sup> *Jovius* conjectures that this City which *Appian* calls *Tigranopetra* ſtood in that Part of *Armenia* where *Sultania* now ſtands. But moſt Authors think its Situation agrees beſt with that of *Biblis*, a ſtrong Place in the ſame Country.

<sup>46</sup> This River riſes in *Meſopotamia*, runs as far as to *Armenia*, and then falls into the *Tygris*. The *Syrians* and *Arabians* call it *Baſilinpha*.

<sup>47</sup> *Aſſyria Propria* now called *Adiabene*, contained that Province of the old *Aſſyrian Empire*, which lies between *Diarbeck* and *Perſia*. *Ninive*, now *Moful*, was formerly its Capital.



Year of with the *Dictator*, would flee to him for Refuge, and increase both his Court, and  
 ROME his Army. And he was not deceived in this Expectation. He, in some time, got so  
 DCLXXVI. many *Romans* of very great Distinction about him, that he formed a Senate of them,  
 whose Authority he set up in Competition with that of the Senate at *Rome*. Then  
 he signalized the beginning of his Administration in *Spain*, with eminent Marks of  
 Beneficence, Good-Nature, and Liberality; and by these Means gained the Hearts of  
 all the People. The *Spaniards* placed great Confidence in a *Prætor*, who was so very  
 different from those who had hitherto governed them. They were charmed with the  
 Disinterestedness of the new General; and his Forces soon became considerable.  
 Besides the *Prætorian* Army of *Romans* which he had received from his Predecessor,  
 all *Spain*, which was either subject, or tributary, or *Allies*, to the *Roman* People, was  
 ready to obey him; and he attached them to the *Plebeian* Party, and drew them on  
 insensibly to take Part in the Divisions of the Republick. Thus was *Spain* most un-  
 fortunately drawn into a Faction, which she was not at all concerned in Interest to  
 embrace, and thereby became the Seat of the Civil War, which Ambition had begun  
 in *Rome*.

D. JUNIUS  
 BRUTUS LE-  
 PIDUS, &  
 MAM. ÆMI-  
 LIUS LIVIA-  
 NUS, Consuls.

Nevertheless the *Prætor* was apprehensive, that his Authority would be opposed,  
 before he had well settled himself in his Government. *Sylla* was then *Dictator*, and  
 it was to be presumed, that he would not suffer a proscribed Person to reign in *Spain*,  
 and rob the Republick of one of the finest Parts of its Dominions. Besides, he had  
 received Information, That the *Dictator* was sending a great Army to *Spain*, under  
*Caius Annius*; whose Arrival would divide the *Spaniards* into two Factions. The *Præ-*  
*tor* therefore sent *Livius Salinator* with a Body of 6000 Men, to guard the *Pyrenees*,  
 and oppose the Passage of *Sylla's* Troops. But *Salinator* carried with him one *Calpur-*  
*nus*, who proved a perfidious Friend. The Traitor assassinated his Commander, took  
 upon himself the Command of the Troops, delivered them up to *Annius*, and brought  
 him into the Heart of *Spain*. Then *Sertorius* was soon destitute of Troops; and *An-*  
*nius* prevailed. The Army of the latter daily increased; and that of the former les-  
 sened. *Sertorius* therefore gave way to the strongest, and retired to <sup>48</sup> *New Carthage*,  
 in order to seek for better Success in another Country. He embarked with his  
 Troops on board a Fleet hastily got together, sailed for *Africa*, and landed on the  
 Coast of the <sup>49</sup> *Maurussians*. These Barbarians fell suddenly on his Men, as they were  
 getting fresh Water, and forced him to put out to Sea again. Such was the beginning  
 of the Distresses, which *Sylla* was so fortunate as to have brought on the most formi-  
 dable Rival that could dispute the Glory of Arms with him.

§. XXX. Then *Sertorius* joined some *Cilician* Pyrates, which were cruising in  
 the *Mediterranean*, and had come as far as to the Coasts of *Africa*, and *Spain*; and  
 prevailed on them to follow him, in hopes of Booty. With this Fleet he attempted  
 to make Descents in several Places, and at last succeeded in the Island of *Pythecusa* <sup>50</sup>.  
 After he had beaten the Garrison *Annius* left there, he enriched himself with their  
 Spoils, and this little Advantage brought *Annius* in Person upon him. He appeared  
 off *Pithecusa*, with a Fleet which had 5000 Soldiers on board; and *Sertorius* with his  
 Squadron of light Barks, accepted of a Battle; in which he suffered less from the En-  
 emy's Arms, than from the Violence of the Winds. A sudden Storm so shattered his  
 slight Vessels, that he was forced to return to the Coast, though with Danger, and  
 there stand the Agitations of a tempestuous Sea for ten Days. As soon as the Storm  
 was over, he passed the *Streights of Gades* with his shattered Fleet, and landed near  
 the Mouth of the *Bætis* <sup>51</sup>. There, being now weary of living in a continual Hurry, and  
 tired out with so many Fatigues, both by Sea and Land, he was wholly intent on pro-  
 curing some Repose. *We are mad*, said he, *to be perpetually pursuing, at the Hazard*  
*of our Lives, a mere Phantom of Glory, which escapes us, the Moment we think our-*  
*selves ready to seize it; when at the same Time, all Parts of the World offer us Retreats*  
*where we may spend our Lives in Peace, and have no Battles to fight but with the Pas-*

<sup>48</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 24. Note 56.

<sup>49</sup> The Antients give the Name of *Maurussi* in-  
 differently, to the People of the three *Mauritania's*,  
 and those of the Kingdom of *Tripoli*. See the pre-  
 ceding Volumes.

<sup>50</sup> *Diodorus Siculus* speaks of three Islands which  
 he calls *Pythecusæ*, near *Africa*. But we must not

confound them with that in the *Tyrrhenean* Sea,  
 which was so called by the *Greeks*, and now bears the  
 Name of *Ischia*.

<sup>51</sup> The *Bætis* is that River of *Andalusia*, to which  
 the *Arabians* gave its present Name, *The Guadal-*  
*quivir*.



*sions that disturb our own Breasts.* And he was confirmed in these Reflections, by the Year of Accounts he heard, of the Happiness of the Inhabitants of the *Atlantick* Islands. Some *ROME* Masters of Barks were lately arrived from thence, and told him wonderful Things of them. *DCLXXVI.*

*In these fortunate <sup>52</sup> Islands, said they, the Earth produces all Sorts of Food without Culture.* *D. JUNIUS*

*Agreeable Breezes temper the Heat of the Climate, throughout the whole Summer Season.* *BRUTUS LE-*

*It never rains there. A sweet Dew makes the Fields fruitful, and covers the Meadows* *PIDUS, &*

*with great variety of Flowers.* This Description charmed *Sertorius*, and induced him *MAM. ÆMI-*

to try to spend his Days in these new *Elysian Fields*. He communicated his Design *LIVIA-*

to the Officers of his Fleet; but the *Cilician* Pyrates whom he had joined, were not *NUS, Consuls.*

inclined to fix in this Seat of Pleasure, to enjoy the Quiet of it. They separated from

*Sertorius* as an idle Man, who only wanted a safe Retreat, and would deprive them of

the Opportunity to enrich themselves. They knew little of the true Character of their

Leader. His present Scheme was only the Effect of a few uneasy Hours. An Hero

of his turbulent Spirit could only entertain feint Desires of a quiet and retired Life.

He immediately carried the Troops and Ships he had left, into the Service of the *Mau-*

*russians*, who wanted to shake off the Dominion of <sup>53</sup> *Ascalis*, their Sovereign. There,

he found an Army of *Romans* under the Command of *Paccianus*, sent by *Sylla*, to

the King's Assistance; and he immediately fell on the *Roman* General, and beat him;

and then turning his Arms against *Ascalis*, forced him to take Refuge in <sup>54</sup> *Tingis*.

After this, being Master of the Field, he subdued the whole Country, settled it in

Peace, and gained nothing by his Conquest more than the Presents which the People

voluntarily made him.

§. XXXI. However, his Reputation soon flew cross the Seas. The *Lusitanians* were

informed of his Success, and sent an Embassy to desire him to come and take upon

him the Command of their Armies, *Annius* and his *Romans* then threatening them

with a new War. This was raising him to the height of his Desires, by putting

him at the Head of a warlike Nation, to act against the *Romans* of the Faction

he opposed. He therefore instantly embarked his 2600 Men, which had followed

him in his Flight, and which, by way of Distinction, he called *his Romans*;

and with them 700 *Africans*, who were resolved to share his Fortune with him; and

set sail in the Night, to avoid fighting at Sea. But happening to fall in with the *Ro-*

*man* Fleet which *Cotta* commanded, he forced his way through the Enemy's Ships,

and at length arrived at the Place of *Rendezvous*, Mount *Ballera*, which the *Lusita-*

*nians* had seized. There he assumed the Batoon, and became in a manner King of

*Lusitania*; and no Man was indeed more worthy to govern a State, or command an

Army. He had no Vices, or scarce Passions. In him, the People had no Reason to

fear Arrogance, or Contempt, or Avarice, or Incontinence, or Luxury, or immoderate

Anger. He was mild in punishing, and liberal in rewarding. And with regard

to War, none of the most famous Generals of Antiquity, not even *Pyrrhus*, or *Philo-*

*pæmenes*, understood better, either how to form a general Plan for a Campaign, or re-

gularly fight a single Battle. He did not confine himself to one uniform Method in

ranging his *Cohorts*, and disposing his Squadrons; but varied it as Circumstances va-

ried, and always considered the Time, and Place, and the Character of his Enemy.

Though he liked the Order of Battle established among the *Romans*, he only used it

when he thought it convenient. He would not servilely adhere to it, on all Occa-

sions, but changed it when he thought proper; and by that Means, often broke the



Year of Measures of the Generals that opposed him. In mountainous Countries, he chose rather to carry on War with Detachments, than submit to the Forms of pitched Battles; and his Master-piece was the Art of harassing the Enemy, laying Ambuscades for them, surprizing them in narrow Passes, and in short, avoiding them in a Body, and fighting them by Piece-meal. In a Word, He was very good at Stratagem, as well as very brave.

D. JUNIUS  
BRUTUS LE-  
PIDUS, &  
MAM. ÆMI-  
LIUS LIVIA-  
NUS, Consuls.

With these Qualifications of Mind and Heart, *Sertorius*, at the Head of a small Army of eight or ten thousand Men at most, undertook to take from the *Romans*, their Provinces which lay next to *Lusitania*; and as soon as he appeared in the Field, every Thing gave way before him, and many Cities surrendered to him, upon the first Summons. *Titus Didius*, the *Roman* Governor of *Bætica*, was the first Champion that appeared to stop the Progress of the new General, and gave him Battle between the Mountains. But that weak General lost 2000 Men, and afterwards appeared no more; and then *Sylla*, who still reigned, thought it necessary not to neglect the new War which one of his proscribed was beginning in *Spain* with such surprizing Success. Knowing the Merit of *Sertorius*, he looked on him as another *Hannibal*; was apprehensive, that he might soon see him pass the *Pyrenees* and *Alpes*, and overrun *Italy* with *Spanish* and *Marusian* Troops, trained to War by himself; and resolved if possible to stop this Torrent in its Beginning. To this end, he pitched on one of the most able, of his Generals, and one of those who were most devoted to him, to oppose the *Lusitanian* Chief, and prevailed on *Metellus* to go to *Spain*. He was an old Officer of great Reputation, but Age had abated his Strength, and his Fire. Nevertheless he obeyed the *Dictator*; and his Character suffered by this Expedition. He entered the *Liffs* with a General in the full Vigour of Life, who harassed him with his new way of fighting. *Metellus* often appeared in the open Field, and bid his Enemy Defiance. All his Knowledge in the military Art consisted in understanding how to give battle in the usual way, draw up his Soldiers fully armed in fine Order, and maintain his Ground. But *Sertorius* chose a different Method. This was, to lay in Ambush on the top of Hills, fall down from thence on a sudden and attack separate Bodies, put them into Disorder, and then instantly disappear. As he well understood how to steal Marches from the Enemy, take Posts from them, and give them no Rest, Day or Night, this was his Employment for a whole Campaign.

§. XXXII. The first Step *Metellus* took, was to send for *L. Domitius*, then *Prætor* in *Hither Spain*, to his Assistance. But *Sertorius*, who was soon informed of the March of *Domitius*, instantly detached *Hirtuleius*, or as others, *Lucius Herculeius*, his *Quæstor*; and the latter fought *Domitius* on the Banks of the <sup>55</sup> *Anas*, and defeated him. The next recourse of *Metellus* was to <sup>56</sup> *Manilius* then *Prætor* in *Narbonne-Gaul*, whom, he informed, That the Army he had and one General, were not sufficient to resist the Enemy he was to contend with, and That his Lieutenant-General *Thorius* had lately been beaten, and desired his Assistance. *Manilius* left *Gaul*, passed the *Pyrenees*, and came to <sup>57</sup> *Ilerda*. Then the *Hirtuleius* before-mentioned marched to meet him, fought a bloody Battle with him, beat and routed him, and forced him to retire to a neighbouring City, after he had lost his Lieutenant-General. These Advantages raised the Fame of *Sertorius*; all who were dissatisfied with *Sylla's* Government, especially such of the proscribed Persons as were able to escape his Fury, fled to *Sertorius's* Camp, from all Parts of the World; and though the *Lusitanians* had honoured him with a sovereign Power, he still remembered that he was a *Roman*, and governed the State committed to his Care, like a Republican. Out of the great Number of illustrious *Roman Citizens*, who had fled to him for Refuge, he chose 300, to whom he gave the Name and Office of Senators; and out of them he chose his *Quæstors*, *Military Tribunes*, and other Officers for his Armies. So that he erected *Lusitania* into a new Republick almost entirely consisting of *Romans*, which set itself in Competition with that of *Rome*, and endeavoured to rival it. Such was the Establishment *Sertorius* made in favour of his Party; and *Sylla* was not able to destroy it, in his Time. He might indeed have sent *Pompey*, who was younger than *Metellus*, to oppose the *Lusitanian*

<sup>55</sup> See Vol. 3. p. 47. Note 109.

<sup>56</sup> *Plutarch* in his *Life of Sertorius*, puts one *Aulus Lollius* instead of *Lucius Manilius*.

<sup>57</sup> Old *Ilerda*, now called *Lerida* by the *Spaniards*, was one of the chief Cities of *The Tarragonian Pro-*

*vince*. It stood in *Catalonia*, on the Banks of the *Segro*, which rises at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, near the Frontiers of *France*, and falls into the *Ebro* near *Ateguinça*, in the Neighbourhood of *Arragon*.



Chief. But he either feared *Pompey*, or out of Jealousy, chose to let him continue unemployed, after his *Triumph*. When *Sylla* was dead, the Republick, in this very Year 676, appointed *Pompey* to go to *Spain*, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*, at the Motion of *Lucius Marcius Philippus*, the Senator. Some who envied him complained, that so great Distinction was shewn to a young Man, before he had passed through the superior Offices; and said, it was too much, to send him to act the Part of a *Consul* in so large a Province. But *Philippus* answered, *That he would perform the Business he went about, better than both the Consuls together*. This was charging *Junius Brutus* and *Mem. Æmilius* with want of Ability; and indeed their Administration was peaceful, but inglorious. *Italy* had not for a long Time enjoyed so much Tranquillity.

§. XXXIII. Learning then flourished at *Rome*, and *Cicero* was returned from *Athens*, much improved. He had there been taught by the *Greeks*, to excel their own *Demosthenes*. Nevertheless, his great Fund of Learning gave him at first little or no weight. He was thought a Man buried in Literature, who was more proper to lie concealed in a Study, than to appear on the publick Stage of Life. But as the Oracle of *Apollo*, which he had consulted at *Delphi* had answered, *That the surest Way for him to obtain the Fortune at which he aspired, was not to govern himself by vulgar Maxims*; he was not at all discouraged by the Opinion the World entertained of him. He undertook the Defence of many accused Persons, and by his Eloquence and his Probity, gained himself both many Friends and many Admirers. Nevertheless he had his Rivals in Oratory. *Hortensius* had for some Time gained the Ascendant in this Art, and *Julius Cæsar*, though but twenty two Years of Age, began to shine at the Bar. After the latter had dedicated his Youth to Arms, and acquired the Reputation of being brave, he turned his Thoughts to Eloquence. He was ambitious; and tried all Ways that could lead him to high Stations. In order to get himself Reputation as an Orator, as well as by the Sword, he accused *Cn. Cornelius Dolabella*, a Man of Distinction, formerly honoured with a <sup>58</sup> *Consulate*, and a *Triumph*; and wanted to have got him condemned, for oppressing his Province of *Macedon*. But *Cæsar* was opposed by *Quintus Hortensius*, and *Gaius Aurelius Cotta*, and the two famous Orators prevailed against him; not so much by the Beauty of their Oratory, as by the Favour of the Judges. *Cæsar* excelled his Rivals, both in the Purity and Elegance of his Stile, and the Solidity of his Reasoning; and it was said of him, that he would have been one of the most excellent Orators of his Age, if he had not been, to the great Misfortune of the Republick, one of her most illustrious Warriors. After this Cause<sup>59</sup>, by which he made himself some Enemies, *Cæsar* left *Rome*, and embarked for *Rhodes*<sup>60</sup>. But his Ship was<sup>61</sup> taken by Pyrates in his Passage; and in this State of Captivity he discovered such extraordinary Courage and Resolution, as surprized the Barbarians, who had him in their Custody. He always treated them with an high Hand, made them subject to his Command, and threatened to have them hanged up, if they disturbed him in his Sleep. He was imperious even in Chains, and scorned to purchase his Liberty at the low Price which the Pyrates set upon it. He paid them double what<sup>62</sup> they asked. In short, he already shewed himself to be not only a great Man, but worthy to conquer the World.

<sup>58</sup> He was made *Consul* with *Marcus Tullius Decula*, in the Year 672, by Order of *Sylla* the Dictator.

<sup>59</sup> *Plutarch* says, That *Cæsar* afterwards accused *Gaius Antonius* of Oppression, at the Tribunal of *Marcus Terentius Varro Lucullus*; and That the accused, when ready to be condemned, appealed from the Authority of the *Prætor*, to that of *The Tribunes of the People*. But this does not agree with *Cicero's* Account. He expressly says, *Orat. in Tog. Candid.* That *Lucullus* was *Prætor* at *Rome* when the Deputies of *Achaia* brought him their Complaints against *Gaius Antonius*; who had in his *Quæstorship*, grievously oppressed the People, with very heavy Exactions. Besides, it is certain, that *Lucullus* was not sent to *Macedon* till after his *Consulate*, which was in the Year 680.

<sup>60</sup> *Cæsar* perfected himself in Eloquence, during his abode in *Rhodes*, in the School of the famous *Apollonius*, one of the greatest Rhetoricians of his Time.

<sup>61</sup> *Plutarch* here contradicts *Suetonius*. He pre-

tends that *Cæsar* was taken by the Pyrates, near the Island of *Pharmacusa*, in his return from *Bithynia*, where he had resided some Time, at the Court of King *Nicomedes*.

<sup>62</sup> They demanded twenty \* *Talents*, or 20000 *French Crowns*. He gave them to understand, that Men of his Consequence did not set so little a Value upon themselves, and promised them \* fifty. Then he sent some of his Domesticks to several neighbouring Cities to raise the Sum agreed on; and the Inhabitants of *Miletum* raised it by a Tax upon themselves. During the forty Days he spent among these Robbers, he chiefly applied himself to the Study of Poetry and Eloquence. He made Verses and Speeches, which he repeated before the Pyrates. But these savage People knew nothing of the Graces of the Mind, or the Beauties or Force of Language; and therefore gave him little or no Attention, unless forced to it. From whence he took Occasion to reproach them with their Ignorance and Barbarity with such an Air of Authority as kept them in Awe.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXVI.  
D. JUNIUS  
BRUTUS LE-  
PIDUS, &  
MAM. ÆMI-  
LIUS LIVIA-  
NUS, Consuls.

l. s. d.  
1937 00 00  
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Sterl.



Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXVII  
CN. OCTAVI-  
US NEPOS, &  
C. SCRIBO-  
NIUS LIBO,  
Consuls.

§. XXXIV. Whilst *Julius Cæsar* was improving his Mind in *Asia*, and *Pompey* crossing *Gaul* in order to make War in *Spain*, the Republick chose for her new *Consuls*, *Cn. Octavius Nepos*, and *C. Scribonius Libo*, who had nothing to do in the Capital, but to defend the Regulations *Sylla* had made, against the Attempts of *The Tribunes of the People*. He had, in his *Dictatorship*, reduced their Power, almost to nothing; but immediately after his Death, their Ambition revived, and was now grown more active. At the Head of this College, which was formerly so powerful, and now so much reduced, was one *Cneius Sicinius*; who, though a Reprobate in Life; found Means to please the Multitude. His chief Talent was Buffoonery; the Art of Mimicking and turning into Ridicule, the most proper Gestures and most serious Discourses of the greatest Orators. And as a Mountebank on *The Tribune of Harangues*, was capable of raising great Disturbances among the People; *Sicinius* summoned the two *Consuls* to appear in the *Comitium*, to give an Account why they deprived the *Tribunes* of their ancient Prerogatives. The *Consuls* appeared accordingly, at the Day appointed, but in a very different Manner. *Octavius* who had a Flux upon him, sat down on the *Rostra*, wrapped up in Linen, and covered with Plaisters, and kept a profound Silence. His Colleague *Curio* spoke, and with all the Dignity of a *Consul*, and all the Force of a great Orator. He shewed, that the late Seditions had all owed their rise to the Licentiousness, in which the *Tribunes* had been indulged; described, in a very affecting Manner, the domestick Broils of *Rome*, down to the Times of the *Marius's* and the *Cinna's*; observed, how much Blood it cost the Republick, to purge herself of those seditious Persons, who were continually involving her afresh in new Misfortunes; and added, *Have we not Wars enough to carry on Abroad, without reviving our Dissentions at Home? What does Sertorius in Spain, but support the Remains of a Faction, which was raised by the Fury of the Tribunes?*

*Pædianus in  
Divinationem.  
Plut. in Crasso.  
Quintil. L. 11.*

*Cic. in Bruto.  
c. 60. Ed. Ver-  
burg.*

Whilst *Curio* was speaking, *Sicinius* had recourse to his usual Mimicries. He imitated his Gestures, and made many wry Faces to divert the Attention of the People; but it was all in vain. Reason prevailed over the Fondness the Populace generally have for Buffooneries; the *Tribunes* continued humbled; and *Curio* had all the Honour of an Action, in which he had Reason to fear ill Success. However, the facetious *Tribune* had indeed the Pleasure of venting his Spleen at the *Consul Octavius*, and said to him, with a Sneer: *You are exceedingly obliged to your Colleague, Octavius: Had he not thrown himself about as usual, the Flies would have eaten you up here.* The *Consul* was offended at the Jest; but *Sicinius* spared Nobody except *Crassus*, whom he never dared to use ill. He said, *He was formidable in himself, formidable for his Riches, and formidable for the great Train that always attended him.* In short, *Sicinius* was so very witty, that before his *Tribuneship* expired, he was assassinated; The Republick delivered from a dangerous Citizen; and *Curio* suspected, of being the Author of his Death. At the same Time, *Cicero* ventured upon a publick Office. He stood for the *Quæstorship*, and obtained it by the Suffrages of the assembled Tribes. He had, according to the Advice of the Oracle, followed his own Genius, and by Eloquence and Learning had now brought himself into the way, of arriving at the highest Stations.

*Plut. in Pomp.  
& in Sertorio.*

§. XXXV. In the mean time, *Pompey* passed the *Pyrenees*, after he had spent the Winter in *Narbonne-Gaul*, and surmounted the Obstacles which some *Gallic Nations* threw in his way. As soon as he appeared on the Frontiers of *Hither Spain*, he made a great Change in the Minds of the People. *Sertorius* had hitherto been the only Idol the *Spaniards* had adored. But *Pompey's* Approach drew off many Cities which were yet wavering, and suspended the Surrender of those, who had been terrified with the Name of *Sertorius*. On the other hand, *Perperna* had carried into *Spain* the Remains of the Army which the late *Lepidus* had commanded in *Sardinia*. *Perperna* was of a noble Family, which was much respected, though not rich; and though he was of the same Party as *Sertorius*, he intended not to receive Orders from one who was his inferior in Birth. He resolved to make War with the Enemies of *Sertorius*, separately and independently; but *Pompey's* Arrival broke all his Measures. In spite of all he could do, the 53 *Cohorts* he had brought from *Sardinia* surrendered to *Sertorius*, and he was forced to act as a Subaltern, under an Officer of a much greater Character than himself. In short, *Sertorius* was not only revered by his Soldiers as an invincible General, but as a Man inspired at least, if not as a God. By an Artifice not much unlike that which his Master *Marius* had used, he procured himself great Veneration from the superstitious *Lusitanians*, as the Favourite and Confident of Heaven.



One *Spanus*, a *Lusitanian*, happened, as he was crossing the Fields, to meet a Doe Year of which had just dropped a female Fawn, took up the Fawn, and brought it to *Sertorius*, *ROME* who encamped in the Neighbourhood. The General accepted the Present with Plea- DCLXXVII. sure; brought up the Fawn in his Tent; made it so tame, that it never left him, even CN-OCTAVI- in the midst of a Battle; and made use of the Fidelity of the Creature to impose on US NEPOS, & the Credulity of his Troops. He made them believe, that *Diana* had sent him this C. SCRIBO- Companion, to reveal to him future Things, and the most secret Designs of the Enemy. NIUS LIBO, He often ascribed to the Inspirations of the Doe, the Intelligence he received from his Confuls. Scouts, and the Informations he had from his Spies; and sometimes marched out of his Camp all on a sudden, at others continued very seasonably in it, without any appearance of Concern. He said, his Doe informed him, sometimes to prevent, and sometimes to avoid the Enemy; and after any good Success he took care to caress her, and crown her with Flowers. By this means he gained so much the Esteem of his Soldiers, that several of them resolved to live and die with him; and protested they would never abandon him living or dead. Such was the Rival in Glory, whom *Pompey* came in quest of, beyond the *Alpes* and the *Pyrenees*; and they were now going to enter the Lists, actuated as much by a Love of Fame, as by the different Interests of the Parties whose Cause they espoused.

§. XXXVI. It must be owned, that when *Pompey* arrived, *Metellus* was cruelly harassed with the continual Attempts *Sertorius* had made upon him. He had lately sent him a Challenge, and invited him to put an End to the War, by a single Combat. *Metellus*, being an old General, declined the Challenge, in his Soldiers Presence; and this had given them a Contempt for him. He therefore resolved to recover the Disgrace by some signal Action; and in hopes of surprizing *Lacobriga*<sup>63</sup>, a considerable City of the *Turduli*, turned his Arms that Way. There being but one Well within the City, he concluded that he could by his Circumvallation, cut off from the Inhabitants the Springs that were in the Suburbs, and expected to have made himself Master of it in two Days. But *Sertorius* soon supplied the Wants of the besieged City. He, at a great Expence, sent the *Lacobrigians* 6000 Skins full of Water, which enabled them to hold out the Siege so long, that at length the Besiegers themselves wanted Provisions; and then *Sertorius* intercepted their Convoys, beat the Guards, and forced *Metellus* to raise the Siege amidst the Shouts of the *Spaniards*.

By these repeated Advantages, and his soft and insinuating Behaviour, *Sertorius* had formed *Lusitania* into a Republick, like that of *Rome*, in order to Rival it. The *Lusitanians* had laid aside their own Habits, and dressed themselves after the *Roman* manner. Their Soldiers were taught the same Discipline as the *Legionaries*, and their Children began to learn the Use of Letters, together with a civilized Behaviour, and all Exercises of Body and Mind. To this end, *Sertorius* had assembled the young Nobility of the Country at *Osca*<sup>64</sup>; provided excellent Masters for them, whom he hired and kept at his own Expence; and their Parents were delighted with a General, who shewed as much Concern for their Children, as the Conduct of their Troops. The *Roman* himself examined these Children who were dressed in *Prætextæ* edged with Purple; would often enquire what Progress they had made; and rewarded those who had succeeded best, with hanging about their Necks, some of those *Bullæ Aureæ*, which were, at *Rome*, the Ornaments and the Distinction of Children of an high Birth. The Politician well knew, that all these young Nobility which were together in one Place, were in effect so many Hostages to him for the Fidelity of their Parents; and in this Situation *Pompey* found him. He had in a few Years banished Barbarism from *Lusitania*, and made it formidable to *Rome* it self. He governed, but did not reign, there; and had now two Armies under his Command; one of *Romans*, which had been brought by *Perperna*; and the other of *Lusitanians*, who had been disciplined by himself, and were not inferior in Valour, to the Conquerors of the World.

*Pompey*, on the other hand, brought with him into *Spain* an high Character, founded on many glorious Exploits; and his very Surname of *The Great*, was a strong Prejudice in his Favour. He was also in the Flower of his Age, at most not above

<sup>63</sup> The ancient *Lacobriga* is thought to have stood, where now stands *Lagos*, a little City of *Spain*, near the Bay of *Cadiz*. It is subject to the King of *Portugal*, and belongs to the Kingdom of *Algarves*.

<sup>64</sup> The City of *Osca*, now *Huesca*, stood in the Country of the *Ilergetæ*, a People of *Tarragonian Spain*. It now belongs to the Kingdom of *Arragon*.



Year of thirty; had been honoured by the Senate with the Title of *Pro-Consul*; was equal in Power to *Metellus*; and his Army and that of *Metellus* were to act separately, and independently. In short, all the Forces of the Roman Republick seemed ready to swallow up those of a weak State, confined within narrow Limits, in the extreme Parts of Spain. But *Sertorius*, who was its Support, was alone sufficient, to keep the Ballance even between Rome and *Lusitania*. This appeared in the first Enterprize *Pompey* undertook. *Lauron*<sup>65</sup>, a considerable City in *Hither Spain*, situated on the Banks of the *Turia*, was besieged by *Sertorius*, who intended to enter the Province that was most devoted to the Republick, that Way; and *Pompey* began the Campaign, by drawing near it, flattering himself that he should be able to raise the Siege, to the Shame of the *Lusitanian* General. But he formed his Judgment of *Sertorius* by the Officers he had fought with in *Italy*, and *Africa*, and did not yet know him. He advanced quite up to the Lines the Besiegers had drawn round the Place; thought to have surrounded the Enemy; and ordered the Garrison of *Lauron* to be told, that he would soon give a good Account of the Besiegers. Whereas *Sertorius*, who knew of these Bravadoes, laughed at them, and said, *This Scholar of Sylla's is young in the Art of War, and does not yet see so far as he ought to do.* In short, he had left in his Camp a Reinforcement of 6000, who came in their Turns to surround *Pompey's* Army; and then, all that the young General, tho' experienced in other Things, could do, was to retire with his Troops, and encamp at some distance from the Enemy.

Front. Strat.  
L. 1. c. 5.

§. XXXVII. Nor was this the only Mortification *Sertorius* gave his Rival, during the Siege. *Pompey* had only two Fields within reach of his Camp, from whence he could get any Forrage: One was near, the other at a distance; and *Sertorius* first mowed the nearest, which obliged *Pompey* to have recourse to that at the greatest distance; and then formed an Ambuscade for his Foragers. He sent three Detachments from his Army, one of *Spaniards*, who were very nimble and skilful in throwing Darts, another of *Romans*, who were more heavily armed, and the third of Horse; with Orders to conceal themselves in the neighbouring Forest. *Pompey's* Foragers arrived, and gathered their Forrage without Molestation, but when they were ready to load their Carts, the *Spaniards* marched suddenly out of the Forest, and threw a Shower of Darts on them, which put them in Disorder. Upon this, they rallied, and fell on the first Aggressors; and then, to their great Surprise, saw another Body of Infantry marching out of the Ambush, and ready to fight a pitched Battle. This obliged them to turn their Backs, and make the best of their Way to the Camp; and then *Sertorius's* Horse appeared to intercept them in their March, fell upon their Guard, and drove them before them. *Pompey*, informed of this, sent a *Legion* to their Relief; and the *Legion* was surrounded and cut in pieces. And at last, *Pompey* himself marched out with all his Army. But *Sertorius*, who had foreseen all, appeared drawn up in Battalia on the Sides of the Hills, behind which he had hid himself during the former Battles and *Pompey* had nothing to do but retire to his Camp, extremely mortified at having lost 10000 Men, and the Glory of the Field, without coming to a general Battle.

The Siege of *Lauron* was therefore continued, and the Attacks carried on with more confidence than ever; till at length, *Pompey* was forced to be content to see the City taken which he could not relieve. *Sertorius* made himself Master of it, and gave it up to his Soldiers to be plundered; but forbade them to make any Attempt against the Lives of the Inhabitants, or the Honour of the Sex. Nevertheless a brutal *Roman*, of a *Cohort* that were scandalous for their Debaucheries, offered Violence to a Woman; and the generous *Spaniard* tore out the Eyes of the Wretch who would have dishonoured her. When this came to the General's Knowledge, who heard it with Abhorrence, he immediately punished it, by breaking the whole *Cohort*, tho' a *Roman* one, and declared he would not suffer any such scandalous Debauchees to continue in his Service. He was himself one of the most frugal, and most continent of Men. He had from his Youth abstained from all Pleasures; and accustomed himself to lay in the Fields on the Ground, to suffer Hunger and Thirst, and to bear the Inconveniencies of the Air in all Seasons. *Pompey* himself was now convinced, that *Sertorius* was an Adversary worthy of him; and saw how nearly he was concerned in Honour, not to appear inferior to his

<sup>65</sup> This City stood in the Kingdom of *Valencia*. Most Geographers make it the same Place as *Liria* which stands on the Banks of the *Guadalaviar*.



Rival, that the *Patrician* Party might not sink under the *Plebeians*. All these first Battles had turned to his Disadvantage. But nevertheless he flattered himself, that the Superiority *Sertorius* had gained over him, was wholly owing to his being better acquainted with the Country, and Manners of the People; and hoped, in the next Campaign, to repair his Losses. However, the Season being now far advanced, both he and *Metellus* retired to the Foot of the *Pyrenees* to spend the Winter there; and for fear of a Surprise, would not put their Soldiers into different Quarters, but made them suffer all the Rigour of the Season in Tents. Such Dread were they in, of the Stratagems of *Sertorius*!

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXVII.  
CN. OCTAVI-  
US NEPOS, &  
C. SCRIBO-  
NIUS LIBO,  
Consuls.

In the same Year, the Authority of the Republick suffered in *Macedon*, by the *Thracians*, a restless and warlike Nation. *Dolabella* had kept them a little in order, when he was *Pro-Consul* in *Macedon*; but *Appius Claudius* his Successor spoiled all, by being too precipitately zealous to extend his Conquests. He forced his Way into *Sarmatia*, and there died of the Misfortunes and Fatigues that he suffered from the Air of the Country, and the Hostilities of the Barbarians. But his Death was little lamented at *Rome*; the Minds of the People being wholly intent on the Success of the new War between *Sertorius* and *Pompey*. Upon this the Fate of the whole Republick depended, and every Man's Affections were engaged on one Side or the other. It was this that was to determine, whether the Government of *Rome* should continue Aristocratical, the supreme Power being lodged with the Senate; or become a Democracy, under the Dominion of the People, and their *Tribunes*. *Sertorius* had the Wishes of the Multitude, *Pompey*, of the Nobility and *Patricians*. Each Party pretended an equal Love for their Country, and both continued to be Republicans, notwithstanding their Enmity. These were the Dispositions and Inclinations of the People, when the *Comitia* were held in *The Field of Mars* to choose new *Consuls*.

§. XXXVIII. The Republick had now had some Respite, since the Dictatorship of *Sylla*; but as soon as *L. Octavius* and *Caius* <sup>66</sup> *Aurelius Cotta* took Possession of the *Consulate*, new Troubles arose, and disturbed almost all the Parts of the World, where *Rome* was Mistress. The City it self was not secure from all these Storms. The Seas had long been infested with Pyrates, to which the first Wars of the Romans with *Mithridates*, had given occasion. Whilst *Sylla* was engaged in making War by Land in *Greece* and *Asia*, the Inhabitants of the Islands in the *Mediterranean*, resolved to scour the Seas, built little light Ships, and became numerous enough to be able to attack Merchant Ships, and Transports. They, at first, confined their Pyracies to the Sea which reaches from *Crete* to the Coasts of *Achaia*; and cruised, for the most part, off the *Maliac* <sup>67</sup> *Gulph*. For that Reason this Road was called *The Golden Sea*, on account of the immense Riches they took there; where they seized all the Eastern and Western Ships without Distinction, whether loaded with Merchandizes, or Provisions, either for *Sylla's* Army, or that of *Mithridates*. Till at length, Gain and Impunity increased their Numbers to such a degree, that they formed themselves into a kind of Republick, prescribed Laws for themselves, and built Forts and Castles in desert Islands, whither they carried the Booty they took at Sea and on the Coasts, to be divided according to Agreement. Afterwards, they settled themselves in a Place not so easy of Access as Islands, where there was no Difficulty in landing; which was <sup>68</sup> *Cilicia*, a pretty large Country on the Continent of *Asia*, and so full of steep Hills and Rocks, that it was always difficult to get at it; and from thence, these Pyrates, of whatever Country, were all called *Cilicians*. After *Sylla's* Departure, *Murena* gave them chase; but Hydra-like, as fast as any were cut off, others started up in their Room. After they had lost the Lands they possessed, and had no Habitations but their Ships, no Trade to live by but Rapine; most of the Cities of *Asia* opened their Ports to them, and profited by the Merchandizes which they sold at very low Prices. <sup>69</sup> *Sida* in particular built Ships for them, and made her Advantage of their Rapines without Danger. In short,

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXVIII.  
L. OCTAVI-  
US, & C. AU-  
RELIIUS COT-  
TA, Consuls.

App. L. i. de  
Bell. Civ.

<sup>66</sup> *Caius Aurelius Cotta* was according to *Cicero*, one of the greatest Orators of his Time. No one pretended to contend with him for Correctness and Purity of Style. He proposed to imitate the famous *Marcus Antonius*. But he fell far short of his Pattern, in Force and Energy of Thought.

<sup>67</sup> *Malia*, a City of *Phthiotis* near Mount *Oeta* and *Thermopylae*, gave Name to the neighbouring

*Gulph* which washes the Coasts of *Thessaly*, *Locris*, and *Eubœa*. It is now called *the Gulph of Zeiton* and *the Gulph of Negropont*.

<sup>68</sup> *Cilicia Montana* was the western Part of that Province which bordered on Mount *Taurus*. See Vol. 4. p. 88. Note 13.

<sup>69</sup> *Sida*, a City of *Pamphylia* was originally a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Cuma* in *Ionia*. Afterwards



Year of short, they extended their Courses so much beyond the *Eastern Sea*, that their Fury was felt, as far as the *Streights of Gades*; and the *Cicilians* were become the Terror of all the Seas, and all the Coasts.

L. OCTAVI-  
US, & C. AU-  
RELIVS COT-  
TA, Consuls.

Rome herself began to feel the ill Effects of such an Interruption of Commerce, and of the Difficulties of passing the Seas. First, Corn and the choice Products of the East and South, grew scarce in the Capital of the World; and in a few Months, a kind of Famine was felt there. The Corn-Fleets that came from *Sicily* to *Ostia*, had so constantly fallen into the Hands of the Pyrates, that no Squadron now durst pass the *Streights*. In a republican State, where the People have a Share in the Government, nothing is so much to be feared, as a Scarcity of Provisions, which soon improves their Murmurs into Seditions: And now, the Commons complained of the little Care the Consuls and Senate had taken to procure Plenty in the City, and wholly imputed their Want of Corn to the Change *Sylla* had made in the Government. If our Tribunes, said they, had still enjoyed their ancient Privileges, we should not have seen the Roman People oppressed with Want; through the Indolence or Malice of Patrician Magistrates. It is the Restraint laid on the Authority of our Protectors, that has produced this Want of Provisions. The Multitude are usually affected only with the present Grievance, without searching far after the Cause of it; and in the present Instance, they made great Clamours, gathered together in Crowds, and tho' the Historians say nothing of it, we cannot but infer that the Tumult was great, from the Speech which the Consul *Aurelius Cotta* made to the assembled People. This Piece has escaped the Ravages of Time, and the Substance of it is as follows.

Sallust. in  
Fragmentis.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Romans, said the Consul, I have suffered many Dangers at Home, and undergone many Calamities Abroad, since I have had a Part in the publick Administration; and yet I cannot reproach my self, with any want of Affection for my Country, or of Neglect in the Discharge of my Employments. Nevertheless, not only old Age, which is heavy enough of it self, is now come upon me, and doubles the Weight of my Burden; but I am not even allowed the Comfort in this decline of Life, of hoping to die with Honour. For, if I am the Parricide of a People, to whom I ought to be a Father, What Torments have I not merited when alive, what Punishments after Death? My Crimes deserve more, than any Thing we are told even of the infernal Regions. You have known me, Romans, from my Childhood; and are sensible, that I have refused my Protection, my Advice, and my Bounty, to none that have wanted them. My House has always been open to the unfortunate, my Purse to the indigent. And when I suffered with the Publick, and was in great Distress, it pleased you, Romans, to restore me to my Country, and promote me to the greatest Honours. Favours, for which if I could return many Lives, it would scarce be a sufficient Acknowledgment! But the Time of my Advancement happens to be, when Affairs are most embroiled at Home and Abroad. Your Generals in Spain call for Pay, Men, Arms, and Provisions, as unable to go on without them. Mithridates so overflows with Wealth, as to be able to keep Armies standing in Asia and Cilicia. Macedon is full of Enemies. Whilst at the same Time, the Tributes are very sparingly, if at all paid, both in Italy and the Provinces; and your Fleet is less than formerly. And if these Calamities have been occasioned by my Negligence, or Fraud, I am ready to submit to whatever Punishment you please. If my Death will be any Ease to the Publick, I am far from declining it. As our Ancestors formerly did in difficult Wars, so I now devote my self, to be a Sacrifice for the Good of my Country; and intreat you to be circumspect in the Choice of my Successor. For what good Man will readily accept such Honours, if he must, either be answerable for common Calamities, and for the Peace, and War, which others have made or carried on, or else suffer a dishonourable Death? Only as to me, Romans, let it be remembered, that I die not for any Crime, but freely give up my Life, in Gratitude for the greatest Favours. And I adjure you, for your own Sakes, and by the Glory of your Ancestors, that you would bear Adversities with Patience, and consider the publick Good. Great Care, and great Labours, attend those who have the Administration in their Hands; and tho' you do not deny this, yet you want to enjoy all the

it became one of the most considerable Cities of this Province. It had a Port which was a Staple for the Cilician Pyrates. *Le Noir* says it is still in being, and called *Chrysonda*. *Thevet* will have it, That it stood where *Candalor* now stands. Some have thought

that the City here spoken of, is *Sidena* in *Lycia*; but they did not consider, That, according to *Appian*, that Province constantly refused to give any Retreat to these Robbers; whilst *Syria*, *Cyprus*, *Pontus*, and *Pamphylia*, opened most of their Ports to them.

Benefits



*Benefits of Peace, at a Time when both Country and Provinces are infested with War, both by Sea and Land.*

This Speech had its desired Effect, and the *devotement* of the *Consul* which was conditional, was never put in Execution. *Cicero*, then *Quæstor* in *Sicily*, prevailed <sup>70</sup> on the *Municipia*, and Societies of Merchants in his Province, to venture their Corn at Sea; and *Rome* was a little relieved. Nevertheless, in order to appease the People, *Aurelius Cotta* gave up one Point in favour of the *Tribunes*. By *Sylla's* Law, none that had been chosen *Tribunes of the People* could be promoted to the superior Offices; but notwithstanding all the Opposition that the Advocates for it could make, this was now annulled. By this means, the College gradually recovered their Credit; and tho' it was so much the Interest of the Senate to keep them depressed, the Cowardice of the old *Consul*, in some measure reinstated them, or at least raised their Hopes. And the Sequel of the History will sufficiently shew, how prejudicial their Power was to the republican Government, as soon as they had gradually recovered their former Grandeur. It will be allowed, that *Sylla* had Reason to reduce them; and that *Cotta* acted very weakly, when he put them in a Way of recovering themselves.

§. XXXIX. What the *Consul* had said of the bad State of Affairs in *Spain*, and of the Preparations *Mithridates* was making to renew the War in *Asia*, was not barely the exaggeration of an Orator. *Sertorius* had gained the Ascendant over *Pompey* in the last Campaign; and when the fine Season was returned, *Metellus* marched first to attack the Enemy. But *Sertorius* was not in haste to meet him. He thought his *Quæstor* *Hirtuleius*, a Man of experienced Abilities in Action, strong enough to make Head against him: *Hirtuleius* was brave, and the Body he commanded was at least equal to the *Pro-Consul's* Army. With great Confidence therefore he came first, bid *Metellus* defiance, and very early in the Morning drew up his Army in Battalia, in the Plain; and had *Metellus* hearkened to his *Legionaries*, he would instantly have marched out of his Camp. But he chose to let the Enemy wait for him, and fatigue themselves with the great Heat. Besides, he gave himself Time to observe the Order of the Enemy's *Legions* from his Ramparts, and to make his own take a Meal. When he had observed that *Hirtuleius* had placed his best Troops in his Center, and that his Wings were thin, *Metellus* therefore chose a contrary Disposition. He placed his best Troops in his Wings, which he advanced nearer to the Enemy, and posted his main Body, in which were his weakest *Cohorts*, at some distance behind them. By this means, he made the chief Strength of the Enemy of no use, and screened those of his own Troops, on whom he could least depend, from the Dangers of the Battle.

This wise Disposition could scarce fail of Success. The first onset was vigorous; but *Hirtuleius's* harrassed Troops could not hold out long against the fresh Forces of *Metellus*. The two Wings of the latter, which were two saliant Bodies, overpowered those of the Enemy, and surrounded their main Body. The two Generals, exposed themselves in the Battle, with equal boldness. One had his Habit cut in several Places, the other was wounded in the Arm: And when *Hirtuleius* found that he bled, he fled for Refuge to *Lusitania*, after a Loss of 20000 Men. In the mean time, a *Spaniard* prevented him, in bringing first the News of his Defeat to *Sertorius*, and *Sertorius* killed the Messenger with his own Hands; not so much out of Concern at his Loss, as for fear the ill News should be too hastily spread among his Troops, before he had prepared them for it. Then he immediately formed a Scheme for revenging the Disgrace brought on *Hirtuleius*, and for recovering the Ascendant, which his *Quæstor* had made him loose. He gloried in repairing the Faults of his Subalterns, and appearing the only invincible Man of his Party; and with these Views, advanced to the Banks of the *Sucro* <sup>71</sup>, a River in the *Tarragonian* Province. *Pompey* was encamped by himself in that Neighbourhood, fully expecting *Sertorius* to come and attack him; and each General was very desirous of coming to a Battle with the other. *Sertorius* promised himself a great Advantage in fighting *Pompey* separately; and *Pompey* thought it

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*Plut. in Cice-  
rone.*

*Frontin. Strat.*  
*L. 1. § 2. c. 3.*

*App. Bell. Civ.*  
*L. 1.*  
*Plut. in Pomp.*  
*& Sertor.*

<sup>70</sup> The new *Quæstor* discharged the Commission he had from the Senate with such Care, that the *Sicilians* complained, that he would reduce them to Want, and carry away all the Provisions out of their Island, to supply the Capital with Plenty. But he soon made himself known and dear to those People, by his Disinterestedness, sweetness of Temper, Equi-

ty, and engaging Behaviour. They were charmed to find in him a Father and a Protector, and afterwards became his most zealous Advocates. This *Cicero* himself tells us in his *Oration for Plancus*.

<sup>71</sup> The *Sucro*, which the *Spaniards* now call the *Xucar*, rises near *Cuenca*, and falls into the *Mediterranean*, at a little distance from *Gandia*.



Year of would be more for his Honour, to conquer *Sertorius* without the Assistance of *Metellus*.  
*ROME* These mutual Desires and Expectations made them both in haste to engage; and all  
*DCLXXVIII.* Things were got ready to come to a Battle before *Metellus* arrived.

*L. OCTAVI- §. XL. There was a very large Plain on the Banks of the Sucro, and there Sertorius*  
*US, & C. AV-* drew up his Army in Battalia, in the Evening. The crafty General chose to fight in  
*RELIVS COT-* the decline of the Day, because he thought *Pompey* utterly unacquainted with the Coun-  
*TA, Consuls.* try, whilst he himself knew all the Roads of it; and therefore, if the Enemy should  
 have the Advantage, he could easily make his Retreat by favour of the Night, being  
 well acquainted with all the Turnings and narrow Passes at the Foot of the Mountains.  
 Then *Pompey*, who was too much in haste to engage, to defer it till the next Day,  
 drew up his *Legions* likewise in the Plain; posted *Afranius* his Lieutenant General, in  
 his left Wing; and commanded the Right himself. By this Means, *Pompey* himself  
 engaged with *Perperna* who commanded the Right of the Enemy, and *Sertorius* with  
*Afranius*; which was contrary to the Intentions of the *Lusitanian* General. The latter  
 would willingly have opposed *Pompey* himself; but his Troops were formed, before he  
 could guess, what Post that General would take, and he could not now alter his Dis-  
 positions. However, the Attack was begun with equal Valour on both Sides. *Pom-*  
*pey* was too hard for *Perperna*, broke the Wing he commanded, and it would have been  
 routed, if *Sertorius* had not had timely notice of it. But he came with a Reinforce-  
 ment, rallied the Fugitives, brought them back to the Battle, and gained as much Ad-  
 vantage over *Pompey*, as he had done over *Perperna*. *Pompey* fled, was pursued, and  
 personally attacked. An *African* of a gigantick Stature had his Sword lifted up against  
 him, and the *Roman* avoided the Blow, by cutting off his Hand at the Wrist. At the  
 same time, he retreated fighting, and was wounded with an Arrow in the Thigh.  
 However, his Men carried him off, leaving his Horse, which was finely accoutred, in  
 the Hands of those that pursued him; and while they were disputing about the Horse,  
 the General had time to escape.

At the same time, *Afranius*, on the other Hand, had all the Advantage over the  
 Wing *Sertorius* had left. He broke it, put it to Flight, and pursued it so warmly,  
 that he entered the Enemy's Camp with the Fugitives. Then his Troops, contrary to  
 their General's Orders, fell to plundering; and this gave *Sertorius* Time to come up;  
 and he made a great Slaughter of them, recovered his Camp, and spent the Night in  
 it. But after all, *Pompey's* Honour suffered more than his Party in this Action. The  
 Advantages and Disadvantages on both Sides were pretty equal, as was the Number of  
 the Slain. As to Generals, if *Pompey* was superior to *Perperna*, so was *Sertorius* to  
 him; and therefore this able General resolved to fight a second Battle the next Day,  
 and took proper Steps to make it decisive. But *Pompey's* Colleague happened unfortu-  
 nately to draw near with his Army which had vanquished *Hirtuleius*; and then *Serto-*  
*rius* was not rash enough to attack them, after they were joined. However, when he  
 dropped his Design, he said, *That had it not been for that old Woman* (meaning *Metellus*)  
*he would have chastised the young Scholar* (*Pompey*) *so well, that he would have forced him*  
*to have returned to School.*

*Plut. in Serto-*  
*rio.*

§. XLI. In this last Battle, *Sertorius* lost his Doe. The little Animal was not able  
 to follow her Master in the Hurry of it, and she strayed. *Sertorius* appeared very un-  
 easy at it, for three Days together, and pretended that he durst not undertake any  
 Thing against the Enemy, as long as he should be deprived of the Assistance of *Diana*,  
 and the Intelligence she gave him by the Hinde. Whereas the crafty General was  
 in reality, afraid of the Arrival of *Metellus*. However, some of his Soldiers, who were  
 rambling in the neighbouring Forests in the Night, knew the favourite Beast by her  
 whiteness, and retook her. The General was well pleased with the News, and ordered  
 them to keep it secret, and not let her loose, till he should be sitting on his Tribunal to  
 administer Justice, and giving Audience to his Officers and assembled *Legionaries*. This  
 Order was punctually obeyed; and when *Sertorius* was sitting on *The Tribune*, as usu-  
 al, on a sudden the Doe makes her way through the Crowd, ran up to him, and after  
 many Bounds and Caresses to her Master, laid <sup>72</sup> her Head between his Legs. All the  
 Assembly made a shout at this Sight; thought the sudden Appearance of the Animal a  
 Miracle; and as this much increased the Confidence of the Soldiers in a General, whom

<sup>72</sup> *Plutarch* says, That the Hind kissed *Sertorius's* right Hand; and That the General had taught her this  
 Civility, by often giving her Meat out of that Hand.



they thought inspired by the Gods, they earnestly demanded a Battle, and by their Gestures discovered their Impatience to engage. But old *Metellus*, tho' he was strongest, and *Pompey* was for accepting the Challenge, did not <sup>73</sup> think proper to hazard a Battle, in a critical Juncture, which through the Enthusiasm of the Enemy's Troops, might prove fatal to him; and the younger General giving way to the older, it was not fought. *Sertorius* therefore dismissed his Troops, after he had appointed them where to meet again; and himself retired alone, without a Guard, more like a Hunter than a General. To cross Mountains, and Forests, and narrow Passes, was both his Pleasure and his Study. By this means, he became acquainted with the Roads of the Country, and observed in what Places he might engage the Enemy to advantage, and which were proper for a Retreat, in case of need.

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When *Metellus* joined *Pompey*, the latter met him, and in respect to his superior Age, ordered his *Lictors* to lower their *Fasces* in his Presence. But *Metellus* would not suffer it, or assume any Distinction whilst they were together, except only that of giving the Word to the two united Camps. Nevertheless *Pompey* constantly followed the Advice of his Elder, with all the Docility of a Disciple; and thereby not only did Honour to himself, but likewise kept up a perfect Harmony between the two Armies. They marched through different Roads, to the new Post where *Sertorius* was entrenched; found his numerous Troops divided into two Bodies, one commanded by *Perperna*, the other by himself; and there their Foraging gave occasion to a new <sup>74</sup> Battle. *Sertorius* engaged with *Pompey*, and *Metellus* with *Perperna*; and the Engagement was so furious and obstinate, that it lasted from nine in the Morning, till the Stars appeared. *Pompey* was beaten, and lost *Memmius* his <sup>75</sup> *Quæstor*, and with him 6000 *Legionaries*. *Perperna*, on the other hand, made but a feint Resistance against *Metellus*, was repulsed, lost 5000 of his Men, and was like to have been entirely defeated. Then *Sertorius* appeared, and recovered his Affairs. *Perperna* with his Assistance repulsed *Metellus* in his turn, and behaved himself so bravely, that he came up to the old General, as if he intended to engage him in single Combat. But *Metellus*, who was never so brave, as when in the greatest Danger, seemed to forget his Age, and to rise above himself. With his Voice and Gestures, and brave Example, he rallied his repulsed Troops about him; and as soon they saw him wounded, some of them carried him out of the Battle, whilst the rest of his faithful Soldiers, received the Arrows of the Enemy on their Bucklers, to secure him; and in short, he reached his Camp with only a slight Wound, but ashamed of having lost the Field of Battle.

However, *Sertorius* did not look on this Action as a compleat Victory; and therefore appeared in the Field, in the Evening of the next Day, and prepared to force *Metellus's* Camp, which was at some distance from that of *Pompey*. The artful General's Scheme was, either to take *Metellus* and his Camp by Assault, or if *Pompey* came to his Assistance, to retire with some of his Troops to *Calaguris* <sup>76</sup> a neighbouring City, and amuse the Enemy with <sup>77</sup> besieging it; and it succeeded to his Wishes. He found

<sup>73</sup> According to *Plutarch*, *Sertorius's* Army, and that of *Pompey*, appeared the next Day, in order of Battle, by Day-break; and this second Battle was actually begun, when *Metellus* appeared in the Plain, at the Head of his Troops. Then *Sertorius*, who was afraid of being surrounded, did not wait for the new Army, but sounded a Retreat; and in that instant his Troops disappeared, in order to unite again under their General's Standards, in a little Time.

<sup>74</sup> *Sertorius* made it his chief Business to prevent any Provisions being brought to the Troops of the Republick either by Sea or Land. This reduced them to great Want, and forced them for a Subsistence, to make a general Forrage in the Plains of *Saguntum*, where the Battle was fought.

<sup>75</sup> *Plutarch* in his *Life of Sertorius* makes *Memmius* a Lieutenant General in *Pompey's* Army. He was deemed one of the greatest Officers of his Time.

<sup>76</sup> The ancient Geographers speak of two Cities of *Calaguris*, in *Hithor*, or *Tarragonian*, Spain. The first called *Julia Nascica*, stood in the extreme Parts

of *Old Castille*, on the Banks of the *Ebro*. It is now called *Calahorra*. According to *Pliny*, it was first a *Municipium*, and afterwards a *Roman Colony*. This Author, and the Medals of this City which are yet in being, agree in this Fact. The second, which *Pliny* calls *Fibularia* or *Fibularensis*, was but about four Leagues distant from *Osca*. It is now buried in its Ruins. It seems to have stood, where now stands *Lobarre*, a little City in the Kingdom of *Arragon*, near the River which the *Spaniards* call *Rio Gallego*. But to which of these Cities *Sertorius* retreated, the Historians have not told us. It seems natural to think, that they must mean the latter, which was near *Osca*, where this General usually resided. Besides, the City in question stood on the ridge of a Mountain; and this Situation agrees very well with that of *Lobarre*. Add to this, that some modern Geographers have ascribed to one of these Cities what belonged to the other. *Marca*, and after him *Cellarius*, have acknowledged the Mistake.

<sup>77</sup> Not that he designed to shut himself up in the City, or stand a Siege there; but only to deceive *Pompey* and *Metellus*. And accordingly, whilst the two



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App. in Mi-  
thridat.

§. XLII. And now, the Fame of *Sertorius*, and his Exploits, was far spread into all the Parts of the known World. It was every where reported, That a Man who was proscribed by *Sylla*, and banished *Rome*, had raised himself an Empire in a Corner of *Spain*; That without assuming the Title of a Sovereign, he had, by his civil and military Virtues, gained himself a Superiority equal to that of Kings; and That in his little Dominions, he maintained his Ground, against two of the greatest Generals *Rome* had. Much was said, of the Senate of 300 *Romans* which he had established, and of the prodigious Concourse of Malecontents, who came from *Rome* to increase his Court, and Armies; and these Reports were divulged in *Africa*, and *Asia*, especially by the proscribed, whom the Persecution had dispersed. There happened to be two of them in *Asia*, at the Court of *Mithridates*, *L. Magius*, and *L. Fannius*, both Incendiaries, formerly Adherents to *Marius* and *Cinna*; and these Traitors to their Country, thinking it in their Power to revive the King's old Resentments against *Rome*, resolved to animate him to try a third War with the Republick: which is a Branch of the *Roman* Story that deserves to be represented in a clear and just Light.

The last Peace *Mithridates* had made with *Rome*, had neither appeased his Resentments, nor set Bounds to his Ambition. As soon as *Sylla* was dead, he had again driven *Ariobarzanes* from his Throne, and made his Son-in-Law *Tigranes* invade *Cappadocia*. He therefore expected that the *Romans* would sooner or later fall upon him, and kept himself in a Readiness to withstand their Attacks. Besides, he was continually lamenting the Conquest of almost all *Asia*, which he had lost; and his Ambition prompted him to make himself Master of the Kingdoms, near his own, and particularly *Bithynia*. *Nicomedes*<sup>78</sup> had long been King there, and had married the Sister of *Mithridates*, by whom he had two Children now alive. Nevertheless, when he died, he had left his Kingdom to the *Romans* by Will; and *M. Julius Silanus*, the *Prætor* in the *Pergamian* State, was now busy in reducing *Bithynia* to the State of a *Province*, subject to the Republick. This taking Possession of a new extent of Country, was a very grievous Sight to *Mithridates*, and roused his Covetousness. His Jealousy made him seek all Means to drive from his Neighbourhood a troublesome Republick, which either by Conquest, or Donation, was by degrees getting Possession of all the Countries in *Asia* that bordered on his Dominions: And when he was full of these Thoughts, *L. Magius* and *L. Fannius*, came and made him a Proposal, which was very agreeable to his own Inclinations.

*The Roman Republick*, said the two proscribed, is no longer at *Rome*. It is settled in *Lusitania*, with *Sertorius*; who gives Law there, at the Head of a Senate; which is more venerable and more powerful, than the Conscrip't Fathers in the Capital, who were all mean Slaves to *Sylla*, whose Spirit survives him there. You cannot but desire to have *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, *Gallo-Greece*, the Kingdom of *Pergamus*, and in short, all the Coasts of *Asia*, under your Dominion. And indeed who so worthy to govern them as the brave *Mithridates*? Address yourself then to the *Lusitanian* Chief, and his Senate. He has more Power and Authority than the contemptible Remains of the *Roman Republick*, that continues in *Italy*. If you would obtain your Desires, your recourse must be to *Lusitania*. *Rome* is now but a Shadow of that great Body, which heretofore was so formidable. But if you offer *Sertorius*, advantageous Terms, and make an Alliance with him,

two Generals were forming a Camp round the Place, he escaped with his Troops cross Mountains and Forests into *Lusitania*; and got Time enough to raise a sufficient Number of new Recruits, to enable him to keep the Field. All the *Spanish* Cities that were in his Interest, sent him Succours of Men and Provisions in great haste; and he soon appeared again at the Head of so formidable an Army, that *Pompey* and *Metellus* did not think fit to run the Hazard of a second Battle. But they could not avoid the continual Attacks of *Sertorius*, who fell upon them from all Quarters, without giving them Time to recover themselves. He drove them from Post to Post, sometimes by open Force, sometimes by the Ambuscades he laid for them, and sometimes by surprizing them suddenly with stolen Marches; so that they could find

no Place of Safety for a Retreat. Besides, it was difficult for the *Roman* Army to find a Subsistence long. *Sertorius* seemed to be every where, either laying the Countries waste, or interrupting Convoys, or seizing Magazines. So that the two *Roman* Generals were forced to separate, and put their Troops in different Winter-quarters.

<sup>78</sup> The *Nicomedes* here spoken of, was the fourth of the Name, and the last King of *Bithynia*. He was the Son of *Nicomedes Philopater* the third of the Name, who died about the Year of *Rome* 664; reigned about 16 Years; and, according to some Historians, left no Children behind him. But the Letter of *Mithridates* to *Artabanus* King of *Parthia*, related by *Sallust*, supposes that he had a natural Son that survived him. See above, p. 9. Note 23.

he



he will readily give you the Property of the Kingdoms and Provinces you desire; and he is able to maintain his Grant by force of Arms.

This was exceeding agreeable to *Mithridates*; and he immediately ordered Ambassadors to *Lusitania*, and appointed *Magius* and *Fannius* to conduct them. The Ambassadors set sail, and coasted along *Italy*, with the two proscribed Persons their Conductors, unknown to the *Roman* Senate; and as soon as the News came to *Rome*, *Magius* and *Fannius* were declared Enemies to the Republick. But they had then reached *Spain*, and in a few Days drew great Advantages from their Negotiation with *Sertorius*. The Ambassadors of *Pontus* represented to him, That their Master made a great Difference between the *Romans* settled in *Lusitania*, and those in *Italy*; That he acknowledged no other *Roman* Republick, but that over which *Sertorius* presided; That he was under a Necessity of declaring War with the *Romans*, but would fight only with those of *Italy*; and lastly, That as the old Capital was their common Enemy, their Master was earnestly desirous of joining Interests with a General whose Fame had reached to the Ends of the World. *Sertorius* spake modestly of his Exploits, and enlarged only on the Proposals the Ambassadors had to offer; which partly consisted of Promises in favour of *Sertorius*, and partly of Demands for the Advantage of *Mithridates*. The King offered *Sertorius* 3000 *Talents* in Specie, and forty Galleys compleatly fitted out; upon Condition, that *Sertorius* and his Senate would resign up to him, *Cappadocia*, *Bithynia*, and The *Roman* Province in *Asia*, that is, the ancient Kingdom of *Pergamus*.

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§. XLIII. And here, we cannot too much admire the Constancy and Firmness of *Sertorius*. He appeared greater in this glorious Negotiation than at the Head of Armies. A Man of a meaner Genius, and less elevated Mind, would have been ensnared with the Glitter of these Promises; and would have sacrificed the true Interests of his Country, to his own private Advantage. It would have cost him nothing, to have granted *Mithridates* every Thing he desired; and yet this uncertain Grant would have procured him great Sums and a considerable Armament. Besides, what Hazard could he run, in granting what it was of little Importance to him to take, from an ungrateful Republick which was become his Enemy? But *Sertorius* did not think in the vulgar Way. Though proscribed, he remembered that he was a *Roman*; and gave the Ambassadors this Answer. *I readily give up to Mithridates our Rights to Cappadocia and Bithynia. The King of Pontus has long insisted, that those two States belong to him, by Right of Conquest. Without doubt Sertorius was ignorant, or at least pretended to be so, that Bithynia had been bequeathed to the Republick by Nicomedes, who was lately dead. But as to The Asiatick Province, it is an old Possession of the Romans. Fimbria recovered it from Mithridates, and the Name of that Conqueror is dear to me. Besides, suffer not, Ye Gods, that any Regard to my private Interest, should induce me to rob my Country of her Dominions! Rome is still Rome to me. Our Divisions shall never make me forget the Duties of my Birth, and the Obligations of a Citizen. Sylla was a Tyrant; but nevertheless the Republick is my Mother; and though I am pursuing the Remains of the Tyrant's Faction, I will not lose Sight of Rome. Perhaps, in a little Time, she may receive me in her Arms, with more Honour than ever. Or if not, how shameful would it be in me, to prefer aggrandizing myself to doing Justice, and to the Regard I owe to all true Romans? Can I find no way of rescuing them from Slavery, but by weakening them? Let not Mithridates then expect, that the Roman Senate in Lusitania, will give him The Asiatick Province. But if he will be content with Cappadocia and Bithynia, advance us 3000 Talents, and keep 40 Galleys in our Service at his Expence; we will enter into an Alliance with him, and his Interests shall be ours.*

Yet after all, it is not very easy to determine, whether there was not as much Policy as Greatness of Mind, in this Proceeding. He knew that many true Republicans both in *Rome* and *Lusitania* were now heartily in his Interest; and these would all have left him, if he had appeared too ready to hearken to the Proposals of the Barbarian King, in Prejudice to the publick Good. However, whether his Refusal proceeded from Policy or Magnanimity, he at least gained great Honour by it, without any Loss. *Mithridates* admired his Resolution, and said to his Friends, *This Lusitanian Chief assumes as much Loftiness and State, as if he were Master of Rome.* But nevertheless he ratified the Treaty, which was drawn up in these Words. *We invest Mithridates with the Kingdoms of Cappadocia and Bithynia, in the same extent as they were enjoyed by Ariobarzanes and Nicomedes; and we will assign him a Roman General, who shall give him Possession*



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TA, Consuls.

*Possession of them.* On the other hand, The King of Pontus shall pay us here 3000 Talents, and equip forty Gallies, which shall be subject to our Command. And the Conventions were faithfully executed on both Sides. Sertorius sent M. Varius to the King of Pontus to command his Troops, and appointed Magius and Fannius for his Lieutenant-Generals; and then, Mithridates made as formidable Preparations as ever were made in the *Levant*, in order to carry on a War with the Roman Republick at Rome, under the Authority of the Roman Republick in *Lusitania*. Besides his old Army, the King of Pontus sent for Troops from *Chalybia*<sup>79</sup>, *Little Armenia*, *Scythia*, and *Tauris*; and Forces were raised for him among the *Bastarni*<sup>80</sup>, and the *Thracians*. These Auxiliaries only amounted to 140000 Foot, 16000 Horse, and 120 Chariots armed with Scythes. And his Fleet was as considerable as his Army. He got together no less than 400 *Triremes*, and they built not for Show only as formerly, but for Action. This unfortunate Prince not foreseeing, either that the Protection he had sought for would immediately fail him, or what Misfortunes would attend him after that Loss, flattered himself with great Expectations from Sertorius, and hoped that these Armaments, with his Assistance, would prove invincible.

§. XLIV. Whilst Rome in Italy was making War with Rome in Spain, and preparing against Asia, P. Servilius, with the Title of *Pro-Consul*, endeavoured to purge the Seas and Coasts of the Pyrates that infested it. Their chief Refuge, as has been observed, was *Cilicia*; and he pursued them thither. He passed the Rocks that covered their Retreats, made a rough War with them, and took from them the Cities, where they lodged the Booties they had taken at Sea. *Isaure*<sup>81</sup>, their Capital, cost him a great deal of Labour; but by turning the River which supplied the Inhabitants with Water, he gained his Point. When they were oppressed with Thirst, they surrendered; and the Demolition of their City was not their only Punishment. He reduced them all to Slavery; carried them to Rome, whither he went to triumph; and wherever he came, the People ran in Crowds to see those in Chains, who had formerly been so formidable at Sea. At Rome, the Sight of these Wretches, and of the Spoils he had taken from them, gave a Lustre to his Triumph; and he took the Appellation of *Isauricus*, in Memory of having avenged the Cause of Europe, Asia, and Africa, by the taking of *Isaure*. But nevertheless, his Conquest was of too little Consequence, to make Rome amends for the Damages she suffered by Sertorius in Spain. The Senate were much affected with the Letters Pompey wrote. He intreated them, to send him some fresh Troops, and a great Sum of Money to pay his Soldiers, who were ready to desert; and in short, told them, that if they were not sent him, he should be forced to return to Italy with his Army. At the same Time, they were, to their greater Mortification, told by the Friends of Sertorius, That he would be in Italy before Pompey, and effectually humble the *Patrician Faction*.

<sup>79</sup> *Chalybia* is a Country of *Asia Minor*, which reaches South and North, from the farthest Part of *Little Armenia* to the Kingdom of *Trebizonde*. Nevertheless, from the different Accounts which the ancient Geographers have given us of this Country, we have reason to imagine, that the *Chalybians* were dispersed in the neighbouring Countries. Strabo places them in *Paphlagonia*, *Mela* near this Province, following the Course of the Rivers *Halys* and *Thermodoon*. According to him, they possessed the Cities of *Sinope* and *Amisa*. Solinus carries them as far as to *Asiatick Scythia*. Stephen of Byzantium places them near Pontus in Asia. This Country was called *Chalybia*, according to this last Geographer, because it abounded with Iron-Mines.

<sup>80</sup> The *Bastarni*, or *Basterni*, were, according to the Geographers, the People that inhabited that Part of *European Sarmatia*, which contains *Black Russia*, *Podolia*, and *Volhinia*. Nevertheless this Name more peculiarly belonged to the People that inhabited the *Ukrain*, towards the Mouth of the *Boristhenes*. Dionysius Periegetes finds *Bastarni* in the northern Countries near the *Danube*. And Tacitus doubts, whether they ought not to be placed among the German Nations, rather than those of *Sarmatia*.

<sup>81</sup> *Isaure*, afterwards called *Isauropolis*, and now

*Saura*, was the Capital of *Isauria*, a Country of *Asia Minor*, situated partly along Mount *Taurus*, and partly in the Mountains between *Cilicia*, *Lycaonia*, and *Pamphylia*. This City, in Pliny's Time, had lost much of its ancient Splendor. To which we may add, That Servilius reduced not only *Isaure* under the Dominion of the Republick, but also many other Cities of *Cilicia*. To him is given the Honour of having been the first Roman, that marched over Mount *Taurus*, at the Head of a numerous Army; and in his Expedition he razed the Cities of *Phaselis*, *Olympus*, and *Coricus*, which were Retreats for the Pyrates. The first stood on the Confines of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*. Its Inhabitants, who were for the most Part great Pyrates made use of a sort of Brigantine, which from them was called *Phaselus*. We have spoken of it Vol. 2. The *Phaselites* were so poor, according to the Ancients, that they sacrificed nothing but Salt-fish to their Gods. Hence the Proverb *Sacrificium Phaselitarum*, *Sacrificium sine fumo*, to signify, a mean Present, a vile Offering, or a sordid Thrift. The City *Olympus* stood on the Sea-coast of *Cilicia*. The Geographers mention two other Cities of this Name, one in *Lycia*, farther off from the Sea, the other in *Pamphylia*. *Coricus* was a Sea-port in *Cilicia*, and is now called *Curco*, or *Coruch*.

These



These Fears were a little appeased by the good News that was brought from *Macedon* and *Africa*. Advice came, that the *Pro-Consul*, *C. Scribonius*, had gained great Victories; and subdued a very large Country, in the farthest Parts of *Dalmatia*. His Expedition had been successful, though his Troops had mutinied<sup>82</sup>. And the News from *Cyrenaica* was of more Importance. The Kingdom which one *Ptolemy* surnamed *Appion*, who died some Years past, had by *Will* bequeathed to the Republick, and which she had afterwards declared free, had lately submitted to the *Roman* Dominion, and was now reduced to the State of a *Province*.

§. XLV. But though the Dominions of the Republick were increased by the Addition of these two great Countries, one in *Asia*, the other in *Africa*, during the *Consulate* of *L. Octavius* and *Aurelius Cotta*; yet *Rome* could not, upon the whole, think this a fortunate Year. *Sertorius* had allayed the good Success of it, by the Advantages he had gained in *Spain*, and the Treaty he had entered into, with *Mithridates*. But it was hoped, his good Fortune would change under the new *Consuls* which the Republick promoted; who were *M. Aurelius Cotta*, and *L. Licinius Lucullus*. The latter was a Man of high Extraction, prudent Conduct, and approved Valour. He had been *Sylla's* *Quæstor* in *Asia*, when he made War with *Mithridates*, and his Lieutenant-General in his Wars in *Italy*, and was now by the usual Steps promoted to the *Consulate*. His greatest Passion was to return to the *Levant*, there to command in chief, and begin the Hostilities with the King of *Pontus*, which the Republick could no longer defer. He knew the Country, and the Enemy he was to engage with; and was not at all terrified at the vast Preparations of *Mithridates*. But the Senate at first opposed his Desires. They assigned only *Italy* and *Cisalpine Gaul* to the new *Consuls*, and the latter fell to him. The brave General was uneasy at being charged with a Commission which would bring him no Glory; and he both discovered the Design of the Senate, in not nominating either of the *Consuls* for the War in *Asia*, and, in a masterly Manner, prevented it. *Pompey*, who was weary of making War in *Spain*, with a Success not answerable to his Expectations, had told the *Conscript Fathers* in his Letter, that if they did not send him Reinforcements he would return into *Italy*; and he being the Idol of the Senate, they waited for his Arrival, to send him immediately into *Asia*, to oppose *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* therefore immediately sent *Pompey* two *Legions*, and the Sums he desired; this kept *Pompey* in *Spain*, and left the Way open for him to obtain the Command of an Army in the *Levant*; and to compleat his Good-Fortune, *Octavius*, who commanded in *Cilicia*, was just dead. It was absolutely necessary to appoint another in his room, in so critical a Time, when there was Reason to fear that the King of *Pontus* would enter *Bithynia*; and *Lucullus*, who was very ambitious of it, took the following Method to obtain it. What will not a Man do, to succeed in a Project, wherein he thinks his Honour concerned!

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXIX.  
L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS,  
& M. AURE-  
LIUS COTTA,  
Consuls.  
*Plut. in Lu-  
cullus.*

*P. Cethegus*, and *Quinctius*, two of the *Tribunes of the People*, had usurped more Authority in *Rome* than the Laws of *Sylla* allowed them. *Quinctius* had taken upon him to disannul *Sylla's* Acts, and thereby involve the Republick in fresh Dissensions; and lest domestick Troubles should frustrate his Expectations, *Lucullus* appeased him by wise Remonstrances, and settled Peace in *Rome*, before he presented his Petition for the Province of *Cilicia*. But *Lucullus* had affronted *Cethegus*, and he was become his Enemy. He was indeed a professed Debauchee, and his Love of Pleasure had lost him a few Friends, who were Men of Prudence, and Enemies to Disorder; but his Office of *Tribune*, his Seat in the Senate, and the Acquaintance he had contracted, even by means of his Debauchery, gave him very great Weight; and it was of mighty Importance to *Lucullus* to be reconciled to him. The Difficulty was how to compass

*Idem ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *C. Scribonius Curio*, *Consul* in the Year 677, succeeded *Appius Clodius Pulcher*, in the Government of *Macedon*. *Appius* had formed a Design to subdue several Nations of *Thrace* near Mount *Rhodope*; but as *Orosius*, *Eutropius*, *Sextus Rufus*, and *Obsequens*, inform us, he died, worn out with Fatigues, and the Mortification he suffered by the ill Success of his Expedition against the Nations of *Mæsia*. *Scribonius* his Successor, penetrated into *Dardania*, and made the *Mæssians* dread the Arms of the Republick. And his Severity to a rebellious *Legion* that refused to obey him, made the rest show as great Regard to the Laws of military Discipline. This *Legion* mutinied near

*Dyrrachium*. Being terrified with the Expectation of the Dangers they had formed to themselves in a barren Country among Barbarians, they refused to follow *Scribonius*. In order to suppress the Mutiny, the General first drew up, in the middle of a Plain, the four *Legions* which had not joined in the Mutiny; and then disarmed the Criminals, and brought them out before his Troops, wearing only a *Tunic*. In this mortifying Condition he employed them in the meanest Offices; and, notwithstanding their Intreaties and Repentance, he broke the *Legion*, and incorporated the Soldiers of it among the other four.



Year of this Reconciliation with a Man, whom he had provoked, and now never visited; and ROME in order to this, he demeaned himself so far, as to make court to one of his Mistresses, DCLXXIX. to whom *Cetbegus* was most passionately devoted. *Precia* had more Wit than Beauty; and though lovely in her Person, was more admired for the Charms of her Conversation. She was not a publick Prostitute, taken from a State of Slavery, but a Roman; and entertained only such Lovers, as could raise the Fortune of her real Friends. She was become a great Manager in Intrigues of State; and imperiously required those whom she captivated, to employ all their Interest as she directed. *Lucullus* therefore appeared among her Admirers, and for some Time sighed at her Feet. Till at length he obtained a Promise from her, that *Cetbegus* should be his Advocate with the Senate and People; and got himself nominated General of the Troops that were to be sent to *Cilicia*, by the Management of this Woman of Pleasure. His Collegue also made his Application to the *Conscript Fathers*; and obtained the Command of the Fleet that was ready to sail, to guard *Bitthynia* and the *Propontis* against the Invasion threatened by *Mithridates*.

L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS,  
& M. AURE-  
LIUS COTTA,  
Consuls.

Cic. Verr. 4.  
Tull. Patere.  
Florus L. 3.  
c. 7.  
Epit. Liv.

§. XLVI. But before *Cotta* set out on his Eastern Expedition, he had the Credit to establish a Commission which was new in the Republick, and occasioned by the Ravages of the Pyrates. In order to stop their Fury, *Rome* thought proper to appoint at his Motion, a Commander-General over all the Coasts of the *Mediterranean* to which her Authority extended. This was giving one Man a larger Government than had ever been heard of since the Foundation of *Rome*; and *Cetbegus* procured it for *M. Antonius*<sup>83</sup>, (the Father of the famous *Mark Anthony*) who was one of his Companions in Debauchery, and whose chief Merit was his Profuseness. He fitted out a considerable Fleet, and carried more Chains aboard, than Swords, or Axes, or Javelins; expecting no doubt, that the Pyrates would come of their own accord, and put on his Fetters. But he found that warlike Men accustomed to Sea-fights, are much to be dreaded by Men of Pleasure. He began his Expedition, with raising Contributions, on the Islands and maritime Provinces subject to the Republick; and finished it, with the Loss both of his Fleet, and his Life. He was attacked by the Pyrates off the Island of *Crete*, saw the greatest Part of his Ships boarded and taken, his Soldiers hanged to their Masts with the Chains he had prepared for the Enemy; and this Sight grieved him so much, that a sudden<sup>84</sup> Distemper carried him off, in a few Days.

Afion.  
Padian.

§. XLVII. After *Antonius* was gone in quest of the Pyrates, and *Aurelius Cotta*, who knew little of the Art of War, and had as little Courage, to make War in the Seas of *Pontus*; *Lucullus*, who was a great Soldier, and ought to have been in Action at the same time, was forced to delay his Departure. His Collegue had carried only Land Forces with him; and at last he could embark only one *Legion* of new Levies. But he was to find four others in the *Levant*, all old Soldiers<sup>85</sup>, and used to the Air

<sup>83</sup> *Plutarch* tells us, That *Marcus Antonius* was the Son of the famous Orator of that Name who was killed by Order of *Marius*; and says of him, That he had little Share in the Government, and distinguished himself by no memorable Action. But adds, That his obliging Behaviour and strict Probity, gained him the Hearts of all People. We may judge of his Liberality by this single Act, which is related by that Author. *Antonius* was not rich, neither was his Fortune sufficient to gratify his great Inclination to give. The only Thing that enabled him to support his Dignity, was the prudent Oeconomy of his Wife; and her chief Care was to keep the beneficent Temper of her Husband within due Bounds. One Day a Friend came to his House, to borrow a Sum of Money which he wanted, but *Antonius* had none; and being ashamed not to be able to relieve a Man who depended on his Generosity, he ordered one of his Slaves to bring him a Silver Basin full of Water. The Slave obeyed; *Antonius* pretending to shave himself, sent the Slave to his Work; and then gave the Basin to his Friend, with leave to sell it for his own use. His Wife soon missed the Plate; made a great Noise about the supposed Theft; and declared she would have all her Slaves put to the Question. *Antonius*, who knew their Innocence,

honestly confessed the Fact; and with his Intreaties pacified his Wife *Julia*, who had the Character of one of the most virtuous Ladies of her Age. Nor was she less considerable for her high Birth than her Virtue, since she was of the Family of the *Cæsars*. After she was left a Widow by *Antonius*, she married *Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura*, the famous Partizan of *Catiline*, who gave the Republick so many Alarms, and whom we shall hereafter see die, by the Hands of an Executioner. But it must be owned, That this Character of *Antonius*, does not very well agree with that which *Velleius*, *Padianus*, and *Cicero*, have given us of him. They represent him as a Man, who was an Enemy to Restraint, and given up to the most shameful Debaucheries; and who reduced himself to extream Want by his wild Profuseness. It is not easy to reconcile so loose a Life with that strict Probity which *Plutarch* gives him.

<sup>84</sup> It is supposed, that this sad Event gave rise to the Surname of *Creticus*, or *The Cretan*, which *Plutarch* gives him.

<sup>85</sup> These old Soldiers who served under *Lucullus* were the same that had assassinated *Lucius Valerius Flaccus* their General, at the Instigation of *Fimbria*; who likewise, in his Turn, experienced their Perfidiousness.



Air of the Country. When *Aurelius* arrived, *Mithridates* was in Motion with those mighty Armies, which he had assembled, from all the northern Parts of *Asia*. In order to procure Success to his Arms by Acts of Religion, he had offered up to *Jupiter*, after the *Persian* Manner, one of the costly Sacrifices before described; and then made it his next Business to secure *Cappadocia*, which had been taken from *Ariobarzanes* by the King of *Armenia*. To this End, he strengthened its Cities with great Garrisons, and sent *Diophantus* thither with an Army, to keep *Lucullus* from thence; supposing that upon his landing, he would begin the Campaign with reconquering that Country. But the King's chief Design was to enter *Bithynia*, and take from the Romans this fine Kingdom, which the *Will* of *Nicomedes* had put into their Possession. To this end he marched thither at the Head of 162000 Men, and keeping by the Sea-side, prepared to cross *Paphlagonia*; whilst his Fleet coasted along by him to supply this mighty Army with Provisions, and the Admiral bought Corn at every Port by which he passed, tho' the Troops were already provided.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXIX.  
L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS,  
& M. AURE-  
LIUS COTTA,  
Consuls.

*Liv. Epit.*  
L. 93. c. 13.

The first Opposition the royal Fleet and Army met with, was at the City of <sup>86</sup> *Heraclea*, which was in Alliance with the Roman Republick, or subject to it. Tho' the *Heracleans* were impatient under the Roman Yoke, the Insolence of their Garrisons, and the Avarice of their *Publicans* having alienated their Affections, from *Rome*; and tho' they were well pleased to see at their Gates the Troops of a King, who was an Enemy to their Tyrants; yet they at first dissembled their Joy, and refused to admit him within their Gates. But upon their being desired, to carry their Provisions at least to the Camp and Fleet, where they should be paid the value of them, two of their Magistrates went on board the Admiral, and were doubtless at their own Consent, and by private Agreement, there detained. At the same time, the Receivers of the publick Money which *Rome* sent annually to *Heraclea* arrived there; and the People were so exasperated at the Sight of these *Publicans*, that they put them to Death, and opened their Gates to *Mithridates*. From thence, the King of *Pontus* proceeded to the Cities of *Paphlagonia*, and with as much ease made himself Master of all those which he found in his way. The *Paphlagonians* had long been subject to the Romans; and did not imagine, that they were changing their Masters, when they surrendered to the King of *Pontus*. *Varius*, whom *Sertorius* had sent into *Asia*, in quality of *Pro-Consul*, always first entered those Cities which were subject to *Rome*; the People seeing his *Lictors*, revered his Authority; and he, in the Name of the Republick settled in *Lusitania*, prepared the way for the Reception of *Mithridates*. By this means, the greatest Enemy of the Roman Name, opened himself an easy Passage into *Bithynia*, in nine Days; and as soon as he entered it, the cowardly Consul *Aurelius Cotta* abandoned this fine Kingdom to the Plunder of the Barbarians, and fled to *Chalcedon*.

*Memnon apud*  
*Euseb.*

Before he penetrated far into *Bithynia*, *Mithridates* assembled his Troops, and addressed himself to them thus. *Patience when provoked oftens turns into Fury. The King of Pontus has long enough been the Derision of the proud Senate that resides at Rome. I made a Peace with Sylla, and the publick Faith ought to have secured the Continuance of it, without any Writing. But an ambitious Prætor broke it, under Pretence, that it had not been confirmed, either by the Suffrages of the People, or the Authority of the Senate. Yet still I persisted in it, and earnestly demanded, That the Republick would ra-*

*App. in Mi-*  
*thrid.*

dioufness, when they abandoned him, to follow *Sylla's* Standards. After their being dispersed in *Asia*, and softened by the Pleasures of the Country, they indulged themselves in all Excesses that can be committed by a Company of Villains, when restrained, neither by any respect to Authority, or fear of Punishment. But *Lucullus*, by his affable Behaviour, brought these untractable Men, who had for several Years thrown off the Yoke of Obedience, to submit to military Discipline. He made four *Legions* of them, which when joined with the first lately raised in *Italy*, made an Army of 30000 Foot, and 16000 Horse, according to *Appian*. *Plutarch* makes the Horse no more than 2500.

<sup>86</sup> *Heraclea* surnamed *Pontica* to distinguish it from two other Cities of the same Name, stood on the Coast of the *Euxine* Sea, 120 Miles, or 40 Leagues to the East of *The Thracian Bosphorus*, and three Quarters of a League from the River *Lycus*. *Strabo*

and *Pausanias* say, That it was built by a Colony of *Megarians*, who joined with some of the Inhabitants of *Tanagra* in *Bœotia*, in laying the Foundations of the new Colony. Near it was the Cave of *Acherusia*, through which the Fabulists suppose that *Hercules* descended to the infernal Regions to take away *Cerberus*; from whence, say they, the neighbouring City was called *Heraclea*. It arrived in Process of Time to a great Degree of Power; and became one of the most considerable Cities in *Bithynia*, under the Tyrants who usurped the Government of it. *Mithridates* got it by Usurpation; but after his Death, it was subject to the Roman Republick, and had the Title of a Colony. *Strabo* says it was strengthened with a Port; to which were brought all the Riches of the East. It is now but a small City which *Le Noir* and *Castaldus* call *Benderachi*. *Memnon* has given a long Account of *Heraclea*, in a Fragment which *Photius* has preserved in his *Bibliotheca*.



Year of tify the Conventions I had made with her. But her affected Delays, and continual  
 ROME Procrastinations, made me sensible, that, under the Appearance of Peace, Rome only  
 DCLXXIX. fought for a convenient Opportunity to declare War with me to Advantage. And now,  
 L. LICINIUS I have found the happy Minute, when I shall revenge myself on the Romans, by the Ro-  
 LUCULLUS, mans themselves; and rescue my self out of Oppression, by the Assistance of my Oppressors.  
 & M. AURE- In a Republick of so great extent, all are not equally inclined to Oppression. The Faction  
 LIUS COTTA, that opposed Sylla, has produced a Man of an upright Heart, of a Constancy not to be sub-  
 Consuls. dued by Banishments and Proscriptions, and of a Valour much superior to that of any of  
 the Patricians. Sertorius, whose Heroism is boasted of, as that of another Romulus, has  
 opened an Asylum in Lusitania, where the best Part of the Romans are settled, and re-  
 vive the Virtues of their first Founders; to them I have had recourse, and from them I  
 have received the Investiture of Bithynia. The illustrious Pro-Consul who conducts us,  
 and Magius and Fannius his two Lieutenant Generals, are the most valuable Present we  
 could receive, and the strongest Pledge of the Faithfulness of Sertorius and his Senate. Let  
 us then, under such favourable Auspices, penetrate into the Kingdom we have so justly  
 acquired. If we must fight to reduce it, Remember, Soldiers, my Valour, and your own  
 former Exploits. It is a Roman Pro-Consul that commands you, and Mithridates se-  
 conds him. In all this War, the King gave the Preference to Varius, and made his  
 Diadem stoop to the Fasces.

§. XLVIII. The Neighbourhood of Mithridates, and his Progress in Bithynia re-  
 ved the Discontents of all the Nations of Asia, which lived under the Roman Domi-  
 nion. The Tyranny of the Prætors, and the Avarice of the Publicans gave them a  
 hatred to a Government which impoverished them by its Oppressions. The Pergami-  
 an Province especially was inclined to revolt, and the Roman Magistrates were not able  
 to keep it in Subjection. But there happened to be a young Roman upon the Spot,  
 who prevented the Mischiefs that might have followed from the Cowardice and Indo-  
 lence of the Governours. This was the famous Julius Cæsar. We have before obser-  
 ved, that he had retired to Rhodes, after he had been taken by the Pyrates. There he  
 spent his Time in Tranquillity, in the Study of the Greek Literature, and cultivated the  
 fine Genius which Nature had endowed him with. Upon the first News of the Mo-  
 tion of the Asiatics, he, without any Commission, raised Troops among the Allies of  
 Rome; took the Pyrates in his Way who had taken him, and <sup>87</sup> hanged them; came to  
 Pergamus, drove an Officer Mithridates had sent thither, out of the Country, and  
 settled it again in Peace. This was, as it were, the first Essay of this great Man, who  
 tho' only 24 Years of Age, already surpassed the oldest Generals in Prudence and Bra-  
 very. Agreeably to what Sylla, who was a good judge of Merit, had foretold of  
 him, when a Child, *That in him were many Marii.*

Epit. Liv. L.  
93. c. 22.

§. XLIX. In the mean time, Lucullus had left the Ports of Italy, and was advancing  
 towards the East, to join his Colleague. Their Commission was to oppose Mithridates  
 and Varius, and to act in Concert, one by Land, and the other at Sea. And as it often  
 happens, that Jealousy or Emulation will inspire even Cowards with Bravery, the same  
 Aurelius Cotta, who had in a cowardly manner abandoned Bithynia, and fled for Re-  
 fuge to Chalcedon, resolved, as soon as he saw Lucullus approaching, to attack Mithri-  
 dates himself; that his Colleague might have no share in the Action, or consequently in  
 the Honour of the Victory. To this end, he divided his Troops into two Bodies. The  
 Land Forces he commanded himself, and his Ships attacked the Asiatick Fleet under  
 the Command of Nudus, whom he created Vice-Admiral <sup>88</sup>: But the Rashness of  
 both

<sup>87</sup> According to Plutarch, when Cæsar was released  
 by the Pyrates after 40 Days Captivity, he armed  
 some Ships which were in the Port of Miletus, and put  
 out to Sea, resolving to attack the Fleet of the Py-  
 rates. He met it near the Island of Pharmacusa, and  
 fought it with such Vigour, that most of these Rob-  
 bers were forced to surrender at Discretion, and de-  
 liver up to him not only the 50000 Crowns he had  
 paid for his Ransom, but likewise almost all their Riches,  
 the Fruit of their Robberies. With this considerable  
 Booty, he carried them himself to the Prisons in Per-  
 gamus. From thence he went in search of the Præ-  
 tor Marcus Junius, to whom only it belonged to  
 judge such Prisoners. But he was a selfish Man, who

proposed to sell the Malefactors to the best Bidder, in  
 order to raise a great Sum of Money, for himself.  
 Cæsar saw through his Design, and without waiting  
 for his Decision, returned to Pergamus; and before  
 Junius had Time to notify his Orders, he crucified all  
 the Pyrates that were in the Prisons, and thereby ve-  
 rified what he had said jocosely to them when he was  
 a Captive among them, *That he would hang them all  
 up.* A little Time after, he raised Troops; went in-  
 to Asia; drove one of Mithridates's chief Officers be-  
 fore him, as Suetonius reports; and kept a great many  
 Cities in the Interest of Rome, which were inclined to  
 Revolt.

<sup>88</sup> Appian here disagrees with Plutarch. He says  
 that



both was soon punished. The *Consul*, after he had lost 4000 Men in the Battle, was forced to retire within the Walls of *Chalcedon*, and the Vice-Admiral had great difficulty to get his shattered Fleet into that Port, after the Enemy had taken or sunk 60 of his Ships. The victorious Army and Fleet immediately invested the City, and blocked up the Port; and when the latter had broken the Chain before the Harbour, they took all the Ships they found there at Anchor. In the mean time, *Lucullus* made great Marches, at the Head of 30000 Foot, and 2500 Horse; and his Officers advised him, to leave *Cotta* in his Asylum, to suffer the just Punishment of his Temerity. They thought it most proper, in the present State of Affairs, to turn suddenly towards *Pontus*, and seize that Kingdom, which was stripped of its Forces, and its chief Strength, by the Absence of the King. But *Lucullus* acted upon higher Principles. *As inexcusable as Cotta's Fault may be*, said he, *I must relieve him. It would be more agreeable to me, to draw a Roman Consul out of Difficulties, than to conquer all the Enemy's Country* <sup>89</sup>. This said, he drew near *Chalcedon*; and we are told, that in his March, *Varius*, who took upon himself the Quality of *Pro-Consul* in *Mithridates's* Army, met him. When they were just ready to engage, there fell a very bright Flame, as big as a Tun, between the two Armies, and the Surprise, as we are informed, parted them. However, the *Roman Consul* came and posted himself on an Eminence, from whence he saw *Mithridates's* Camp; and it is acknowledged, that the first Sight of this formidable Army, much alarmed him. But he comforted himself with Hopes, that such a Multitude of Mouths would soon consume all their Provisions. Upon examining his Prisoners, he computed by the Quantity of Corn <sup>90</sup> which *Mithridates* ordered to be distributed to each Soldier, that his Magazines would be exhausted in three Days; and therefore the prudent *Consul* kept himself unactive, or at most, only employed himself in getting Provisions from the neighbouring Countries; and the Event shewed how well he had judged.

§. L. On the third Day, *Mithridates* decamped, and from besieging *Chalcedon* went and besieged *Cyzicus* <sup>91</sup>, a City on the Coasts of the *Propontis*, near the Mouth of the *Æsopus* <sup>92</sup>. In order to surprize this Place, he began his March in the Night, and came and posted himself on Mount *Adraestia* <sup>93</sup>, which was over against it. *Lucullus* followed close after him, and kept him in fight, without hazarding a Battle, though his Soldiers desired it; and now, the *Consul* was in great joy. He plainly foresaw, that an Army which was now near 300000 Men, and had secured no Provisions on the Spot, but were wholly supplied from their Ships, would soon perish with Hunger in a barren Country. Then he strongly entrenched himself, and tho' with great Difficulty, restrained his impatient Troops from fighting, not so much for fear of the Number of the Enemy, as on account of the advantageous Situation of *Mithridates*. He was posted on an inaccessible Mountain. Nevertheless, an Opportunity soon offered to dislodge him. *Magius*, one

that *Aurelius Cotta* kept himself shut up in *Chalcedon*, whilst the Vice-Admiral *Nudus* commanded the Land Forces; and *Nudus* and several other Officers were, according to him, so warmly pursued by the Troops of *Mithridates* to the very Gates of the City, that they could no otherwise escape Death, than by getting themselves drawn up with Cords to the top of the Ramparts. The Centinel to secure the Gate against the victorious Enemy, had let down the Port-Cullis. So that the vanquished had no Hopes of Safety. The greatest Part of them were massacred without Mercy at the Foot of the Walls, and almost in sight of the Roman Garrison, whose Assistance, amidst this horrible Butchery, they in vain implored.

<sup>89</sup> On the other hand, *Archelaus*, who had left *Mithridates* and went over to the Romans, endeavoured to prevail on *Lucullus*, to march to *Pontus*. At your approach, said he, all the Cities will open their Gates, and the People submit to your Will. Delay not then to reap the Advantage which Fortune offers you. *Mithridates*, who is busy elsewhere, seems to have abandoned his Kingdom to be conquered by you. It is him that I seek, replied *Lucullus*. Unwieldy the Hunter, and there is no occasion for running back to the Form, in order to hunt the Hare.

<sup>90</sup> From this Account of *Plutarch* it is concluded, That in the Army of the King of *Pontus*, the Purveyors gave each Soldier as much Corn as was necessary for a stated Time.

<sup>91</sup> *Cyzicus* was deemed one of the ancient Cities of *Asia Minor*. The Historians say it was built, 70 Years after the Foundation of *Rome*. It stood on the Coast of the *Propontis*, in an Island of *Little Mysia*, which *Alexander the Great* joined to the Continent by two Bridges. This City had two close Ports, which could hold 200 Sail of Ships. It is now only a Village called *Cizico*, according to *Thevet*. But *Corradus* calls it *Spiga*, and the neighbouring Promontory *Capo di Spiga*.

<sup>92</sup> The *Æsopus*, which *Pliny* and *Ptolomy* call *Æsepus*, rises in Mount *Ida*, runs North, and falls into the *Propontis*. The modern Geographers commonly call it *Spiga*.

<sup>93</sup> The Plain which was overlooked by the Mountain, on which *Lucullus's* Army encamped, was called *Adraestia*, from *Adraestis* the Son of *Merops*, who had built a City in that Neighbourhood; and a Temple in Honour to *Nemesis*, the Goddess of Vengeance.



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of *Varius's* Lieutenant Generals, had heard a false Piece of News, that *Sertorius* was dead. Upon this, he concluded that he had lost his chief Support; and having a Decree of Proscription out against him which was not recalled, he resolved, if possible, to make his Peace with *Rome*, and in order thereto, to betray the Party he had embraced. He wrote to *Lucullus*, That he served in the Camp of *Mithridates* with regret; and That if he might have his Pardon, he would do his Country some signal Service. *Lucullus* embraced the Offer, and *Magius* acted his Part very effectually, at the King's Court. Being in the King's Confidence, he prevailed on him to leave his present Post; tho' Mount *Adraſtia* was surrounded on all Sides with Canals, by means of which, *Mithridates* was readily supplied with Corn for his numerous Army. *I have been informed*, said he, *that a considerable Part of the Enemy's Legions will desert, and come over to you. They are the Troops which were formerly commanded by Fimbria, who was of the same Party as Sertorius. Let us then facilitate their Desertion, by drawing nearer to them. What does it signify where we encamp, since the Victory is sure, wherever we are posted.* *Mithridates* took the Bait, left the Mountain, and came down into the Plain. Then *Lucullus* assembled his Troops, and, with an Air of Triumph, addressed them thus.

*Epit. Liv. L. 94. c. 4.* *The greatest Trial of a General's Patience is, when the Reproaches of an Enemy, or the Persuasions of his own Men, tempt him to recede from right Counsels. But he ought stedily to adhere to them, in spite of both. You will now see, how much better I have provided for you, than you would have done for yourselves. Had I suffered you to fight, we should either have been beaten, or had a drawn Battle; or if crowned with Success, must have bought it very dear. Whereas now, I can with Confidence promise you a certain Victory, without the Loss of any Blood.*

*Ibid. c. 6.*

*Ibid. ;*

*Ibid.*

This said, he immediately took Possession of the Mountain *Mithridates* had left; and soon found the Advantage of the Change. Whilst he had Provisions brought him in great Plenty by the Lake *Dascylites*<sup>94</sup>, and the Channels that ran from it; the Enemy were grievously oppressed with Want, in a dry Plain. *Mithridates* was enraged at the Perfidiousness of *Magius*; but he was now out of his reach. In the mean time, the autumnal Storms began to make the Seas more dangerous; and the Convoys were with difficulty brought to the Camp of the *Asiatics*. Nevertheless, *Mithridates* could not attack *Lucullus* in his Camp, and force his Way through it. The Roman General had made it inaccessible. The King therefore resolved to besiege *Cyzicus*, tho' a strong Place; its Garrison having suffered much in the Battle of *Chalcedon*, in which 3000 *Cyzicans* had lost their Lives. But nevertheless, the rest of its brave Inhabitants were resolved to continue constant and faithful to the *Romans*, to the last Extremity. However, tho' it was difficult to draw a perfect Circumvallation round *Cyzicus*, which stood on a Peninsula of the *Propontis*, which was joined to the Continent by two Necks of Land; yet all the Avenues were so closely shut up, that the besieged could not learn that *Lucullus* was near enough to relieve them. Indeed, they saw from their Ramparts another Camp besides that of *Mithridates*; but the Besiegers told them, it was an Army of *Medes* and *Armenians*, brought by *Tygranes* against them. The King's vast Army took up a great Space in the Plains, and his 400 Ships defended the Approaches of the little Gulphs the Sea formed round the City. And as it was easy for *Mithridates* with such Numbers of Men to raise prodigious Works round the City, he built a double range of Walls along the Port, to hinder the Barks from going out; and on the Land-side, erected *Cavaliers*, which he fortified with Towers as high as the Ramparts. The most formidable of all his Machines was the *Helepolis*<sup>95</sup>, invented by *Niconidas* a *Thessalian*, which was 100 Cubits high. On this Mass of Timber, which resembled a little Town, stood a Tower, filled with *Catapulta*, which threw great Numbers of Arrows on the Ramparts, and into the Heart of the City, at the same time; and on the Tower was fixed a Draw-Bridge, which let down on the Parapet.

In the mean time, before he began the Attack, the King of *Pontus* ordered the Prisoners he had taken from the *Cyzicans* before *Chalcedon*, to be shewn to the besieged.

<sup>94</sup> The Lake *Dascylites* was so called, according to *Strabo*, because it was near *Dascylium*, now *Diaquilo*, a City on the Coasts of the Sea of *Marmora*. This City belonged partly to the *Cyzicans*, and partly to the *Byzantini*.

<sup>95</sup> The *Helepolis* among the Ancients was one of

those moveable wooden Towers, which ran upon Wheels, that they might be brought forwards or backwards, as there was occasion. See what we have said of these Machines, Vol. 1. p. 566, 567, Note 19, 22; and Vol. 2. p. 190, Notes 22, 23, 24.



This Sight greatly affected their Countrymen. But nevertheless, *Pisistratus* who commanded in the City, exhorted them to have Patience, and resolved to stand all the Efforts of the Besiegers. Then, *Mithridates* ordered some of his Gallies which carried a Tower-like that of an *Helepolis*, to come forwards into the Gulph next the Port; and when its Draw-Bridge was let down, it rested on the Battlements of the City. Four Men only of all those in the Tower, had Courage enough to march out of it; and the *Cyzicans* were at first affrighted with the Machine, and the Boldness of those four resolute Men. But they soon recovered their Spirits, and threw so much Fire and combustible Matter on the Tower, and the Ships, that they forced them to retire, to avoid being burnt. At the same time, tho' the *Rams* battered the Walls, and the *Moveable Towers* were advanced beyond the Ditch, yet the besieged made extraordinary Efforts to repulse these Attacks. They sometimes beat the *Rams* in pieces, by throwing down Stones of a prodigious Weight upon them; sometimes broke their Blows with Sacks of Wool let down from the Ramparts; and put out the burning Darts and Arrows thrown at them, by covering them with Cloaths dipped in Water and Vinegar. In a Word, they repulsed the Enemy in all Places, and forced them to return to their *Towers*. Nevertheless, the King's Troops made a Breach in the Walls, by Fire; but the Heat of it was so great, that they could not pass through their Breach when made, before the *Cyzicans* had Time enough to build a new Wall behind it.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXIX.  
L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS,  
& M. AURE-  
LIUS COTTA,  
Consuls.  
App. in Mi-  
thrid.  
Plut. in Lu-  
cullus.

§. LI. The next Day, a more furious Attack than the former was expected; but, then a South-Wind did the Besiegers more Injury, than all the Resistance of the besieged. It was so violent, that it overturned their wooden *Towers* and Machines; and this supposed Prodigy happened on the Day which was celebrated in *Cyzicus*, as the Festival of *Proserpine*, the Patroness and Protectress of their City. It was customary on that Day, to sacrifice a black Cow to the Goddess of Hell; and as none was to be had in a besieged City, the People made the Figure of one <sup>96</sup> in Paste, to supply the Place of the true Victim, which was grazing in the neighbouring Meadows. To which the fabulous *Greeks* add, That the devoted black Cow left her Pasture of her own accord, swam cross an Arm of the Sea under the Enemy's Ships, and came and offered her self to the Axes of the Sacrificers; and That this Storm which did *Mithridates* so much Damage, was foretold at *Ilion* <sup>97</sup>, long before it came. And this at least we may certainly infer from thence, That the Accident was of great Consequence, since it gave rise to so many Fictions <sup>98</sup>.

However, *Mithridates* pursued the Siege with Vigour, and was not affrighted at the pretended Miracle. He made a Cause-way all along Mount <sup>99</sup> *Dindimus*, which overlooked the City, and strengthened it with Towers, which were sheltered from the high Winds by the Mountain. Then the Miners began to Sap that Part of the Wall, which faced the Necks of Land, and made a great Progress. The besieged likewise went to work under Ground, to make themselves a Way to the Enemy's Camp; and succeeded so well, that starting up out of the Earth on a sudden, they had like to have surprized the King himself in his Tent. But in the mean while, the Walls of the City which the Workmen had entirely undermined, and left supported only by their Props, being just ready to tumble, it was now Time for *Lucullus* to relieve its faithful Inhabitants. And before he made any Attempt, he thought of this Expedient to

<sup>96</sup> This superstitious Practice was derived from a very old Law, which allowed the offering up artificial Victims, where natural ones were wanting. According to *Porphyry*, *Pythagoras* did so, when he sacrificed an Ox made in Paste. *Empedocles* his Disciple, after he had been crowned at *The Olympic Games*, made an Animal of this sort, of Myrrh, Incense, and all sorts of Aromatics, and distributed it among the Spectators. This Custom was very old in *Egypt*, and continued in *Herodotus's* Time. He tells us, That the *Egyptians* sacrificed living Hogs to *Bacchus* and the *Moon*; and that when they could not get any, they offered up the Figure of the Animal in Paste, instead of the Victim.

<sup>97</sup> In order to give this natural Event the Appearance of something wonderful, it was reported as Matter of Certainty, That *Minerva* had taken the besieged under her Protection, and had for their Relief, let loose all the Winds against the Machines of

the King. In proof of this, several of the Inhabitants of *Ilion* were quoted, to whom the Goddess had appeared in a Dream, wearing a rent Veil, and almost exhausted, as she declared, with the Pains she had been taking, to destroy these formidable military Works, which threatened the Inhabitants of *Cyzicus*. To which *Plutarch* adds, That the People of *Ilion* erected a Column, with an Inscription, which preserved the Memory of this pretended Miracle.

<sup>98</sup> *Plutarch* also will have it, That *Proserpine* was concerned in the Affair. He says, That she appeared to one *Aristagoras*, and foretold to him, in enigmatical Terms, the Storm that caused such Disorder among the Besiegers.

<sup>99</sup> The ancient Geographers mention two Mounts of this Name. One in *Myfia* near *Cyzicus*; the other in *Great Phrygia*, and consecrated according to the Fabulists, by the Residence and Worship of *Cybele*.



Year of inform them of his Designs. He had a Soldier in his Army, who was a good Pilot, *ROME* and a tolerable Swimmer; and he engaged him to swim cross an Arm of the Sea, which *DCLXXIX.* was about seven Miles broad. In order to facilitate his Passage, he fastened two Skins blown up like Bladders to two Lathes, and in the Folds of the Skins sewed up a Letter for the Governour of *Cyzicus*. The Soldier so placed himself on this Float, that nothing appeared above Water but his Head covered with a Cap, and his Legs were his Rudder to guide him to his Port. The *Asiatics* saw the Machine swimming on the Water, but took it for a Sea Monster; and the Soldier pursued his Way, delivered the Letter, and raised the Hopes and <sup>100</sup> Courage of those who defended the Place.

L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS,  
& C. AURE-  
LIUS COTTA,  
Consuls.

But their Assurance was still greater, when they saw a Reinforcement arrive in their City from the Camp of *Lucullus*. He had embarked a good Number of Soldiers on board one of those great Vessels which were used on the Lake *Dascylites*; and by the Help of the Night, they came safe to *Cyzicus*. This made the besieged bolder; and they drove the Besiegers from the Foot of their Walls, whilst their Miners repulsed those of *Mithridates*. In short, the Siege having now lasted longer than the King had resolved, and Winter being begun, and with Severity, the *Asiatick* Infantry suffered much, and their Cavalry more. Their thin and harrassed Horses were for the most part unshod like-wisely, by travelling through rough Ways, and over the Flints of a stony Strand. And as Provisions began to be but sparingly distributed, *Mithridates* resolved to empty his Camp of many useless Mouths, which increased the Scarcity. He sent away for *Bithynia* almost all his Horses, with the Beasts of Burden, and those Battalions which served only for show; and they marched through By-Roads. But *Lucullus*, who was soon informed of their March <sup>101</sup>, immediately pursued them, came up with them, attacked them on the Banks of the *Rhyndacus* <sup>102</sup> a River of *Myfia* which falls into the *Propontis*, met with little Resistance from them, made a terrible Slaughter of them, and took 15000 Prisoners of War, and 6000 Horses fit for the Service, with a very great Number of Camels <sup>103</sup>, and other Beasts of Burden.

App. in Mi-  
thridat.

Plut. in Lu-  
cullus.

In the mean time, *Mithridates* continued his vain Attendance before *Cyzicus*; where the Cold increased, and the Attacks were very faintly carried on; and the King was the only Person who knew not how great the Famine was in his Army. The Soldiers lived almost entirely on human Flesh. As soon as any died of Want, their Bodies were immediately devoured by their Companions. And to compleat their Misfortunes, the *Cyzicans* made a Sally, and burnt all their Machines. And now, after all these Calamities, he could hold out no longer. He went on board a Ship in the Night, and on a <sup>104</sup> sudden disappeared. His Army, under the Command of his Lieutenant Generals, marched <sup>105</sup> towards *Lampsacus*; but found it very difficult to pass the *Granicus* <sup>106</sup>, which was swelled, and overflowed. *Lucullus* came up with them there, and when he had once reached the miserable Remains of this formidable Army, weakened by Famine, deprived of its General, and almost consumed already, it was an easy Work to destroy them. A few <sup>107</sup> of them only escaped to *Lampsacus*, and among them *Varius*, the pretended *Pro-Consul* whom *Sertorius* had sent to *Asia*. Thus was *Lucullus* victorious over an Army of near 300000 Men, more by Conduct than Feats of Arms; and when he came to *Cyzicus*, he was there received as their Deliverer. Extra-

Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> *Archelaus* also who had then declared for the Romans, sent one *Demonax* to the besieged; who found Means to get into the Town, and gave them the Pleasure of knowing that *Lucullus* was near, and would speedily relieve them. The same Thing was likewise confirmed by a young *Cyzican*, who made his escape out of the Camp of *Mithridates*, where he had been a Prisoner.

<sup>101</sup> The Snow fell in great Flakes, when *Lucullus* made six Cohorts march in pursuit of *Mithridates*; and the Season was so sharp, that several of the Roman Soldiers could not follow their General in this Expedition.

<sup>102</sup> The *Rhyndacus* which *Pliny* calls *Lycus*, rises at the Foot of Mount *Olympus*, and falls into the *Propontis* pretty near *Cyzicus*. Some say, it is now called *The Lico*, others the *Lupidi*, or *Larthaco*.

<sup>103</sup> *Plutarch* here reproaches *Sallust* with having said, That this was the first Time the Romans saw any Camels. They had seen them in their Wars with

*Antiochus the Great*, in *Asia Minor*.

<sup>104</sup> Before his Departure, in order to give a Diversion to *Lucullus*, he commanded *Aristonicus* his Admiral, to cruise with his Fleet on the Coasts of *Greece*. But when the Admiral was just ready to set sail, he was betrayed by his Men, who delivered him to the Enemy; and with him, the 6000 Pieces of Gold, which he had reserved for this Expedition.

<sup>105</sup> See Vol. 4. p. 96. Note 41.

<sup>106</sup> The *Granicus*, famous for the Victory gained by *Alexander the Great* over the *Persians*, rises in Mount *Ida*, runs northward, and falls into the *Propontis*, between *Cyzicus* and *Lampsacus*. Most modern Geographers call it *Granico*; but *Le Noir* pretends, That the Name of it is *Lazzara*.

<sup>107</sup> *Plutarch* says, That this second Defeat cost the Enemy 20000 Men who were killed upon the Spot, besides a considerable Number of Prisoners.



ordinary Honours were paid him, and a Festival instituted in his Name. Nevertheless, he made but a very short Stay in the City that adored him. He borrowed Ships enough on the Coasts of *Asia* to form a Fleet, and then proceeded to finish the Campaign with fresh Glory.

§. LII. He besieged *Lampsacus*, which brought *Mithridates* before it with his Fleet; and as the King was still strongest at Sea, he found Means to get *Varius*, who always continued faithful to him, out of the besieged City. Then he gave him the Command of a Fleet of 50 Ships, and appointed *Alexander of Paphlagonia*, and *Dionysius the Eunuch*, to be his Lieutenant Generals, whilst *Mithridates* himself carried the rest of his Galleys to <sup>108</sup> *Nicomedia*. *Varius* kept out at Sea, and went in search of *Lucullus*, who with the Fleet he had so hastily assembled was making Conquests along the Coast. *Triarius*, one of the Commanders of the Consul's Squadron, had taken *Apamea* <sup>109</sup>, *Barba*, <sup>110</sup> *Prusa*, and *Nice* <sup>111</sup>; whilst *Lucullus* himself was cruising on the Coasts of *Troas*, and was there informed, that *Varius* with 13 Galleys was steering for *Lemnos*. Upon this Intelligence, he immediately made all haste after the Enemy, came up with them near a desert Island, and in his first Attack made himself Master of some of the *Asiatick* Galleys, and killed *Isidorus* who commanded them. Nevertheless *Varius* got before him, and drew up his Squadron along the Rocks that lay about the Island. He turned his Sterns to the Shore, and presented only the Prows towards *Lucullus*, who in vain endeavoured to reduce them, in so advantageous a Post. He could neither surround, nor sink these Galleys, whose Prows only were within his reach. But at last, the Desire of Conquest suggested an Expedient which had its Effect. He ordered some of his Mariners to go ashore, and attack the Enemy's Ships behind; and then the Dispute was very unequal. The Troops on the Shore attacked *Varius* in the Stern, whilst *Lucullus* did the same in Prow. The Slaughter was considerable; and *Lucullus* ordered his Troops not to kill any *one-eyed* Person. Such was *Varius*, whom he desired to make an Example of Terror; and he was taken alive with *Alexander*, and *Dionysius*. The latter immediately poisoned himself; *Alexander* was reserved to adorn the Conqueror's *Triumph*; and *Varius* was exemplarily punished.

After all these Defeats by Sea and Land, *Mithridates* seemed to have nothing to do, but return to his own Dominions; and the Design of *Lucullus* was, to shut him up in *Nicomedia*. But the Consul was ill served by a negligent Officer, named *Bocconius*, who instead of pursuing the King, according to his Orders, continued some Days in *Samothrace*, and got himself initiated in the Mysteries of the *Dii Cabiri*. By this means *Mithridates* escaped; tho' the Season was very tempestuous, and he was overtaken with a Storm, which put his Life in great Danger. Many of his <sup>112</sup> Ships were beaten to pieces, and the Shore covered with the Wrecks of his Fleet. The Ship that carried him was so much shattered, that he was forced to leave her, and entrust himself with some Pyrates; who carried him in their Brigantines to *Heraclea*, a City in his own Dominions. Thus ended the first Campaign *Lucullus* made as Commander in Chief; and when he had given the Senate Advice of all his Victories, *Rome* immediately resolved to continue him in his Post, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*. Not was this all. The Fleet of *Aurelius Cotta* having disappeared, and the Consul himself being dead, since the Battle of *Chalcedon*, the Republick thought it necessary to fit out another, and give the Command of that likewise to *Lucullus*. But he saved her the 3000 <sup>113</sup> *Talents*, which she had appropriated to this new Armament. He undertook to keep the Seas, and make Head against *Mithridates*, with only the Ships of the *Allies* in the *Le-*

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*Front. Strat. L. 3. c. 13.*

*Plut. in Lucullo.*  
*App. in Mithridat.*

*Plut. in Lucullo.*

<sup>108</sup> *Nicomedia* is now called *Comidia*, and has given its Name to the neighbouring Gulph. See above p. 9. Note 20.

<sup>109</sup> The Name of *Apamea* was common to several Cities in *Asia*, as we have elsewhere observed. That here spoken of, stood on the Sea of *Marmora*, near the *The Gulph of Montagna*, 50 Miles East of *Cyzicus*. The *Greeks* now call it *Apami*. But it scarce deserves the Name of a City.

<sup>110</sup> *Prusa*, an ancient City founded by *Prusias*, is now known by the Name of *Bursa*. It was the Capital of the *Ottoman Empire*, before the *Turks* extended their Conquests in *Europe*. It now deserves to be ranked among the Cities of *Bithynia*, if we con-

sider its Greatness, and the Advantage of its Situation. It is reckoned to stand a League and a half from the Sea of *Marmora*.

<sup>111</sup> See above p. 9. Note 19, of this Volume.

<sup>112</sup> *Plutarch* really believed, that *Diana* had raised this Storm against *Mithridates's* Fleet, to punish him for the Sacrilege his Soldiers had committed at *Priapus*, a maritime City of *Mysia*. They had plundered the rich Temple of this Goddess there, and seized a Statue, which was held in great Veneration by the Inhabitants.

<sup>113</sup> 3000 *Talents*, in *French Money*, make nine Millions of *Livres*; [In *English*, 581250 l. *Sterl. Arbuth.*]



Year of *vant.* This increased his Reputation; and the People had an entire Confidence in his  
*ROME* Conduct.

DCLXXIX.

§. LIII. Thus *Lucullus* had now ruined the Friends of *Sertorius* in the East, where, by the Death of *Varius* and the Defeat of *Mithridates*, the *Patrician* Faction triumphed over the *Plebeian*. And it pleased Heaven, to equal the Misfortunes of *Sertorius* to those of *Mithridates*, in the same Year. Early in the Spring, the Armies which *Metellus* and *Pompey* commanded in *Spain*, received a Supply of Money and two new *Legions*, from *Rome*. With this Reinforcement they left the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, where they had spent the Winter, and came and encamped on the Banks of the *Ebro*. *Sertorius* immediately appeared on the Banks of that River, to dispute the Passage of it with the Enemy; and *Perperna* accompanied him, notwithstanding the Jealousy he had of late entertained. The Winter they had spent together in *Lusitania*, had destroyed that good understanding, which they had hitherto kept up, at least in appearance. *Sertorius* had given his Rival cause to complain, and *Perperna* no longer retained that Esteem for his General, which superior Merit had extorted from him. *Sertorius* was become quite another Man. He was no longer that frugal, continent, and obliging Hero, who was accessible at all Times, and so condescending to his Soldiers, as to make them even familiar with him. His Commerce with the *Lusitanian* Women had corrupted him. He now drank to great Excess, in his drunken Fits neglected his Duty as General; And as fast as he sunk into Discredit, he became wild and suspicious. His Guards no longer consisted of *Romans*. They were a Restraint upon him. The very sight of them was a Reproach to him, for having abandoned his former Virtue; and he therefore chose *Celtiberians* to guard him. This Honour made the new *Prætorians* insolent, and raised Murmurs and Discontents among the *Legionaries*; and the Consequence of this was, that the General severely punished them. *Perperna* took Advantage of the Discredit of *Sertorius* among the Troops; and aimed at nothing less than seizing his Post, and raising himself to be supreme Governor in *Lusitania*.

*Metellus* and *Pompey* were not at first sensible of these Changes in the Conduct of *Sertorius*, and the Heart of *Perperna*. All they perceived was, That Discipline was much relaxed in the *Lusitanian* Camp; That *Sertorius* had lost much of his Activity; and That his Orders were not executed with the same Ardour as formerly. *Perperna* had made all the Use he could of this Opportunity to sink the Credit of his General. He had hurt him in the Opinions of the Senators of their Party; had irritated against him the *Roman* Soldiers, who received his Orders with Reluctance, and only faintly put them in Execution; and had found Means to make him odious to the Inhabitants of the conquered Cities. By his first Victories, *Sertorius* subdued all that vast Country which reaches from *Lusitania* to the *Ebro*; and *Perperna* had exasperated these People against their Chief. In his military Excursions, the dangerous Subaltern had every where raised very high Contributions, demanded exorbitant Taxes, and took care to assure them, That if he oppressed the *Spaniards*, it was only in Obedience to *Sertorius*. So that *Pompey*, after he had passed the *Ebro* without Opposition, found the Nations he passed through, both prejudiced against his Enemies, and prepossessed in his Favour. He retook many Cities, and made many Conquests. *Sertorius* was uneasy at this Diminution of his Glory and Power; sensible that the Misunderstanding between him and his Soldiers, was the Cause of these Disasters; and therefore probably, on this Occasion, took the following Method to re-establish Concord between himself and his Troops. When he had assembled his Army, he ordered two Horses to be brought before him, one lean and weak, the other fat and strong. By the lean Horse he placed a vigorous strong Man, by the strong one a Man little of Stature and of as little Strength; and then ordered each Soldier, to pull off the Tail of the Horse that stood before him. The strong Man exerted his Strength to the uttermost, to pull off the Tail of the weak Horse, all at once; but in vain. The weak Soldier pulled the Tail of his Horse Hair by Hair, and got it all off. From whence the General concluded, That Divisions cause the Defeats of Armies, and Union makes them invincible.

§. LIII. But these wise Lectures did not screen *Sertorius* from the Misfortunes he had drawn upon himself. *Pompey* and *Metellus* gained so great Advantages over him, that they merited from all *Spain* the same Regards which had at first been shewn to himself; and *Perperna* triumphed at the low State to which he had reduced his General, or rather his General had reduced himself. Nevertheless his past Glory still supported



ported him; for a great Reputation is not to be lost all at once. The People at *Rome* Year of having had no exact Account of the Disgrace into which *Sertorius* was fallen, *ROME* many Persons of great Distinction there had already entered into Engagements with him by Letter; and had he continued to conquer but a little longer, the *Patrician* *DCLXXIX.* Party would have sunk, and Democracy prevailed in the Republick. But, unfortunately for those whose Hopes were founded on him, this great Commander, who was *L. LICINIUS* a second *Hannibal* in Valour, was now, like the first, wholly enervated by Pleasure; *LUCULLUS,* and *Lusitania* was to the one, what *Capua* had been to the other. The more *Pompey* and *Metellus* got the ascendant, the more sensible of course was the Weakness of *Sertorius*; and every fresh Loss fretted him, and transported him to Fury. Of this he gave a melancholy Proof to the *Spaniards*, whom he had formerly so much esteemed, and who now deserted him, and went over to *Pompey*. We have before observed, that he had taken on himself the Care of the Education of the young Nobility of their Country, whom he had assembled together in *Osca*, where he had provided Masters for them; And now, in one of his Fits of Rage, he sent some of his Guards, to revenge his Quarrel with the Fathers, on their Children. They massacred the greatest Part of them, and reduced the rest to Slavery. This barbarous Act, created him almost as many Enemies as he had Officers in his Army; and *Perperna* did all he could, to work them up to Sedition. His ardent Desire of commanding in chief, made him an Enemy to his Superior. He was continually inveighing against *Sertorius* and his Senate, both in publick and private; ostentatiously boasted of his Advantage, in Point of Birth, (his Family, tho' neither an ancient nor very illustrious one, being superior to that of *Sertorius*, who was a Soldier of Fortune,); and at last entered into a Plot, against the Life of his General. Indeed he did not execute this criminal Design, till towards the end of the next Year; but to prevent Confusion, we choose rather to follow the Series of Facts, than the order of Time; and will therefore relate the whole here.

Several of the young Nobility in the *Lusitanian* Army were attached to *Perperna*, *Prof. L. 5.* not so much by Esteem, as by the Contempt they had lately entertained for *Sertorius*. *c. ult. Plut. in Sertorio.* Among these young Officers, were one *M. Antonius*, one *Aufidius*, one *Græcinus*, one *Q. Fabius* a Member of the *Lusitanian* Senate, one *Tarquitius*, and lastly, one *Versus*, *App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1.* and one *Mecænas*, Secretaries to *Sertorius*. All these entered into a Conspiracy, to assassinate their General. *Perperna* had already attempted to kill him, by the Hands of a few Soldiers whom he had suborned; but the Conspiracy had been discovered and punished, though the Author of it was not known. This made it necessary to take new Measures, and use greater Precautions; and from henceforth the Secret of the Assassination was communicated only to Persons of Distinction, who undertook to put it in execution. Nevertheless it had like to have been discovered, by the Imprudence of *Manius Antonius*. He was an infamous Debauchee; who being desperately in Love with a young *Roman*, and jealous of the Caresses she received from *Aufidius*, another of the Conspirators, discovered the whole Plot to his beloved Mistress. She imparted it to *Aufidius*, who was very fearful of a Discovery; and he pressed *Perperna* to fix the Time for the Execution without Delay, lest such indiscreet Confidences should betray them, and they should fall Victims to the Man whom they intended to sacrifice. *Perperna* approved of the Advice, and pitched on that very Day to assassinate their General; at an Entertainment, to which only himself and the Conspirators should be invited. But it was difficult to get *Sertorius* from Home, and engage him in a Party of Pleasure. He was grown very reserved and suspicious, since he had altered his Conduct; and never appeared in publick, without his *Celtiberian* Guard. Artifice therefore was necessary, in order to put him in a good Humour; and *Perperna* pretended, that he had received a Letter from one of the Lieutenant-Generals in the *Lusitanian* Armies, importing, that *Metellus* and *Pompey* had been beaten, and entirely routed in *Further Spain*.

Upon this false News, *Sertorius*, in great Joy, readily came into the Proposal of the perfidious *Perperna*, and promised to rejoice with him upon the new Victory. He came attended by a small Number of Guards; and the highest Place was given him. He lay on the first Bed, between *Fabius* on his right, and *M. Antonius* on his left. On the second lay *Tarquitius*, between the General's two Secretaries; and *Perperna*, as Master of the House, placed himself on the third. They all knew that *Sertorius* had banished all loose and indecent Discourse from his Table; and *Perperna*, tho' very debauched,



Year of debauched, preserved that Decency in his own House, which was due to the General, *R O M E* or rather the Sovereign, of a great Nation. But in the midst of the Entertainment, *DCLXXIX.* the Conspirators pretended to be warmed with Wine, and talked very loosely. *Sertorius*, either fearing the Consequences of this unexpected Freedom, or looking on the Rashness of his Subalterns, as a Contempt done to him, lay down on his Back, to shew his Disapprobation of this Insolence, and left off eating; and then *Perperna* gave the Signal for the Assassination. When something was brought him to drink, he let fall the Bowl, and upon hearing this, *M. Antonius* drew his Ponyard, and stabbed *Sertorius*. The wounded General endeavoured to raise himself, and lay his Hand upon his Sword; but they held him by the Arms, and the whole Company joined in dispatching him. *Osca*, a City which *Sertorius* loved, and where he chose to indulge himself in Pleasure, during the short Intervals he could spare, from the Cares of War and Government, was the Scene where this tragical Act was committed; and at the same Time, *Sertorius's* Guards were seized in the Room adjoining, by the Domesticks of *Perperna* and some Soldiers that were devoted to him.

L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS;  
& M. AURE-  
LIUS COTTA,  
Consuls.

§. LV. As soon as *Sertorius* was dead, *Perperna* got himself proclaimed General, and Chief of the *Lusitanian* Nation. But what Comparison was there between them? *Sertorius* was, without Contradiction, one of the greatest Soldiers the Republick had ever bred. *Rome* was so fully convinced of it, that she sent against him two of the most famous Generals she had, *Metellus* and *Pompey*. The former's Age and Experience would have made him formidable to any Body except *Sertorius*; the latter had been honoured with a *Triumph* in his Youth, and all *Italy*, *Sicily*, and *Africa*, founded his Fame. Nevertheless, the Glory of these two great Warriors, who were deemed Pillars of the Republick, was eclipsed in *Spain*. As long as *Sertorius* was himself, that is, continued sober and continent, he had always been victorious; and even in his Disgrace, the bare Remembrance of his former Valour kept many *Spanish* Nations in Obedience. But the News of his Death made a great change among them. *Perperna* was odious as a Man, and contemptible as a General. What Affection could People have for a Traytor, who had just assassinated his Friend? The Publick hated him, and this Hatred increased, when the *Will* of *Sertorius* came to be opened. He had left all his Estate to this very *Perperna*; and made his Assassin his sole Legatee. Even the *Legionaries*, at the Head of whom *Perperna* had put himself, were not pleased to be under the Command of an Officer of no Note, after they had been conducted by an Hero; and their former Affection for *Sertorius* revived after his Death. They overlooked the Clouds which had over-cast his Glory, in his latter Years, and remembered only his first Exploits; and they went over, in great Numbers, to *Pompey*. Upon a Promise of their Lives, they surrendered to him, and followed his Standards.

In the mean time, *Perperna* was not ashamed to take Possession of *Sertorius's* Effects, to which he declared himself Heir. He seized them, and with them his Papers; and thereby discovered the Correspondencies the late General kept at *Rome*, with some Men of great Distinction, who invited him to come into *Italy*, like a second *Hannibal*. And when he had taken the Place and Character of his Predecessor, *Perperna* fancied himself able to make Advantage of his Intrigues and Views, and maintain himself in the like Glory. But the *Romans* in the Camps of the two *Pro-Consuls* judged very differently of him. *Metellus*<sup>114</sup> would not vouchsafe to enter the Lists with

<sup>114</sup> After *Metellus* had vanquished *Sertorius*, he thought of nothing but enjoying the Fruits of his Exploits, in Peace. He boasted of having raised his Glory to the highest pitch, by the Defeat of the most formidable Enemy of the Republick. Nevertheless this Hero, who was so fruitful in Expedients, might possibly find means to recover his Losses. Tho' vanquished, the *Romans* still feared him, and *Metellus* himself trembled at his Name. At least he gave the World reason to conclude as much, from his shameful recourse to Treachery, to deliver him from his Anxieties about the Success of a War, on which the Safety of *Rome* depended. *Plutarch* says, He offered 100 Talents, or 100000 French Crowns, and 20000 Acres of Land, to the Man who should deliver up *Sertorius* to him, alive or dead; and if the Murderer was a proscribed Person, he was likewise promised his Par-

don, and the Restitution of all his Effects. *Metellus* also looked on his last Victory, as the most glorious and happy Day of his Life. He was intoxicated with this unexpected Success, and made his Soldiers give him the Title of *Imperator*. He appeared in most of the Cities of *Spain*, with all the Pride of a Conqueror; was delighted to see the People crowd about him, as he passed, erect Altars, and offer Sacrifices to his Honour; and seemed to rank himself among the Gods, and to receive the Worship every City paid him, with great Pleasure. In order to flatter his Pride, the Inhabitants put Crowns on his Head, and made sumptuous Entertainments for him, at which he always appeared in the triumphal Robe. Whilst he was eating, different Choirs of Children of both Sexes sung Verses alternately to his Praise, and celebrated his Exploits with Songs of Triumph; and in the



with the new *Lusitanian* Chief; but left *Pompey* to finish the Campaign, and destroy this weak Adversary himself. He marched his Army into the inner Parts of *Spain*, and reconquered, and settled in Peace, the *Provinces* there. So that the finishing this War was the Work of *Pompey* alone; nobody shared the Success with him. As soon as *Perperna* took the Reins of Government into his Hands, it was easy to foresee, that his Ruin was near. The *Lusitanians* themselves, who were the chief Part of his Army, detested his Villany, and despised his Orders. He endeavoured to ingratiate himself with them by flattering Speeches, opened the Prisons of *Oſca*, and set those at Liberty whom *Sertorius* had confined in them, promised to govern with Mildness, and sent back to the *Spanish* Cities the Hostages his Predecessor had demanded of them. But all was in vain. Nobody placed any Confidence in him. Some Acts of Cruelty and Perfidiousness often escaped him, which ruined his Credit with all People. Three Men of Consideration had withdrawn from *Rome* to him, and he upon a Suspicion of Treachery, put them all to Death, with his own Brother's Son. But the *Lusitanian* Troops, notwithstanding all these unjust Proceedings, were under a Necessity of continuing to follow his Standards, as their only Security against *Pompey*, who threatened them, and was advancing toward them, to finish the War by one decisive Action. At length the two Armies encamped within reach of each other; and all *Spain* had their Eyes on *Perperna's* first Attempt.

§. LVI. When the two Armies were in sight, they naturally tried each other's Strength and Temper, by Skirmishes and slight Engagements; and when *Pompey* had considered his Enemy's first Motions, he despised him, and resolved not to delay giving him the finishing Stroke. On the other hand, *Perperna* finding that his Troops still retained some Regard for him, was afraid of lessening it. So that both were equally desirous of a Battle. The *Lusitanian* Army was divided into two Bodies, one under *Perperna*, the other under *Aufidius*, and both together, made a large Front. *Pompey*, on the other hand, made use of a common Stratagem against these unskilful Generals, which he could not have imposed on Commanders of any Ability or Experience. He brought only ten *Coborts* of his numerous Army into the Plain; and hid the rest of his *Legions* in the neighbouring Woods. At the sight of this little Army, *Perperna* put himself in Motion; and the weak Body *Pompey* commanded widened in the Plain, and as it retired, drew after it the left Wing which *Aufidius* commanded. He pursued the ten *Coborts*, who fought retreating, till they brought him by degrees, to the Place of the Ambuscade. Then the rest of the *Roman* Army appeared on a sudden, flanked the Enemy both ways, made a terrible Slaughter of them, and entirely defeated them. *Aufidius* fled, and saved his Life by retiring to a Cottage in an unknown Village, where he spent the rest of his Days. But *Perperna* was justly reserved for a more exemplary Punishment. Being vanquished, and reduced to Despair, he hid himself among the Bushes of a Coppice. The *Roman* Cavalry surrounded him, seized him, and loaded him with Chains; and in this melancholy Condition, he was more insulted by his own Soldiers, who were Prisoners with him, than by the Conqueror. This, said they, is our cowardly Chief, the Murderer and Successor of *Sertorius*, and the Author of all our Misfortunes.

When the Coward was brought to the Camp, he earnestly desired the Favour of being brought into *Pompey's* Presence; and pretended, that he had Secrets of Importance to communicate to him. But *Pompey* was too wise to admit him to an Audience, or to suffer him to discover the Secrets of those Intrigues which *Sertorius* had carried on with many illustrious *Romans*. The bare Presumption that he had been informed of these private Transactions would have increased his Enemies at *Rome*; whereas *Pompey's* Aim was to be beloved by all Parties. He therefore would never treat with his Prisoner in Person; but forced him to send him the Letters <sup>115</sup> *Sertorius* had received

the midst of this pompous Show, several moving Images of Victory appeared, and successively placed Crowns on the Conqueror's Head. Indeed, *Metellus* reflected more Dishonour on himself by this childish Vanity, than he had acquired Glory, by the Advantages he gained over *Sertorius*.

<sup>115</sup> According to *Plutarch*, *Perperna* had sent *Pompey* all *Sertorius's* Papers, in Hopes of obtaining his Pardon by it. The Conqueror might by them have made

great Discoveries of those who still favoured the *Marian* Faction. But this Treachery did not save his Life. He was condemned to die, and immediately executed. Some of his Accomplices underwent the same Fate, and fell by the Axes of the *Lictors*; others retired to *Africa*, but were shot to death by the *Moors*. Some Authors have accused *Pompey* of the most monstrous Ingratitude, in putting *Perperna* to death, who had done him signal Services in *Sicily*. But, the *Greek* Historian

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXIX.  
L. LICINIUS  
LUCULLUS,  
& M. AURE-  
LIUS COTTA,  
Consuls.



Year of received from *Rome*, sealed up in different Parcels; and when this was done, *Perperna* *ROME* was immediately beheaded, by *Pompey's* Order; and the General burnt all the Letters *DCLXXIX.* that had been sent him, in the Presence of all the Officers of his Army, without opening them. But whether his Motive to this was a Zeal for the publick Good, or a Fear of *L. LICINIUS* raising a new Storm in the Republick, or a Design to gain the Esteem and Affections *LUCULLUS,* of the many *Romans* whom by this means he extricated out of great Difficulties, it is *& M. AURE-* not easy to discover. If we judge of so singular an Action by his prevailing Qualities, *LIUS COTTA,* we must infer, that his View was to promote the publick Good, and make himself *Consuls.* Friends, at the same Time. He loved his Country; but was always intent on procuring himself Power in *Rome*, by prevailing on the People to pay him a willing Obedience. He was for gaining their Hearts by Insinuation and Address, rather than usurping an haughty Tyranny by Force and Violence.

And now, the Death of *Perperna* put an End to the War, which had employed the chief Forces of the Republick almost ten Years. Indeed, the Storm ceased, immediately after the Death of *Sertorius*. *Rome* ingloriously triumphed at it, as she had done at the Death of *Viriathes*: And *Pompey* gained but little Reputation by this Expedition, though it ended so successfully. *Sertorius* acted the greatest Part in all this War; and the Historians could not but do Justice to his Merit. Tho' a banished Man, a Fugitive, and proscribed, he found Means to advance himself to a Sovereignty, in a little Corner of *Europe*; and there maintained his Authority against a Republick, which was formidable to the whole World. He also made himself a considerable Party in the Capital itself; and raised up against *Rome*, the most powerful Monarch in *Asia*. In a word, he totally <sup>116</sup> eclipsed the Glory of *Metellus* and *Pompey*; and seems to have wanted nothing to have out-shined all the Heroes of *Rome* that had gone before him, but a little more Caution in guarding himself against the Charms of Pleasure, and the villainous Attempts of a perfidious Friend.

After *Perperna's* Defeat, *Pompey* continued a great while in *Spain*, to reduce the rebellious Cities there, and settle them in Order and Subjection. *Osca*, *Thermae* <sup>117</sup>, *Tutia* <sup>118</sup>, and *Valentia* <sup>119</sup>, readily surrendered to the Conqueror. *Uxama* and *Calaguris* only, persisted in the Revolt; and they were taken, and severely punished.

Historian observes, That his Death was necessary both for the Safety of his Country, and the Quiet of those Families which he had resolved to destroy, in order to escape Punishment himself; and adds, That *Pompey* raised himself above natural Sentiments, in order to promote the publick Good.

<sup>116</sup> Besides his great Qualities as an Hero, *Sertorius* was a good Son, and a generous Friend. He always loved his Mother tenderly. The News of her Death affected him so much, that he would have resolved to give up his own Life, if those about him had left him to his Despair. But after he had spent seven Days in Tears, laying on the Ground, and retired from all the World, he hearkened to the Representations of his chief Officers and the Cries of his Soldiers, who earnestly desired his return to them.

<sup>117</sup> Most modern Geographers make *Therma* or *Thermes* the same City which we have before-mentioned, p. 29, Note 76. of this Volume, under the Name of *Termantia*. They place it on the Banks of *The Duro* in *Old Castille*, not far from *Osma*, and near the place where we now find the Chappel of *Nostra Señora de Tiermes*, 9 Leagues west of *Segovia*, and 12 from old *Numantia*. Some have confounded it with the City of *Lerma*, on the Banks of the River *Aréva*, now called the *Arlanza*.

<sup>118</sup> We know nothing certain of the Situation of *Tutia*, more than that it belonged to *Tarragonian Spain*. *Florus* and *Plutarch* seem to be the only Historians that have preserved the Name of this ancient City.

<sup>119</sup> See above, p. 57. Note 113. of this Volume.



T H E

# Roman History.

## B O O K LIX.

§. I. **P**OMPEY was yet busy in finishing the War with *Sertorius* in *Spain*; Year of  
and *Lucullus* in driving *Mithridates* before him in his Kingdom of *Pontus* R O M E  
in *Asia*, when the Republick chose new *Consuls*; and seemed in her Choice DCLXXX:  
to have Regard to the important Service *Lucullus* had done her in the *Levant*. She M. TEREN-  
chose his Brother, named *M. Terentius Varro Lucullejanus*, because adopted into the TIUS VARRO  
*Terentian* Family by one *Terentius Varro*; and with him *C. Cassius Varus*. When LUCULLEJA-  
they entered upon their Office, Provisions were still dear at *Rome*, and the People NUS, & C.  
murmured at it. The Seas had been for some Years so much infested with Pyrates, CASSIUS VA-  
that neither the Merchant Ships, nor those of the Republick, dared return to bring RUS, Consuls.  
Corn from *Sicily*, or *Africa*. The new *Consuls* therefore made a Law, from them cal- Cic. Verr. 5.  
led *The Terentian* and *The Cassian*, which was at least some Ease to the Distresses of  
the People. It enacted, That the publick Treasury, low as it was, should advance con-  
siderable Sums, to supply the pressing Necessities of the Poor; and the Republick was at  
a very great Expence, for three Years together, in subsisting an innumerable Multitude  
of indigent People. For Plenty was not restored in *Rome*, till *Pompey* cleared the Seas  
of the Robbers who interrupted all Commerce there, in a manner which shall be related  
in due Time.

Want, when extreme and general, seldom fails of raising Commotions among the Plut. in Crasso.  
People; and now, as the Cities of *Italy* suffered, for Want of Provisions, as well Florus, L. 3.  
as the Capital, the Evil was more felt in this Country, which was the most populous in c. 20.  
the World, than elsewhere it would have been. *Capua* was the chief City of a very App. de Bell.  
fruitful Country, which nevertheless now wanted Assistance from others, *Campania* it- Civ. L. 1.  
self not being fruitful enough to supply the Wants of its numerous Inhabitants; and in Oros. L. 5.  
that City began a Sedition, which soon grew up into a Civil War. Ever since the first Sallust. in  
Shocks that were given the Republick by the *Gracchi*, it seems to have been her Fate, Fragmentis.  
to be continually agitated with new domestick Troubles. Scarce was the Rebellion by  
*Sertorius* in *Spain* at an end, when a new Storm arose in the Heart of *Italy*. A Burgher  
of *Capua*, named *Lentulus Batiatus*, kept a School of *Gladiators*, which turned great-  
ly to account. His School consisted of Slaves, whom he bought at a great Expence,  
and fed very plentifully, for Shows in the Amphitheatre, and at the Funerals of rich  
Men. These Champions were hired at a great Price of their Masters, who brought  
them up for these Combats, in which they often perished. It may therefore well be  
imagined, that Men who despised Life, and were brought up in fighting and Blood,  
were not very submissive to the Orders of their Masters; who were forced to keep them  
closely shut up in Prisons, where they usually spared them no Provisions, that they might  
not lose their Strength. But the present Scarcity made *Batiatus* more frugal than usual,  
and he did not allow his *Gladiators* so plentifully as before. At least, the Historians  
tell us, that his ill Usage of them, made them break their Chains, and make their escape  
out of Prison.

At the Head of these Wretches, was one *Spartacus*, a *Thracian*, who from  
being an Highwayman, had turned Soldier in his own Country, and having  
been taken in War, and reduced to Slavery, had been made choice of for a  
Vol. V. 6 O Gladiator.



Year of *Gladiator*. The rest were almost all *Gauls*, a bold People, and the bravest and most active among them were *Crixus*, and *Oenomaus*. Two hundred of these Slaves entered into a Plot to break off their Chains, and run away from *Capua*; but only seventy eight had the good Fortune to escape, armed with Spits and Cleavers. The *Capuans* immediately sent out some of their Militia, to intercept them in their Flight, and fight them. But the *Gladiators* fell furiously on the Burghers, beat them, seized their Arms, and retired to Mount *Vesuvius*: And these small Beginnings raised a great Flame in the Republick. *Spartacus* had married a Slave of his own Country, whom he had delivered out of the Chains of their Master *Batiatus*; and she was a Woman well qualified to impose on vulgar Minds. Having been initiated in the Mysteries of *Bacchus*, she knew how to counterfeit Inspiration, and set up for a Prophetess. She foretold, that her Husband should come to a great Empire, and encouraged him to the greatest Labours, in order to acquire it. *Rome* was alarmed at these rising Seditions; and apprehensive, that Mount *Vesuvius* would become an Asylum, for all the Slaves in *Campania* that should desert their Masters, and all the Malecontents with the Government. In order therefore to stifle the Flame in its Birth, she immediately sent away *Appius Claudius Pulcher*, the *Prætor*, with 3000 regular Troops. Mount *Vesuvius* was, for a considerable heighth, encumbered with uncultivated Vines, whose Shoots were very long and troublesome, and there was only one Way through them, to the top of the Mountain. *Claudius* seized this Path, and carefully guarded it with his Soldiers; but the Industry of the *Gladiators* made his Attempt fruitless. They made themselves a kind of Ladders of the Branches of the Vines, by that means got down into the Plain, fell upon *Claudius's* Camp which they found ill guarded, seized it, plundered it, and made a *Roman Prætor* at the Head of 3000 Men flee before them.

M. TERENTIUS  
TIUS VARRO  
LUCULLEJANUS,  
& C. CASSIUS  
VA-  
RUS, Consuls.

§. II. These successful Beginnings, raised the Reputation of *Spartacus*; and the Shepherds joined him, and brought their Flocks with them. The strongest of them he armed compleatly, the most active, lightly. Then many Prisons in which the Slaves were kept by Night, were broke open; and *Spartacus* soon had 10000 Men under his Command. They made themselves Bucklers with Ox-hides; and with the Chains the Fugitives brought with them, they made Swords and Darts. And now, as fast as *Spartacus* increased in Strength, the Alarm increased at *Rome*. It was thought necessary to levy Troops in all haste, to form a little Army, and the Command of it was given to *Vatinius*, a new *Prætor*, with an extraordinary Commission of General. *Vatinius* sent *Furius* one of his Lieutenant Generals before him; and he advanced too fast, and was routed. This new Victory elated the Rebels; and they now thought themselves strong enough to keep the Field, surprize Cities, and plunder them. <sup>1</sup> *Cora*, <sup>2</sup> *Nuceria*, and *Nola* fell a Prey to these Robbers. In a Country so fruitful in excellent Wines, the Cellars and Vaults, as may well be imagined, were not spared; every one of these Wretches vented his Rage against his Master, or his Old Enemies; and what they could not take away, the Fire consumed. *Spartacus* was in great pain at the Sight of these horrible Devastations. Tho' a *Gladiator*, a Slave, and a *Thracian*, he had a Mind much superior to his Condition. He was fierce, audacious, and enterprizing; but he had more Prudence than such casual Officers generally have, more good Nature than a Banditti, more Politeness than a Barbarian. And therefore he resolved to march his Troops out of *Campania*, where they continually met with fresh Occasions to shew their Hatred and Injustice.

After he had established as much Order and Discipline among them as he could, he led them towards *Lucania*. From thence the *Roman Prætor* who commanded there, had sent *Cossinius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, to cover the Province; and the Chief of the *Gladiators* now undertook, for the first Time, to make War in form. He had indeed a great Genius for military Command. His Abilities and Discernment were much above his Education. He concealed his March from the Enemy, and fell suddenly upon them with so much Address, that he surprized *Cossinius* when

1. *Cora* was a City of the *Volscei*, a People of old *Latium*. According to *Pliny the Naturalist*, it was built by *Dardanus*, above three Centuries before the Foundation of *Rome*. But the most common Opinion is, That the *Greeks* founded it, under the Con-

duct of *Coras*, who gave it his own Name.

2 Of the four Cities of this Name already mentioned, that here spoken of, is probably the same with that in Vol. 2. p. 283. Note 93. See also p. 227. Note 99. of that Volume.



he was going into the Bath. The Detachment the latter commanded, fled; and the Lieutenant General followed his Troops. *Spartacus*, as soon as he had plundered his Baggage, pursued him with such Vigour, that he came up with him, and killed him in Battle. Nor was the Leader of the *Gladiators* at a Loss how to make a good use of his Victory. He made himself Master of 3 *Thurii* and 4 *Metapontus*, and cantoned his Troops in the Cities he had conquered. In the mean time, the *Prætor Vatinius* had some Difficulty to assemble Troops enough to engage an Enemy, that was become formidable by his Success. Autumn was far advanced, and the Distempers that reigned in his Camp, made his Soldiers the less willing to march against a Body of vile Slaves, at the Hazard of being vanquished by them. But at last they complied, and as soon as the *Prætor* found them inclined to go forward, he led them against *Spartacus*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXX.  
M. TEREN-  
TIUS VARRO  
LUCULLEJA-  
NUS, & C.  
CASSIUS VA-  
RUS, Consuls:

When the two Armies were in fight, *Vatinius* found much less Intrepidity, and less Ardour for fighting in these Slaves, than formerly. Indeed *Crixus*, who was the second in-rank in *Spartacus's* Army, was for a Battle immediately; but *Spartacus* himself was for postponing it. One was a *Gaul*, and more impatient; the other a *Thracian*, and more phlegmatick. And this Division made the Rebels the more slow. *Vatinius* had Time to shut them up in their Camp, dig Trenches round them, and by that means cut off their Provisions. So that *Spartacus* must have been lost, if he had not by an ingenious Stratagem escaped the Snares of the Enemy. In the Night, he pitched Stakes without his Camp, to which he fastened the Bodies of some of his Soldiers who were lately dead; and they, being in their usual Habits, and with their Arms about them, appeared to be an advanced Guard. In the middle of his Camp, he at the same time lighted great Fires; and then marched away his Troops in Silence. The *Prætor* was so long deceived by this Artifice, that he was not sensible the Enemy were decamped, till they were got at a great distance. Then he pursued them, came up with them in a Plain where they were advantageously posted, and there fought a Battle with them. But *Spartacus* was victorious, and *Vatinius* forced to flee. His *Lictors*, to ease themselves in their Flight, threw away their *Axes* and *Fasces*; he was himself dismounted, and his Horse, with all the Marks of the *Prætorship*, fell into *Spartacus's* Hands; with these, *Spartacus* adorned himself, and from henceforth always appeared in publick attended by a Guard of *Lictors*, who carried the *Roman Fasces* before him.

Front. Strat.  
L. 5. c. 5.

At length, *Spartacus's* Army left *Lucania*, crossed *Picenum* through Roads they were well acquainted with, and entered *Cisalpine Gaul*. Then his Troops, including the 10000 *Crixus* commanded, amounted to 40000 Men. But it was not to be expected, that their General could have an absolute Authority over Slaves tumultuously assembled, who still retained their servile Inclinations, tho' they had broken their Fetters. The terrible Disorders they committed in their Marches, and the Places of their Abode, are not to be expressed. Their Brutalities and Cruelties were horrible; and *Spartacus* himself was much offended at them. He plainly saw, that if they continued these Practices, he must at last sink under the Power of *Rome*; and therefore proposed nothing more than leading his Army to the Foot of the *Alpes*, disbanding them there, and thereby giving both Officers and Soldiers an opportunity of going, some to *Thrace*, and others to *Gaul*, their native Countries. *It is Happiness enough for these Wretches*, said he, *to be delivered out of the severe Slavery, which they suffered in Italy*. But the Licentiousness of the Soldiers, who were accustomed to Pillage, and lived at their Ease by their Rapines, broke the General's Measures.

§. III. The Republick wanted two such *Consuls* as would cure the Evils of *Italy*, and take care to advance the Work which *Lucullus* had so happily begun in the East. There were but two Wars to finish; one with *Spartacus*, the other with *Mithridates*; for that which the Republick had entered into with *Macedon*, was only Matter of Diversion to her. And when the Republick had promoted L. <sup>6</sup> *Gellius Poplicola*, and

Cn.

3 See Vol. 2. p. 307. Note 49.

4 See Vol. 2. p. 195. Note 34.

5 Old *Picenum* contained Part of the *Marquisate of Ancona*, and *Further Abruzzo*. See the preceding Volumes.

6 *Val. Maximus* gives us an Instance of the Moderation of this *Consul*, which does Honour to his

Memory. The Vices of his Son were Matter of the greatest Grief to him. He had almost convincing Proofs to believe, that the young Debauchee had formed a Design to assassinate him, and committed Incest with his Mother-in-Law. Nevertheless, he would not exercise the Power of punishing, which the *Roman Law* gave Parents over their Children. He suspected



Year of *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* 7; they made it their chief Business to supply the Wants of *R O M E* *Lucullus* in *Asia*, and raise two *Consular* Armies, to oppose *Spartacus* and *Crixus*, who were ravaging *Italy*. *C. Anius* marched at the Head of a third Army, with the Title of General, to make head against the several Detachments of the Army of the Rebels. The Number of the Slaves was exceedingly increased; there were now reckoned to be 70000 Men under their Standards. There was indeed a Division among them. *Crixus* had left *Spartacus*, and drawn off from him a Body of *Gauls* and *Germans*, whom he had brought into *Apulia*, and encamped near Mount *Garganus*; and the *Consul* *Gellius* proposed to attack him first. Tho' his Forces were so considerable, as to amount to near 30000 Men, he fell far short of *Spartacus* in true Courage and Ability. He was more rash and ready to give Battle, had less Presence of Mind in Action, and was less cautious in seizing advantageous Posts. *Gellius* with the *Pro-Consul* *Anius*, came suddenly upon him, and did not give him Time to deliberate. The *Legionaries* immediately gave Battle, broke this contemptible Mob, put them into Confusion, and made a terrible Slaughter. They left above 20000 of them, with their General, dead upon the Spot.

*App. de Bell. Civ. L. 1. Plus. in Craffo.* On the other hand, *Lentulus* marched in quest of *Spartacus*, to the Extremity of *Cisalpine Gaul*; and the *Gladiator*, whom Nature more than Art had instructed in Affairs of War, took many turnings, to fatigue his Enemies, in their pursuit. His Design was to gain the *Alpes*; but whilst he was using all the Artifices he could with the *Consul*, he received Advice, That *Gellius* and *Anius* had defeated *Crixus*, and That their victorious Armies were advancing in all haste to join *Lentulus*. And then, he acted the Part of a great Commander. He faced about on the Troops that pursued him, gave *Lentulus* Battle before his Colleague joined him, routed his Army, and dispersed it. Then, without any Delay, he marched after *Gellius*, came up with him, beat him, and put him to flight. Never was *Rome* more humbled, than by these two Disgraces which she suffered in her two *Consuls*. A *Thracian*, a *Gladiator*, and a Slave, had effaced the Glory of the *Roman* Generals, and braved the Conquerors of the World. And the Steps *Spartacus* took after his two Victories made him still more terrible to his Enemies. He would not give Quarter to any one of the *Roman* Soldiers which he had taken Prisoners. In Honour to *Crixus*, he sacrificed them all round his funeral Pile, imagining that he should thereby appease his *Manes*, and wipe off the Shame of his Defeat. His Sentiments were great and elevated, as were all his Designs. He deliberated with himself, whether he should take Advantage of the Consternation *Rome* was in, and go and besiege it. His Army consisted of 120000 Men, all fugitive Slaves; for he would admit no others to serve under him. He refused to receive Deserters from the *Roman* Army, who were Free-men, lest they should assume a Superiority over the rest. But after he had well considered it, he laid aside the Scheme of investing *Rome*. He thought it more glittering than solid. It would have been extremely difficult for him to have procured Ammunition enough for his Camp; and great Preparations were necessary to provide the proper Machines for attacking Cities; whilst his Troops neither knew, how to make *Ballistæ*, nor how to play them. All they understood, was, to keep the Field, plunder Granaries, fight behind Trenches, and by fierceness and dint of Numbers gain Battles. He therefore returned into *Lucania*, posted himself on the Mountains near *Thurii*, and erected Magazines in that City. His Troops ravaged all the Neighbourhood, and he gave the Merchants leave to come in Safety to purchase their Booties. But he forbade his Soldiers, to take Gold or Silver in Payment. He looked on these Metals as useless to a Man of his Profession. But Iron and Copper he took by weight, in exchange, in order to make Arms with them.

§. IV. Whilst *Italy* was thus a Prey to Banditti, and *Rome* lost much Glory there, she had nothing to comfort her, but the News she received from the distant Provinces. *Mithridates* had, since his last Defeat, retired into his Kingdom of *Pontus*, where he thought himself inaccessible. No *Roman* Army could ever yet penetrate into it. But

pected his own Suspicions; lest the Judgment of his Son to the Senate; and when they acquitted him, subscribed the Sentence. So that he chose rather to consult the Safety of his Son whom he tenderly loved, than his own.

7 This *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* took the Name of his adoptive Father, who was *Consul* in the Year of

*Rome* 656; and his Surname of *Clodianus* shews, that he had been adopted, from the *Cornelian* Family from which he descended, into the *Clodian*. *Cicero* says, he had Talents for speaking in Publick, and distinguished himself more than once, by his wise Counsels.



*Lucullus* undertook to drive this proud Enemy by Force, even out of his Capital. The Year of *Pro-Consul* called his Officers to a Council of War, but consulted chiefly with his *R O M E* Lieutenant General *Cotta*, who was his Confident, and with *Triarius* his Admiral: DCLXXXI. And it was resolved, to cross that vast extent of Country which divided *The Roman* L. GELLIIUS Province from *Pontus*. *Lucullus* undertook to lead the main Body of the Army through POPLICOLA, *Bithynia* and *Galatia*; whilst *Cotta* went to retake *Heraclea*. *Triarius's* Orders were & CN. COR- to cruize along the *Asiatick* Coast, and there wait for the Remains of the King's Fleet, NELIUS LEN- TULUS, Con- fuls. one Part of which had taken Refuge in *Crete*, and the other left the Ports of *Spain*, since the Death of *Sertorius*. *Mithridates* was then residing at <sup>8</sup> *Amisos*, one of his maritime Cities, instead of his Capital; and the Remembrance of his late Losses, made him anxious for the future. The Report of the March of *Lucullus* towards them, was spread over all the Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea; and upon his approach, the King sent to engage all the neighbouring Kings in his Quarrel. His Son *Machares* was King of the *Bosphorans*, and as a Father, rather than as his Sovereign, he ordered him to come to his Assistance, and *Machares* sent him Troops. But they were such as proved but a weak Reinforcement against so terrible an Enemy as *Lucullus*.

*Scythia* was divided between two little Sovereigns, and *Mithridates* sent Ambassadors App. in Mi- to them, to his Son-in-Law *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, and to *Arfaces* King of the thridat. *Parthians*, with Orders to make the same Representations to them all. *The Ambition* of the Romans, said they, is insatiable. Among other Nations intervals of Peace and War reciprocally succeed each other by mutual Consent. But this imperious Republick will grant no Terms, except those of a shameful Slavery. These politick People attack only one Prince at a Time, whom they never leave till they have dethroned him; and while they are doing this, they artfully keep Measures with his Neighbours, and sow Discord among those that could assist him. But their fixed Resolution is to destroy them likewise, in their Turn. This is at present the Case of *Mithridates*. And if you don't assist him with your Forces, your Ruin will soon follow his. The King of the *Parthians* heard them with coldness, and thought the Danger at too great a distance, to make it necessary for him to engage in another's Quarrel. *Diocles*, whom *Mithridates* had sent into *Scythia*, with great Sums for the little Sovereigns there, betrayed his Master, and went over to *Lucullus*. But *Tigranes*, at the Importunity of his Wife, renewed his old Alliance with his Father-in-Law, without sending him any Succours.

§. V. *Mithridates*, tho' less powerfully supported than he expected, did not lose his Courage. He resolved to oppose *Lucullus* in his March, and if possible, make him perish by Famine. With this Design, he sent away all the Horse he could, to lay waste the Country from *Bithynia* to *Pontus*; and *Lucullus* suffered by these Devastations. The Roman Army wanted Provisions; and the *Pro-Consul* was forced to make 30000 *Galatians* follow him, each Man carrying a Sack of Corn on his Shoulders. These Provisions lasted the Romans till they came into a fruitful Country, where the Scarcity was turned into a very great Plenty. An Ox was sold for one *Denarius* 9, a Slave for four; Sheep, Goats, Stuffs and other Necessaries at a low Price. *Lucullus* still advanced, and took all the Places on this side the <sup>10</sup> *Thermoodon*, by Capitulation. His Soldiers complained of their General's Indulgence to the vanquished, which deprived them of the Spoils of so many Cities, with the Booty of which they might have enriched themselves; and we shall hereafter see them carry their Murmurs against him to much greater lengths. Ibid.

His Officers likewise were little less dissatisfied with his Conduct than the Soldiers. He had invested the three strongest Places in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, viz. *Amisos*, *Eupatoria*,

8 *Strabo* ranks *Amisos* in *Pontus* among the most considerable Cities of *Asia Minor*; and says, upon the Authority of *Theopompus*, That it had been founded by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Miletum*, and That the *Athenians* afterwards enlarged it: It was long independent; and governed by its own Laws, till it became subject to the Kings of *Pontus*; and *Pliny the Naturalist* tells us, That after the Defeat of *Mithridates*, it recovered its ancient Liberty, under the Protection of *Rome*. *Arrian* places it on the Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea.

9 See the preceding Volumes.

10 The *Thermoodon*, a River in *Cappadocia*, is

now called *Pormon*. It falls into the *Euxine* Sea. The Poets feign, that the neighbouring Country was formerly inhabited by *Amazons*.

11 This Name was common to two Cities in *Pontus*; one stood in the middle of a great Plain, near the Conflux of the *Iris* and the *Lycus*. According to *Strabo*, *Pompey* afterwards repeopled it, enlarged it, added to its Territory, and called it *Magnopolis*. The other had been built by *Mithridates*, according to *Appian*, near *Amisos*, on the Sea-Coast; and this Monarch often made it his Place of Residence. *Pliny* tells us, That after the Reduction of the Kingdom of *Pontus*, it was called *Pompeopolis*. The Orientals now call



Year of *Eupatoria*, and <sup>12</sup> *Themiscyra*, all at once; by which means, the Roman Forces were *ROME* divided, and the Sieges protracted. At *Amisos*, all Things were at a stand; and tho' *DCLXXXI.* the Attacks at the two other Places were a little more warmly carried on, they were ineffectual. As fast as the Romans advanced by Sapp, the besieged countermined them; *L. GELLIVS* drove Bears and other wild Beasts into their Mines, which fell on the Workmen, and *POPPLICOLA,* tore them to pieces; and sometimes threw swarms of Bees against the Pioneers, who *& CN. COR-* were stung by them. During these Delays, *Mithridates* resided in the Plains of <sup>13</sup> *Cabira*, *NELIVS LEN-* sent Convoys and Reinforcements from thence to *Amisos*, made the Garrison strong *TULUS, CON-* enough to make Sallies to advantage, and assembled an Army large enough, to oppose *fuls.* that of *Lucullus*. In short, the Negligence of the *Pro-Consul* was thought no longer supportable; and the Soldiers complained of it, in all the three Camps. *Why*, said they, *does Lucullus by his Delays, give Mithridates Time to arm, and defend himself?* So that it was now become necessary, for the General to explain himself, and discover the Mystery of his Conduct. *Is it possible*, said he to his Officers, *that Men of your Abilities should not yet penetrate into my Designs? I am amusing Mithridates with slight Advantages, only in order to hinder his escaping out of our Hands. What we have most to fear is, that, if we drive him out of his own Dominions, he will flee to his Son-in-Law Tigranes for Refuge, and prevail on that powerful Monarch, to take up Arms against Rome. He at present wavers between his Father-in-Law, and us; and he will prove a formidable Enemy if we draw him upon us. As he has conquered the Parthians, and is Master of Syria and Palestine, if he falls upon us, all the most eastern Nations will join him. Let us therefore go on to amuse Mithridates with vain Hopes of being able to equal us in Strength himself, and not force him to throw himself into the Arms of a Neighbour and Ally. If we do not, he will be full of Presumption, and do us less Injury here, than if he has recourse to the Compassion of other Princes.*

*Plut. in Lucullo.*

§. VI. But this was too wise and politick a Scheme, not to be above the reach of superficial Minds. By all he could say, *Lucullus* could not convince his *Legionaries*, that he was not indolent. They wrote to *Rome*, and represented him as a Man who was too unactive to make a compleat General. These Prepossessions spread, and afterwards became prejudicial to his Honour. Indeed the Siege of *Amisos* did not advance; it looked rather like a Blockade. *Mithridates* profited by the Delays of *Lucullus*, and had already got together an Army of 40000 Foot, and 8000 Horse. These Preparations of the Enemy increased the Murmurs in the Roman Army; nevertheless the wise *Pro-Consul* would not stir; and the Discontents grew still greater, when *Cotta* failed in his Attempt upon *Heraclea*. The Inhabitants, tho' ill used by their own Garrison, made so vigorous a Resistance, that they obliged *Cotta* to retire. But all these pretended Disadvantages promoted the Designs of *Lucullus*, who had greater Points in view than taking Cities; and he now put them in execution.

*Mithridates* was still encamped in the Plains of *Cabira* with his numerous Army, and enjoyed the Pleasure of seeing the Romans waste themselves with fruitless Attacks on four Cities, which destroyed many of their Men. He was surrounded by high Mountains, found no Difficulty in subsisting in his own Country, and thought himself safe within the Ramparts Nature had made about him. He had posted his Cavalry at all the Passes through which the Romans could come to him, and had given the Command of them to *Phœnix*, one of the Princes of his own Blood. But *Phœnix* had received personal Affronts from the King, and kept a Correspondence with *Lucullus*. His Orders were to light Fires on the Mountains, upon the first Motions of the Roman Army towards *Cabira*; and as soon as *Lucullus* had assembled all his divided Troops together, turned the Sieges into Blockades, and began to march that Way, *Phœnix* gave the appointed Signal; but at the same time went over to *Lucullus*, and offered to be a Guide to the Roman Army. By his Assistance, it passed the narrow Roads of the Mountains, without Resistance; and as soon as the *Legions* appeared in the Plain, *Mi-*

*App. in Mithrid.*

call it *Amis*; and it is conjectured, that this is the City here spoken of.

12. *Themiscyra*, according to *Strabo*, stood at a little distance from the Sea, in one of the finest Countries in *Asia Minor*. *Herodotus* and *Diodorus Siculus* place it near the Mouth of the *Thermadon*. This City, which is now called *Themis*, or *Themisera*, was

deemed one of the most considerable Places in the Country of the *Amazons*.

13. *Cabira* was then only a Fort which *Mithridates* had put into a Condition to bear a long Siege, by the Works he had raised to defend the Approaches to it. *Pompey* enlarged it, and called it *Diopolis*.

*Mithridates*



*thridates* passed the <sup>14</sup> *Lycus*, and did not decline an Engagement with *Lucullus*, who had come so far, in search of him. Year of ROME DCLXXXI.

Some slight Skirmishes preceded a general Battle, and in these *Mithridates*, whose Cavalry was strongest, always had the Advantage. In one of them, *Pomponius* an Officer of Figure in the *Roman* Army, was wounded, made Prisoner of War, and brought to the King. *Mithridates* asked him, *if he would grant him his Friendship in case he cured him of his Wounds*; but the *Roman* replied, *First gain the Friendship of Lucullus. It is upon that Condition only, that I grant mine.* The Courtiers about *Mithridates* thought this too proud an Answer, and were going to cut him in Pieces. But the King stopped them, and said, *By no Means. An unfortunate brave Man shall never be the Object of my Revenge.* Who then discovered most Magnanimity, *Pomponius*, or *Mithridates*? In the mean time, *Lucullus* was not pleased with the Situation of his Camp. In an open Plain, the superior Cavalry of the Enemy could not fail of distressing his Army in Time, and intercepting his Convoys. Besides, it was both difficult and dangerous, either to continue in the Defiles of the Mountains, or to repass them. In this Uncertainty therefore, *Lucullus* kept close in his Trenches, and often refused to fight when *Mithridates* offered Battle; and the King resolved to take him off basely by Assassination, if he could not bring him to an Engagement. The Historians relate the Matter somewhat differently; but we think it was probably attempted, in this Manner. L. GELLIIUS POPLICOLA, & CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, Consul. Plut. in Lucullo. Front. Strat. L. 1. c. 5. Plut. in Lucullo. App. in Mithridat.

§. VII. There was among the Auxiliaries, in the Camp of *Mithridates*, a young *Scythian* Lord, of the Country of *Dardania*, which bordered on the *Palus Mæotis*. His Name was *Olcaba*, or, as others, *Olthacus*, and as he had Merit and Ambition, he was very desirous of being first in the King's Favour; which he thought to have deserved, by proposing to him to assassinate *Lucullus*, which he promised to do with his own Hands. It was therefore agreed between them, that the King should so publicly and so highly affront him, as should force him to leave the Camp, and go over to the *Romans*. The Game was artfully played; and *Olcaba*, who fled for Refuge to the *Pro-Consul's* Camp, seemed to have nothing so much in view, as to gain the Favour of the new General. He was watched at first; but he gave such Proofs of his Valour against the Enemy, as took off all Suspicions. He was a Man of Address; made his Court effectually to *Lucullus*; and gained the Esteem of the Army by his Valour, and of the General by his Politeness and Complaisance. Till at length, he gained his Point of having free Access into the *Prætorium*, at all Hours; and then, the Traitor waited only for a proper Time to strike the Blow. He knew, that at Noon, when the Heat was greatest, *Lucullus* used to suffer his Guard to refresh themselves, and shut himself up, either to enjoy Solitude, or take a little Rest; and therefore chose this Time. But it fortunately happened, that the *Pro-Consul* had not slept the Night before the Day which *Olcaba* pitched on; and, because he wanted Sleep, ordered his Domesticks not to admit any one into his Tent. *Olcaba* came, and demanded with Confidence, though not without some Confusion in his Air, to speak with the *Pro-Consul*. But the Slave who watched near his Master, would not suffer the *Scythian* to come to him, and threatened to wake the Guard. Upon this, *Olcaba* thought his Treachery had taken Air; and immediately mounted his Horse, and rode to *Mithridates*. The greatest Odium of this black Action fell on the King of *Pontus*; but those who envied *Lucullus*, openly declared, That it was his Negligence, and Love of Repose that had brought his Life into danger.

§. VIII. And now, when *Lucullus* began to feel more sensibly the Inconveniencies of the Place where he was encamped, he was delivered from them by accident. There was a fugitive *Greek*, who led a solitary Life in a Hole of a Rock, and had nothing to do but to run a Hunting over the Mountains of *Cabira*. He well knew all the Turnings and Windings about them, having learnt them in the Pursuit of his Game; and this honest Man came of his own accord, to offer to conduct the *Pro-Consul* and his Troops, through unknown Roads, as far as to an old Castle, on the top of a Mountain over against the Camp of *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* depending on the Promises of the Stranger, took him for his Guide; and the March of the *Romans* being the less difficult because they had few Horse to pass those steep Rocks, they at length arrived at the Place App. in Mithridat.

<sup>14</sup> The ancient Geographers mention several Rivers of this Name in *Asia*. That here spoken of rose in *Little Armenia*, watered Part of the Kingdom of *Pontus*, and joined *The Iris*.

appointed.



Year of appointed. From thence they saw *Mithridates* and his Trenches below them; and  
 ROME *Lucullus* encamped on the Banks of a Lake, or rather Pond, formed by the Rains and  
 DCLXXXI. melted Snows, and was supplied with Provisions from *Cappadocia*, by *Ariobarzanes*.  
 L. GELLIUS Then the Skirmishes were renewed between the two Armies, and the Cavalry fought  
 POPLICOLA, several Battles, in which, as before, *Mithridates* was almost always successful. One  
 & CN. COR- Day indeed, the Roman Cavalry had the Superiority; but *Mithridates* marched out of  
 NELIUS LEN- his Camp in Person with all his Forces, and so animated them with his Reproaches,  
 TULUS. CON- that they put the Romans to flight; and this flight Success so much elated the King,  
 fult. that he spread Reports in all the neighbouring Countries, that he had defeated *Lucul-*  
*Plut. in Lu-* *lus*, and dispersed his whole Army. But the Sequel soon undeceived the abused Na-  
*culla.* tions.

App. in Mi-  
 thridat.  
 Plut. in Lu-  
 culla.

*Lucullus* made it his chief Business, to secure the Convoys of Provisions that came from *Cappadocia*; and *Mithridates* made it his, to intercept them. One Day, the Tribune *Sornatius* marched out with ten Cohorts to guard one; and *Mithridates* sent *Menander* one of his Captains, immediately after him, with a greater Body. But *Sornatius* beat *Menander*, put him to flight, and brought the Convoy to the Roman Camp, and a few Days after, the King's Troops received another Defeat which had much greater Consequences. *Ariobarzanes* had got together a very great Quantity of Provisions, to send to *Lucullus*; and as the Convoy was advancing towards him, the Proconsul sent *Fabius Adrianus* with only 5000 Men to guard it. *Mithridates* sent *Menemachus* and *Myro* two Officers of Reputation, with 30000 Men to fight *Adrianus*, and take away the Convoy from him. The Detachments met in a Place encumbered with Rocks, where the King's Cavalry could not extend themselves; and the Roman Infantry took hold of this Advantage. They drove the Enemy from Rock to Rock, forced a great Number of them into the Bogs, put them all to Flight, and obliged them to return to their Camp. There the News of their Loss, though great, alarmed the Troops more than it ought to have done; the King himself was so struck with it, that he thought himself lost; and it greatly increased his Fears, to see *Adrianus* marching round his Camp, with an insulting Confidence, at the Head of the victorious Detachment, and the great Number of Waggons it escorted.

The King, Officers, and Soldiers, were all struck with a Panick at this Sight; and instantly decamped, without any Deliberation. The Courtiers and Officers of the Army first began to load their Carriages and Mules; and this created great Confusion at the Gate of the Camp. There was a great Contest among the Servants, and Mule-drivers, and Carters, who should get out first. In the mean time, the Soldiers got together in Companies, to escape as well as the rest; and as the Beasts of Burden and Carriages stopped them, this was too fine an Opportunity of plundering to be let slip. They immediately fell on the Baggage, killed those who defended it, murdered Masters and Servants without Distinction, opened what they pleased, and took out what they thought most valuable. After this, seeing the Gates crowded, they made large Breaches in their Ramparts, and dispersed themselves about the Fields without Order, Officers, or Colours. *Mithridates* who had hitherto continued in his Tent, was carried away with the Stream; and he mixed with the Crowd, on Foot, without Guards, or Attendants, or so much as one Horse with him. It was not, till a great while after, that one of his Eunuchs found him out among the Crowd of Soldiers and Slaves, and mounted him. *Lucullus*, who expected nothing less than this sudden Departure of the Enemy, as soon as he saw them running about the Plain in Confusion, immediately sent out his Cavalry to pursue them, with Orders to destroy all they could, and not to hinder themselves with taking Plunder. But these Orders were not obeyed. The Romans pursued *Mithridates*, and might have taken him. But when they, who came up with him, saw the Gold and Silver Plate that followed him, the Temptation was too strong for them. They fought with one another for the Booty; and gave the King Time to reach <sup>15</sup> *Comana*, a City of *Cappadocia*, not far from *Armenia*, on the Banks of the <sup>16</sup> *Sarus* <sup>17</sup>.

§. IX. However,

<sup>15</sup> There were three Cities of this Name, one in *Pisidia*, another in *Cappadocia*, and the third in *Pontus*.

<sup>16</sup> *Pliny* and *Procopius* make the *Sarus* rise in *Little Armenia*. It is thought to be a different River from that of the same Name which *Ptolemy* ranks

among the Rivers of *Cilicia*.

<sup>17</sup> Nor was this the only Advantage that the Avarice of the Soldiers lost *Lucullus*. They took *Callistratus*, the King's first Secretary, Prisoner; and the General ordered him to be carried to his Camp. But his Guard murdered him, in order to secure to themselves



§. IX. However, he made what Advantage he could of his Victories, or rather of the Panick of his Enemies. He took *Cabira*, and all the Castles in the Country; and by setting at Liberty the Lords imprisoned in the Tower of *Cabira*, and particularly a Sister of the King's, named *Nyssa*, he made the People of the Country pleased with the Dominion of *Rome*. They highly extolled the Glory of *Lucullus*, and complained little of the Humiliation of *Mithridates*. As for the latter, being almost deserted in *Comana*, and scarce attended by 2000 Horse, the sad Remains of his dispersed Forces, he retired in great Dejection to *Armenia*, where he hoped to find Protection, and procure Succours from <sup>18</sup> *Tigranes*. He was a powerful Monarch; gave himself the Title of *King of Kings*; and having driven the Race of the *Seleucidae* from the *Syrian* Throne, was now attempting to reduce *Judaea*. During his Absence, he ordered *Mithridates* to be received with a royal Magnificence, and secured in any of the Fortresses in his Dominions; but nevertheless, the latter finding that his Son-in-Law was at too great a Distance to bring him immediate Succours, was very fearful that *Lucullus* might seize his Capital, and plunder his Palace. Lest the *Romans* should take the Queens his Wives, and the Princesses his Sisters, Prisoners, and they should either be dishonoured by their Enemies, or reserved by the Conqueror to grace his *Triumph*; he sent *Bacchidas*, one of his Eunuchs, to kill all the Women in his Seraglio, not sparing even her, whose Charms and Virtue had wrought most powerfully on his Affections.

The Ladies of the Court lived in great State in a Castle near *Pharnacia*, and thought themselves safe, notwithstanding the King's Flight. The two favourite Queens were *Monimia* and *Berenice*, both *Ionians*, one, a Native of *Miletum*, the other of *Chios*; and two of the King's Sisters, *Roxana* and *Statira*, lived in a forced Celibacy among them, and were now near forty. But the Sight of the Eunuch *Bacchidas* in the Seraglio, filled the King's Wives, and Sisters, and Concubines, with Consternation. He was the usual Minister of the King's Rage, or Revenge; and the only Mark of Compassion they could draw from this terrible Executioner was this, that he gave every one Liberty to choose her own Death. *Monimia*, the bravest and proudest of them, chose the royal Fillet to be the Instrument of her Execution. This Mark of Honour had long been insupportable to her, and she thought Death a Benefit. She considered it as a Passage from a burdensome Slavery to a delightful Liberty; and therefore tore off her Diadem, tied it to a Post, and then fastened it about her own Neck. But the Fillet was too fine, and broke; and then she cried out, *Thou fatal Diadem, thou perpetual Instrument of Pain and Sorrow to me, why wouldst thou not do me the Service to end them!* This said, she presented her Breast to the Eunuch, who buried his Dagger in it, and left her expiring in her Blood. *Berenice* also died by the same Hand, and after an Attempt on herself. She had chosen to die by Poison, and divided the fatal Cup between herself and her Mother, who had followed her. The Poison had a ready Effect on her, who was advanced in Years. But *Berenice*, who was in the Bloom of Life, struggled a long time with it, and the Eunuch in Compassion strangled her. As for *Roxana* and *Statira*, they received their Sentences in a very different Manner. The former, before she had drank her Poison, uttered a thousand Imprecations against her Brother. The latter comforted her Sister, and endeavoured to inspire her with Sentiments more worthy of her Birth. *The Throne of our Ancestors*, said she, *is now passing into other Hands; and shall we survive the Loss of it? It is a very kind Act in our Brother, to have Pity on us in this Calamity. From how many Insults and Outrages will he deliver us, by sending us free, and spotless, to the Regions of the Dead! Let us die, Roxana, with Honour and Courage, as becomes the Daughters and Sisters of Kings?* Thus one expired with her Heart full of Rage; the other, with Gratitude for having her Days ended, before the total Destruction of her Country.

themselves 500 Pieces of Gold which were hid in his Girdle. *Lucullus* was much enraged at the Murderers, when he heard the News; and had reason to lament the Loss of a Man, who had been entrusted with all the King's Papers and Secrets. The Discoveries he might have made by them, might have been of great Use to him, in disconcerting the Measures of that Monarch.

<sup>18</sup> This Prince, by the extent of his Conquests, made himself formidable to all the Princes of the

East. He subdued all the Dominions of the King of *Syria*, with an Army of 500000 Men, and forced *Antiochus*, the Son of *Antiochus Pius*, and the thirteenth of that Name, to hide himself in a Corner of *Cilicia*. After this, he marched beyond the *Euphrates*, made himself Master of *Mesopotamia*, reduced several Nations in *Arabia*, and lessened the Power of the *Parthian* Kings. See all his Expeditions in *Appian*, *Josephus*, and *Justin*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXI.  
L. GELLIUS  
POPPLICOLA,  
& CN. COR-  
NELIUS LEN-  
TULUS, Con-  
suls.  
Plut. in Lu-  
culla.



Year of §. X. However, the People of *Pontus* did not view this barbarous Execution in the  
 ROME same Light that *Statira* had done. They put a bad Construction on their King's De-  
 DCLXXXI. spair, and charged him with Pusillanimity. Ought one Defeat to have dejected him  
 L. GELLIUS so much, as to have driven him to an Act so shocking to human Nature? Almost all  
 POPPLICOLA, the Governors of his strong Holds despised him, and delivered them up to *Lucullus*.  
 & CN. COR- The *Pro-Consul* had only some maritime Cities to subdue by Force; and when he had,  
 NELIUS LEN- with the Assistance of his Fleet, reduced <sup>19</sup> *Amastris*, and ordered the Attacks on *A-*  
 TULUS, CON- *misus* and *Eupatoria* to be continued, he marched in Pursuit of *Mithridates*. But the  
 suls. King was already retired into the Dominions of *Tigranes*, which the *Romans* dared not  
 enter, for fear of provoking so powerful a Prince. However, *Lucullus* as he passed, con-  
 quered the Countries of the <sup>20</sup> *Chalybes* and <sup>21</sup> *Tybareni*, and *Little Armenia*, which  
 had long been a Part of the Kingdom of *Pontus*. Such were the military Excursions  
 of this Hero, who was accused of Dilatoriness at *Rome*.

From the Confines of *Great Armenia*, he returned for *Amisus*, to advance the car-  
 rying on the Siege by his Presence. It could not have held out so long, but through  
 the Courage and indefatigable Pains and Industry of *Calimachus* the Governor, who  
 was faithful to his King. Few Engineers among the Ancients, understood better how  
 to repulse Besiegers, or impose on them by Stratagems, or invent new Machines to de-  
 stroy their Works. But at last the *Pro-Consul* eluded the Vigilance of *Calimachus* by  
 a Stratagem not very far fetched. He, for some Time put an entire Stop to all Attacks  
 on the City, and drew off his Troops from the Foot of the Walls, to give them some re-  
 spite. The besieged were used to this Method, and did the same. And when, at a  
 Time appointed, all seemed to be very quiet as usual, *Lucullus* made so brisk an As-  
 fault, that he made himself Master of a Part of the Ramparts; and then *Calimachus*  
 despaired of keeping the Place. In order therefore to facilitate his Retreat, and de-  
 prive the *Romans* of a rich Booty, he set Fire to the Houses; and whilst the Air was  
 darkened with the Smoke, went on board the Ships in the Port, and transported him-  
 self and his Garrison to *Eupatoria*. *Amisus* was a City of the first Rank; *Mithridates*  
 had adorned it with a regal Magnificence; and *Calimachus* had entered it, after it  
 was blocked up, in Hopes of defending it.

In the mean time, the *Roman* Soldiers desired of their General with great Clamours,  
 that he would suffer them to make their Way through the Fire, and pillage the Riches  
 of this Capital. But *Lucullus* had a compassionate Heart, and it was with Reluctance  
 that he gave it up to be plundered by his greedy Soldiers. They entered the subterraneous  
 Places where they supposed the Inhabitants had hid their Treasures; and either by  
 Negligence or Malice, increased the Fire, by extending the Flames to those Parts of  
 the City, which they had spared. Then the *Pro-Consul*, who was an Eye-witness of  
 these Disorders, cried out, *Must I be more unfortunate than Sylla! He had the Happiness*  
*to preserve Athens entire: But I am reduced to the hard Fate of Memmius. It will*  
*be said, that I have destroyed by Fire another Corinth.* Indeed, *Amisus* was a flourish-  
 ing City, founded formerly by the *Athenians* in the Time of their Power, and had  
 often served for a Retreat for <sup>22</sup> those who were dissatisfied with their Government.  
 But after all, the Mischief the *Romans* did in *Amisus*, was not so great as *Lucullus* had  
 apprehended. The Damage <sup>23</sup> was soon repaired; and then he assembled the dispersed  
*Amisians*, and brought them to their old Habitations; granted them Liberty; gave  
 every one a decent Habit, and 200 *Drachmæ* in Money; and supplied the Places of  
 those who were dead or fled, with such of his *Greek* Soldiers as were willing to settle

<sup>19</sup> *Amastris*, now *Famastro*, a maritime City of *Paphlagonia*, on the Coast of the *Euxine Sea*, is the same Place that *Pliny* calls *Sesamum*. It was originally inhabited by a Colony of *Miletians*; and having been afterwards enlarged by *Amastris*, the Daughter of the last *Darius* King of *Persia*, according to *Strabo* and *Stephen of Byzantium*, it changed its first Name for that of this Princess.

<sup>20</sup> The *Chalybes* were dispersed in several Coun-  
 tries in *Asia Minor*, as we have before observed,  
 when we spoke of *Chalybia*. *Strabo* says, That in his  
 Time they were called *Chalcedons*. Their Country  
 was dry and barren; but in return, it abounded with  
 Iron-Mines.

<sup>21</sup> *Strabo* places the Canton of the *Tibareni* on the  
 Coast of the *Euxine*, above *Trebizonde*, and near the  
*Chalybes*. This little District was a Part of the King-  
 dom of *Pontus*.

<sup>22</sup> A strict Union was long preserved between *A-*  
*thens* and this Place; and in virtue of it, the *Athe-*  
*nians*, who feared the Tyranny of *Aristio*, found a  
 safe Retreat in *Amisus*, where they enjoyed all the Pri-  
 vileges of the Natives.

<sup>23</sup> According to *Plutarch*, so great a Quantity of  
 Rain fell, when it was least expected, that it put out  
 the Fire, and saved many Buildings from being de-  
 stroyed by it.



there. In short, he carried with him, out of this conquered Country, both the Love and Esteem of the People he had subdued.

§. XI. But the Exploits of *Lucullus* in *Pontus* must not make us forget the Incur-  
sions of *C. Servilius Cæpio*, in *Dardania* and *Mæsia*. The Republick had sent him  
into *Macedon* to govern it, in Quality of *Pro-Consul*; and being desirous of extending  
his Conquests far into the Country, he assembled his Troops near *Dyrrachium*. There  
he proposed to his Troops, a very long March through rough and unknown Coun-  
tries, and upon the first mention of it, one of the five *Legions* he commanded muti-  
nied, protested against the Rashness of the General, and refused to follow him. He  
therefore immediately ordered the other four to surround the Rebels, disarmed them,  
forced them to march in the Rear of his Army, without Javelins, Bucklers, or Belts;  
and ordered them to assist the Servants who took Care of the Cavalry, and do the Of-  
fice of Pioneers, in digging the Trenches round his Camps. They endeavoured to  
appease him, but in vain: He was inexorable. He broke the whole *Legion*, took  
their *Eagles* from them; and the only Favour he would grant them was, to suffer them  
to be admitted into the other four *Legions*, as Recruits. After this, being now punc-  
tually obeyed, he began his Expeditions; entered the Countries of the Barbarians;  
passed Rivers till then unknown; made the *Roman* Name both known and dreaded  
wherever he came; and in a Word, was the first *Roman*, who brought a whole Army  
to the Banks of the *Danube*. And we are told, that *Rome* granted him a *Triumph*,  
as a Reward for his Labours.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXI.  
L. GELLIUS  
POPPLICOLA,  
& CN. COR-  
NELIUS LEN-  
TULUS, Con-  
suls.  
Front. Strat.  
L. 4. c. 1.

Cic. in Piso.  
Eutropius.

§. XII. Nevertheless, the good News of the Progress of the *Roman* Arms in the  
distant Countries of *Europe* and *Asia*, very little alleviated the Concern of the Inhabi-  
tants of the Capital of the World, at the Ravages which *Spartacus* committed in *Italy*,  
and the Pyrates at Sea. The Republick, upon what Consideration, or by what In-  
trigues is not known, had put at her Head two Men, who were very little able to  
bear the weight of publick Affairs, at a Time when *Spartacus* made *Rome* itself trem-  
ble. These were *Cn. Aufidius Orestes*, and *P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura*. The former  
had scarce any other Merit to qualify him for his Employment, than the Name of  
two illustrious Families; the *Aurclian*, from which he was descended, and the *Aufi-*  
*dian*, into which he was adopted. He was so little esteemed, that the assembled *Tribes*  
had refused him the *Tribuneship*, which he had earnestly solicited. And his Col-  
league still less deserved the supreme Dignity. *Sura*, which signifies *The Thigh*, was a  
Nick-name given him in Derision. He had formerly been *Quæstor*, during the *Dicta-*  
*torship* of *Sylla*; and whilst a Guardian of the publick Treasury, had exhausted it in  
Debauchery, and useless Expences. The *Dictator* had therefore cited him to appear  
to give an Account of his Administration; and he answered, with extream Impu-  
dence, *Be it so, I give up MY THIGH then, and you may if you please whip me, like*  
*a Child*. Hence the Name of *Sura*; and we shall soon see this infamous Magi-  
strate embark in *Catiline's* Conspiracy; and die in a Prison, by the Hands of an Exe-  
cutioner.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXII.  
CN. AUFIDI-  
US ORESTES,  
& P. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LUS SURA,  
Consuls.

Cic. pro Plan-  
cio.

However, the Senate wisely prevented the ill Effects that might have followed from  
this bad Choice of *Consuls*, by entrusting neither of them with the Command of the  
Armies that were to act against *Spartacus*. In the same *Comitia* that they were cho-  
sen, the People had nominated to the *Prætorship* *M. Crassus*, a Man of known Va-  
lour, and approved Conduct in Arms. No Body had contributed more than he and  
*Pompey*, to advance *Sylla* to a supreme Power; and no Persons had a greater Share  
in the *Dictator's* Favour, than these two Rivals for Glory. Though their mutual  
Jealousy was great, it never broke out into any unbecoming Actions. They kept within  
the Bounds of Moderation, and Civility, and it appeared to be only a laudable Emula-  
tion. But *Pompey* had got the Ascendant, though perhaps with little, if any, more  
Merit. They had both done important Services in *Sylla's* Armies, and perfected  
themselves in the Art of War, under the Discipline of so great a Master. Indeed,  
*Crassus* could never yet attain to the Honours of a *Triumph*, which *Pompey* had en-  
joyed after he had defeated *Sylla's* Enemies in *Africa*. But, in the Battle which  
was fought in Sight of *Rome*, *Crassus* had defeated the *Samnites* in the right Wing  
where he commanded, whilst *Sylla* himself was driven from his Post by the  
Enemy. And if *Crassus* had not shined so much in Arms since the Death of  
the *Dictator*, he had shewn greater Skill than *Pompey* in the Management of  
publick Business; and had gained as great a Reputation in the City by his Elo-  
quence<sup>24</sup>,

Plut. in Crasso.



Year of quence<sup>24</sup>, as his Rival had done in the Field, by Feats of Arms. In a word, *Crassus* *ROME* as much<sup>25</sup> outshined *Pompey* at *Rome*, as *Pompey* did him among the *Legionaries*.  
 DCLXXXII. §. XIII. As soon as *Crassus* was named by the *Conscrip*t *Fathers* to march against the rebellious *Gladiators*, the Nobility were very desirous of attending him; and the People who thought him one of the most chaste, most sober, and most compassionate Men in the City, crowded to enroll themselves under his Standards. In a few Days he had six *Legions* compleat, which, with the two that were the Remains of the last Year's Defeats, made a formidable Army; and his first Design was to go and wait for *Spartacus* in *Picenum*, and give him Battle in his Passage. The better to secure himself Success in this, he sent *Mummius* one of his Lieutenant-Generals, before him with two *Legions*, and with Orders to follow the Enemy in the Rear, but not to fight or even skirmish with them. But *Mummius* thought it too favourable an Opportunity to make himself famous, to be lost; and his Valour got the better of him. He fought, and had the double Mortification, of having been disobedient and beaten. However, the Times of *Manlius* were no more. *Crassus* only reprimanded the Lieutenant-General, and decimated 500<sup>26</sup> *Legionaries* which had fled before the Enemy; and by this reasonable Severity, he made himself as much respected by his Troops, as he was before beloved.

*App. Bell. Civ. L. 1.* A few Days after, *Crassus* marched out of *Rome*, at the Head of his Troops, which scarce amounted to 40000 Men. His first Attempt was on a Body of the Enemy, which was encamped by itself, apart from their main Army; and he made so great a Slaughter of the Slaves, that scarce a third Part of them were able to retire to *Spartacus*. This happy Beginning raised the Confidence of *Crassus*, and he instantly marched to *Spartacus* himself, fought him, and got the Advantage. This made the Commander of the *Gladiators* sensible, that the new General was not like those who had been sent on the same Duty before him; and being now struck with Terror for the first Time, he crossed *Lucania*, and encamped with the Remains of his Army on the Sea-shore. Here he thought a fine Opportunity offered for him to go into *Sicily*, and secure himself from the Pursuit of *Crassus*, by carrying the War thither. He did not doubt but a great Number of malecontent Slaves would join him there, and was encouraged to expect Success, by what had formerly happened. He therefore agreed with the Pyrates, which were spread on the Coasts of *Italy*, to furnish him with a certain Number of Ships, at a stipulated Price, and carry him into *Sicily* with Part of his Troops. But the Robbers took the Money, and broke their Word. So that, *Spartacus* was under a Necessity of continuing on the Continent, and there bearing all the Weight of the War, with which he was threatened. Then he instantly decamped, and came and posted himself in a Peninsula formed by the Sea, over against *Messina*, and near *Rbegium*. There he endeavoured to cross *The Streights*, upon Rafts of Hurdles supported by empty Barrels. But, after a fruitless Attempt, he found that the Sea which divides *Sicily* from *Italy* was too rough, to trust the Passage of so many Men, on such weak Machines.

*Plut. in Crasso. Florus L. 3. c. 20.* §. XIV. In the mean time, *Crassus* who had followed *Spartacus*, was wholly intent on so shutting up the *Gladiators* in the Nook of Land where they were posted, as to

<sup>24</sup> He improved his Genius for Rhetorick by continual Application. *Plutarch* says, He did not decline the meanest Causes; and That the very meanest of the People who wanted his Assistance, met with a favourable Reception from him. He spent his Leisure partly in the Study of History, and was deemed one of the best Antiquaries of his Time. To which *Plutarch* adds, That he acquired some Knowledge in *Aristotle's* Philosophy, whose Writings he had read, under the Direction of a Master named *Alexander*, who was a professed *Peripatetick*.

<sup>25</sup> *Crassus* gained the Affections of the lowest of the People by his engaging Behaviour and great Civilities. His House was always open to them, and he often took Pleasure in admitting them to his Table; where, the obliging Manner in which they were received charmed them more, than either the Expence or Delicacy of the Entertainment.

<sup>26</sup> According to *Plutarch*, After *Crassus* had reproached *Mummius* with his Rashness in the severest

Terms, he gave new Arms to the *Roman* Soldiers that had escaped the Slaughter, in the room of those they had in a cowardly Manner left on the Field of Battle, that they might be the more ready for Flight. He also engaged them by the most solemn Promises, to wipe off the Reproach of the Defeat. But he did not shew the same Indulgence to the 500 Soldiers that first retired at the Approach of the Enemy, and caused the Rout of all the Army. He divided them into fifty tens, and the Man in each ten to whose Lot it fell was punished. He brought them before the whole Army, in the Posture of Criminals, and ordered the *Lictors* to execute them. By this exemplary Punishment he revived the old Custom of making the Soldiers who had deserved to die draw Lots. A Custom which had been constantly kept up in the first Ages of the *Roman* Virtue, and which, through the Relaxation of military Discipline, had now, for many Years, been neglected,



prevent their escaping, and make them perish with Want. In order to this, he cut a Ditch cross the *Isthmus* from Sea to Sea, of 15 Foot broad, and as many deep; and built along the Ditch a very thick and a very high Wall, which cut off all Communication between the Enemy and the neighbouring Country. *Spartacus* at first laughed at the Works of the *Romans*; but when he had consumed all the Corn and Forrage in his *Peninsula*, he found, to his great Surprise, that he could have no Hopes of getting more, otherwise than by the Point of his Sword; and then Necessity increased his natural Valour. He made several Attempts to fill up the Ditch, and make a Breach in the Wall, with Fascines and Fire; and was in no Fear of too much exposing his Soldiers, who were more numerous than the largest *Roman* Armies. It is said, that one Day the *Romans* killed near 12000 of them, with the Loss of only three killed, and seven wounded. But his Attempts were not always fruitless. He made one, in a Night which with the Rain and Snow was extremely cold, on a Part of the Wall which was not finished; and with such Success, that he set at liberty at least one third Part of his Army.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXII.  
CN. AUFIDI-  
US ORESTES,  
& P. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LUS SURA,  
Consuls.

App. Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.

Plut. in Crass.

This unexpected Resolution filled the *Romans* with Terror, and *Crassus* himself was so alarmed at it, that without considering the Consequences, he hastily wrote Word to the Senate, That it was proper to recall *Pompey* from *Spain*. He represented every Thing as desperate; *Rome* as ready to be sacked; and the Masters of the World to be subdued, by their own Slaves. Nevertheless he still followed the Enemy in the Rear; and then, the Rebels left in the *Peninsula* soon found Means to come out likewise, and join their General. So that *Spartacus* was again Master of the Field, and at the Head of an Army much superior in Number to that under the *Roman* *Prætor*. And indeed, the *Gladiator* would have been invincible, if he had not been weakened by a fresh Division among his Troops. The Slaves who were Natives of *Gaul* and *Germany*, or had come originally from thence, again refused to obey him, chose themselves two new Commanders, *Cannicius* and *Castus*, in the Room of *Crixus*, and encamped separately. This Division raised the Hopes of *Crassus*, who knew the *Gauls* were posted in *Lucania*, on the Banks of a Lake, whose Water was sometimes salt and sometimes sweet; and he attacked them in their Entrenchments, and would have made a great Slaughter of them, if *Spartacus* had not come to their Assistance. This great Man (for tho' a *Gladiator*, he had nothing servile in his Sentiments or Conduct) was above hearkening to his Resentments. His whole Aim was to do good to the Party he had espoused; and he would not give up even the disobedient to the Fury of the Enemy. He encamped near them, that he might be always ready to come to their Relief. Nevertheless *Crassus* continued intent on fighting the separate Body, as being the weakest and commanded with least Prudence; and he resolved to endeavour, first to deceive *Spartacus*, and then fall on the *Gallic* Camp.

Front. Strat.  
L. 2. c. 4, 5.

Never was Stratagem better concerted, or more successful in the Event. The *Roman* General divided his Army into two Bodies, but had them both perfectly under Command. He posted the best of his Troops, and particularly those called *The* *Prætorians*, that is, the General's Guards, near *Spartacus*; and the worst Part of his *Legions*, towards *Cannicius* and his *Gauls*. This looked as if the main Force of the *Romans* intended to fall on the chief Leader of the Rebels, and their great Aim was at him. But this was not *Crassus's* Design. He, in the Night-time, commanded his bravest *Legions* to post themselves behind a Mountain, as in Ambush, intending to draw *Cannicius* thither; and ordered his weak Men to go to their Camp to supply their Places. But he still left the *Prætorians* in their first Camp, the better to deceive and amuse *Spartacus*; and they pretended to offer him Battle, but avoided fighting. In the mean time, whilst *Spartacus* was deceived with these Appearances, *Crassus*, to draw the *Gauls* out of their Trenches, and bring them to the Ambush he had laid for them, sent some Horse to insult *Cannicius*; and at the same time, detached *Promptinus* and *Ruffus*, two of his

27 *Plutarch* relates this Matter somewhat differently. He says, That *Crassus*, being resolved to attack the Slaves commanded by *Cannicius* and *Castus*, detached 6000 Men, with Orders to seize a neighbouring Eminence, from whence it was easy to ruin the Enemy's Camp; and with particular Directions, to take all possible care, to conceal their March from

the Enemy. But as this Detachment was advancing towards the Hill, they were seen by two Women, who were offering Sacrifice at the Gate of the Camp, for the happy Success of the Arms of *Spartacus*; and it would instantly have been surrounded by the vast Multitude of the Slaves that encamped in the Plain, if *Crassus* had not marched to its Relief with all his Army.



Year of his Lieutenant Generals, at the Head of 12 *Coborts*, with Orders to march round the *ROME* Mountain, and attack the Enemy in the Rear. And the Scheme answered in every Particular. The *Gauls* came out of their Camp to pursue the *Roman* Cavalry which insulted them, and appeared in the Plain. *Crassus* ordered his *Legions* to fall on *Cannicius* and *Castus*, whilst *Promptinus* and *Ruffus* attacked them in the Rear; and it was rather a Butchery than a Battle. 30000 of the *Gauls*, with their two Generals, were killed on the Spot, before *Spartacus* could come to their Relief; and in this compleat Victory, the *Romans* recovered five of their *Eagles*, 26 other Standards, and five *Fasces* with their *Axes*. A memorable Action, which gave *Crassus* hopes of the utter Ruin of the Rebels!

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CN. AUFIDI-  
US ORESTES,  
& P. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LUS SURA,  
Consuls.

*Plut. in Pomp.* §. XV. During these Transactions, *Metellus* and *Pompey* arrived from *Spain*. They had subdued this vast Country, and *Pompey* who was the younger and most greedy of Fame, had every where left illustrious Proofs of his Presence. He had from the *Pyrenees* to the *Alpes*, erected many *Trophies* with Inscriptions, importing, That *Pompey* had subdued 72 Cities, from the *Alpes* to the furthest Parts of *Spain*. But the most lasting Monument he raised, was the City he built, which he is said to have called *Pompelona*<sup>28</sup> from his own Name, and is now called *Pampeluna*. As soon as he appeared at *Rome*, the Populace were even ready to adore him. They took it for granted that he would re-establish their *Tribunes* in their former Lustre, and restore them what *Sylla* had taken from them. He affected Popularity; and his Discretion in burning the Letters which many of the *Plebeians* had written to *Sertorius*, had gained him the Affections of many of those who were Enemies to the *Patrician* Party. But at the same time, he kept well with the Senate; and he could not but be agreeable to the Nobility in general, as having been *Sylla's* Pupil. So that the *Tribunes of the People* proclaimed his Glory, and the Senate joined in the Acclamations. It was unanimously agreed, That *Pompey* was the greatest General the Republick had; and That he alone was capable of finishing the War with *Spartacus*. These Discourses were too publick, not to come to the Ears of *Crassus*; and then he repented of having desired the Senate to recal *Pompey*. He had authorised the *Conscript Fathers* to send for the Conqueror of *Spain*, to succeed him in an Expedition, which was now almost finished, and in which he wanted no Assistance; and he therefore resolved to give a decisive Battle immediately, in order to disperse the *Gladiators* as soon as possible, and so prevent the Fruits of his past Labours, from falling into the Hands of his constant Rival.

*Plut. in Crasso.* After the Defeat of the *Gothic* Slaves his Allies, *Spartacus* turned towards *Petelia*. Two of *Crassus's* Lieutenant Generals followed him, attacked him, and were beaten. This slight Advantage increased the Boldness of the Rebels; and they seditiously demanded leave of their General, to go immediately and attack the *Romans*. But he was still intent on his old Scheme. He resolved to draw towards the Sea, and take the first Opportunity that offered, to go over into *Sicily*. With this View, he drew near to *Brundisium*; but instantly returned back. He found a false Rumour spread on the Coast, that *Lucullus* was at Sea, and ready to land in *Italy*. This News surprised him, and forced him to return to *Lucania*; and then he was as desirous of a Battle as the *Roman* General. One was afraid of having another Enemy upon him; the other, of having a Successor, or at least, a Colleague. They therefore drew very near to each other, and contended who should first begin a general Action. *Crassus* dug Trenches round *Spartacus's* Camp, as if he intended to invest him; *Spartacus* sent out Troops

*App. de Bell.*  
*Civ. L. 1.*

Army. Then a Battle was fought, according to our Author, with equal Fury on both Sides; and at last the *Romans* became victorious, and the Slaves were almost all killed on the Field of Battle, after they had sold their Lives dear. But nevertheless, he does not make the Number of the slain, on the Side of the Enemy, to be more than 12300.

<sup>28</sup> *Strabo* seems to ascribe the founding of *Pampeluna* to *Pompey*. At least, the *Spanish* Authors, and particularly *Mariana*, undertake to prove the Antiquity of this City, from a Passage in this Geographer, which some will not allow to be decisive. The Capital of *Navarre*, says *Strabo*, was called POMPELO, or which amounts to the same Thing, THE CITY OF POMPEY. But these Words are not so very clear, as that we can certainly conclude from

thence, That *Pompey* was the Founder of *Pampeluna*. The Writer might perhaps have nothing in view, but the resemblance or allusion, between the two Names of *Pompelo* and *Pompeopolis*. But be that as it will, it is certain, that *Pompey* erected many *Trophies* in this Neighbourhood, in order to transmit to Posterity the Remembrance of his Conquests, and his Victories. *Mariana* says, That there were, in his Time, at the Foot of the *Pyrenees*, in the Valleys of *Andorra* and *Altavaca*, several Iron Rings which were sodered in the Rocks; and it is presumed, that each of these Rings, the least of which is ten Feet in Circumference, supported a *Trophy*, or some other Monument of that Nature, erected in Honour to the Conqueror.



to interrupt the Pioneers, whose skirmishes were but the Preludes to a greater Contest. Nevertheless, before *Spartacus* would hazard all, he attempted an Accommodation, and made Proposals to the Enemy. But *Crassus* proudly refused to enter into any Conference, or Treaty, with a Fugitive, a *Gladiator*, and a Slave. Nothing therefore remained for *Spartacus*, but to conquer, or die.

One Day, as they were fighting in small Parties, the Slaves in order to harass the Roman Workmen, and the Romans to support them, the two Generals marched out all their Troops into the Plain, and drew them up in Battalia. *Spartacus* resolved to fight on Foot, and therefore killed his Horse before the Action. *If I am overcome*, said he, *I shall not want a Horse; and if I conquer, I shall find a thousand.* The first Attack was vigorous, and the Victory warmly disputed, as long as *Spartacus* lived. But his Valour carried him too far in pursuit of *Crassus*. Nothing would satisfy him but fighting with *Crassus* in Person; and in order to come at him, he broke into the Enemy's Battalions, and mowed down all before him. At length, he came up to the Roman General's Guards, and with his own Hand killed two of their *Centurions*. But *Crassus*, like a wise General, declined engaging with an Adventurer, and retired into the middle of his *Legions*. This made it necessary for *Spartacus* to break through them, and his own Guards wanted Courage. They fled and left their General exposed alone, in the midst of the Enemy. However, he still resisted, even after he had received a large Wound in his Thigh with a Javelin. When he could no longer stand, he kneeled, covered himself with his Buckler, and defended himself with great Bravery: Till at length, being surrounded, and overpowered with Numbers, he was mortally wounded, and fell down dead on the Place. His Enemies themselves admired the Bravery of this great Man; and said, That Nature had been guilty of a Mistake when she formed him; by joining the Soul of an Hero, to the Body of a *Thracian*, and a Slave.

§. XVI. When *Spartacus* had lost his Life, his Troops no longer kept their Ranks. Some ran upon their Fate like wild Beasts, others calmly waited for it like devoted Victims, others joined together in Platoons, and endeavoured to escape. 40000 of the Rebels are said to have been killed in this single Action; but the Body of *Spartacus* could not be found. The Romans lost about 1000 Men; and to make them amends, recovered 3000, who were Prisoners in the Enemy's Camp, which they plundered. The rest of the Slaves fled to the Mountains, to the Number of about 40 Companies. The victorious Army surrounded them, and hunted them like wild Beasts; and such of them as they could take alive were reserved for the usual Punishment of Malefactors of their Rank. 600 Crosses were set up in the great Road between *Capua* and *Rome*, for the Execution of so many of these Robbers, as a Terror to the Slaves which were very numerous in *Campania*; and in short, the Victory of *Crassus* was in a manner perfected, when the Senate gave *Pompey* a Commission to compleat it. He set out with the Troops he had brought from *Spain*, and was not unwilling to rob his Rival of part, at least, of the Glory which he had deserved. But when he came, he found that there was scarce any thing left for him to do, whereby he could gain any Reputation.

Among the many vagabond Slaves, that had joined *Spartacus*, there was one *Publipot*, a Man of Courage, who had gathered together about 5000 Fugitives after the last Battle, and had retired to *Lucania*; where being well acquainted with the Roads, he found Means to subsist by his Robberies. Against these small Remains of the vanquished, *Pompey* marched, and defeated them without difficulty; and being very vain, assumed much Honour to himself, from this small Advantage. He was not ashamed, to write the Senate word, *That Crassus had indeed vanquished the Gladiators, but he had plucked up this fatal War by the Roots*; and as every Thing was well received at *Rome*, from a Man whom the People even adored, this derogated from the Merit of *Crassus* in the Minds of many, tho' the Republick was really under great Obligations to him. He had, in six Months Time, put an end to a War, in which several *Prætors* and *Consuls* had failed. He had spared the Blood of his *Legionaries*, and by his wise Conduct delivered *Rome* from an Enemy, who was contemptible for nothing but his Birth and Condition. And yet, all the Honour he could obtain at *Rome* after his Return, was that of an *Ovation*. It was not without Difficulty, that he obtained the little Distinction of entering *Rome* wearing a *Crown of Laurel* instead of one of *Myrtle*, which had been appropriated to those, who were allowed only the lesser sort of *Triumph*. Nevertheless,

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXII.  
CN. AUFIDI-  
US ORESTES,  
& P. CORNE-  
LIUS LENTU-  
LUS SURA,  
Consuls.

*Epit. Liv.*

*Plut. in Crass.*  
*Es. Pomp.*  
*App. Bell. Civ.*  
*L. 1.*



Year of vertheless, it may be affirmed, That *Crassus* did more against *Spartacus* in one Campaign by mere Force of Arms, than *Pompey* had done in four, against *Sertorius*, assisted by all his good Fortune, and the Treachery of *Perperna*. Yet, how different were the military Honours bestowed on one and the other! *Pompey*, and according to some, *Metellus* with him, obtained a second *Triumph*, tho' he was yet but a Roman Knight, and had not passed through the *Curule* Offices. Rome would not consider the War in *Spain*, as a Civil War, tho' really such, because they were never followed with a *Triumph*; but deemed it a Foreign one, with the *Lusitanians*. So that *Pompey*, by Favour only, succeeded better than *Crassus* could do with all his Merit.

§. XVII. A Rumour was spread, that *Lucullus* had been recalled from *Asia*, and was daily expected in *Italy*. Whether he had received such Orders is doubtful, but it is certain, That he had forced *Mithridates* to seek Refuge in the Dominions of the King of *Armenia*; and as soon as he had conquered almost the whole Kingdom of *Pontus*, he sent a Deputation to *Tigranes*, to require him to deliver up *Mithridates*, the fugitive King, who was the Victim destined to grace his *Triumph*. The Ambassador the *Pro-Consul* sent, was *Appius Claudius*, whose <sup>29</sup> Sister he had married; and *Appius* went to seek *Tigranes* in the farthest Part of *Syria*, a Kingdom which he had invaded for 13 Years. He was then engaged in the Siege of <sup>30</sup> *Ptolemais* in *Phœnicia*, on the Confines of *Palestine*; and the Roman Ambassador had great Difficulty, to get as far as to *Antioch*, the Capital of *Syria*. The Guides *Tigranes* had sent to conduct him, often carried him designedly much out of his Way. But at length, by the Advice of a Freed-man, who was a Native of the Country, he dismissed these false Guides, and then came in a few Days to that City, where he found Orders to tarry, till the King returned. And in the mean time, he was not idle. *Tigranes* had many Enemies, in a Kingdom which he had possessed himself of by Violence; and *Claudius* privately did what he could, to prepare Business for him <sup>31</sup> in his new Conquest. The People could not bear the State in which he always appeared, his insatiable Desire of enslaving Provinces, and his keeping Kings under Oppression. The *Paribians* and *Medes*, his Neighbours, were jealous of his great Power. The *Greek* Cities, whose Inhabitants he had transplanted into *Mesopotamia*, wanted Avengers to deliver them out of his Hands. And all the Malecontents among the *Syrians*, and the People of the neighbouring Countries, addressed themselves to the Roman Ambassador; who encouraged, but persuaded them to dissemble, their Uneasiness; and gave them Hopes, that *Lucullus* would soon come, and restore them to their Liberty.

Whilst *Claudius* was thus forming an Interest among the Syrian Nations and Cities, *Tigranes* at last returned, attended by a very pompous Train. A crowd of Kings accompanied him, and did the common Offices of his Family. Four of these <sup>32</sup> Sovereigns walked on Foot by his Side when he rode on Horseback, and stood round him with their Hands clasped like Mutes, when he gave Audience to Ambassadors. But this State did not hinder *Claudius* from accosting him with all the Pride of a Roman. I come, King *Tigranes*, said he, to demand a Fugitive, whose want of Probity made him our Enemy, and whom our Valour and Success have made the Slave of Rome. We have a Right to demand *Mithridates*, by the Law of Nations; and we cannot believe you willing to share the Fate of a vanquished Exile. Nevertheless, You cannot be ignorant, that the same Punishment which the Slave deserves who runs away from his Master, is likewise due to him that harbours him. Carthage, Corinth, Antiochus, and more lately, *Mithridates* himself, may inform you, what the Arms of Rome can do; and we have now no Civil Wars, to hinder us from putting in Execution whatever our Senate

<sup>29</sup> This was the *Clodia* whom *Cicero* in his *Epistles* to *Atticus*, calls, the *Juno* of her Age, because she was deemed the Wife of her own Brother *Clodius*, as the fabulous *Juno* was of her Brother *Jupiter*. When *Lucullus* returned to *Italy*, he divorced her, in order to marry *Servilia*, Sister by the Mother's side, to *Cato* of *Utica*. But this second Marriage was not more happy than the former. *Servilia* was not less debauched, Incest only excepted, than *Clodia*. Inso-much that *Lucullus* was at last forced to divorce her likewise, after he had long borne with her, out of Respect to *Cato*.

<sup>30</sup> *Ptolemais*, a maritime City of *Phœnicia*, which

was formerly so well known, in the History of the *Crusades*, by the Name of *St. John D'Acre*, is now but a sorry Town, in the Possession of the *Turks*.

<sup>31</sup> *Plutarch* says, That *Appius Clodius* seduced from *Tigranes* many *Satrapes* and tributary Princes of the Kingdom of *Syria*, and particularly a Prince of *Gordiene*, named *Zarbienus*.

<sup>32</sup> According to *Plutarch*, these four Kings did the Office of Guards, or Footmen. When he gave Audience, and on Days of Ceremony, they placed themselves on the four Corners of his Throne, in an humble Posture, which shewed their Servitude.



*shall decree.* The King, who had heard nothing but Flattery for twenty Years, turned pale upon his Throne at this Speech; but he soon recovered his Confusion, and sternly answered, *Declare War with me if you think fit. I shall maintain it with much more Justice, than you proclaim it. Whatever the ill Conduct of Mithridates may have been, I shall not give up a Father-in-Law to Destruction.* After the Audience, he ordered an Answer to be written to the Letter delivered him from *Lucullus*, and refused to give him the Title of *Imperator*, that is, *General of the Roman Armies*; because *Lucullus* had not stiled him *King of Kings*. Nevertheless, he ordered very fine Presents to be sent to the Ambassador, more out of Ostentation than Good-will. But *Claudius*, declined all except one small Vase; which he accepted, for fear of offering too great an Affront to so great a King.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXII.  
Cn. Aufidi-  
us Cretes,  
& P. Corne-  
lius Lentu-  
lus Sura,  
Consuls.  
Epit. Liv.  
L. 98. c. 10.

As soon as the *Roman* was gone from *Antioch*, to return to the *Pro-Consul*, *Tigranes* brought to his Court *Mithridates*, whose Residence in *Armenia* began to be uneasy to him. He was surprized at the Indifference, or rather Contempt, with which his Son-in-Law treated him. But he soon discovered the Cause of it, in the first Conferences he had with him at *Antioch*. He had employed *Methrodorus* as his Agent with his Son-in-Law; and that Nobleman, who had an Interest in both Courts, and had by his Probity merited the Confidence of both Kings, faithfully discharged the Commission with which he was entrusted. He justly represented the lamentable Condition to which the *Romans* had reduced the King of *Pontus*, and in virtue of the Alliance between the two Monarchs, demanded speedy Succours against the *Roman* Forces. But when *Tigranes* had commended his Zeal for *Mithridates*, and required him to give him his real Thoughts of the new War he proposed to him, with the Openness and Sincerity of a Friend; *Methrodorus* replied, *As the Agent of Mithridates, I implore your Assistance for him; but as the Servant of Tigranes, I advise him not to quarrel with Rome.* This had given rise to the Coldness and Contempt beforementioned; and after *Tigranes* had been so indiscreet as to discover this important Secret to *Mithridates*, he got *Methrodorus* assassinated. Then the King of *Armenia* lamented the Loss of him, and made magnificent Obsequies for him; but he would have been wiser, if he had at least followed his wholesome Advice.

§. XVIII. When *Claudius*, after long expectations of him, returned from his Embassy, he found *Lucullus* wholly employed in establishing order in *The Asiatick Province*. By the Report of the Ambassador, the *Pro-Consul* perceived, That a new Scene was opening for his Arms; and That he must carry on the War, into the Heart of *Syria*. But the Season was too far advanced, to take the Field at present. He therefore finished the great Work he had begun a Year ago; and divided his Cares between the Preparations for War the next Year, and the Reformation of the Abuses he had found in the *Roman* Government in *Asia*. The Disorders in this fine Province, had owed their Rise to the Tax of \* 20000 <sup>34</sup> *Talents*, which *Sylla* had laid upon it, and made payable at different Times. *Rome* had sent to these unfortunate *Asiatics* a certain Number of *Publicans* to collect this Tax, who were Men Strangers to Compassion, and yet of great Weight in the Republick. They were almost always *Roman Knights*; and they every Year pressed the Payment of the Sums due to the Republick with extreme Rigour. So that, the poor People were forced to borrow, to enable themselves to pay their Contingents; and oftentimes, of the *Publicans* themselves, who exacted of them exorbitant Interest for the Sums they lent. Hence the Ruin of many Families which became insolvent; and the cruel Usage which the Debtors received from their Creditors.

*Ibid.*

\* 3875000 l.  
Sterl.

Nothing was more common, than to see a Father obliged to sell his Sons and Daughters to pay his Debts; and tho' himself freeborn, subject his Children to Slavery. Whole Cities were often forced, to turn the finest Ornaments of their publick Buildings into Money, and sell their most valuable Pictures, and even the Statues they worshipped in their Temples, to make their Payments; and the refractory, and the indigent who wanted Credit and Money to discharge their Debts, were either made Slaves to their Creditors, or put to the Rack. *Lucullus* was moved with Pity towards so many unfortunate People, and was exasperated against their Oppressors. And in order to relieve them, he first cancelled all Debts where the Interest exceeded the Principal; then reduced all Interest to one *per Cent*; and afterwards, forbade the Creditors to seize more than the

33 *Tigranes* had not only shewn no Compassion for the Misfortunes of his Father-in-Law; but had even ordered him to be kept under a Guard as a Prisoner of State, in a marshy and an unhealthy Place.

34 20000 *Talents* make 60 Millions of *Livres*.



Year of fourth Part of the Goods of the Debtors. So that he left them sufficient for their present Subſiſtence, and gave them Hopes of recovering by Degrees all their Effects. And *ROME* *DCLXXXII.* laſtly, he ordered, That if any Perſon added the Interest to the Principal, in order to receive Interest for it, he ſhould loſe both. All theſe Regulations were for the Advantage of the People, but they raiſed the Murmurs of the *Publicans* againſt the Author of them. They were powerful at *Rome*, both on account of the Faction they embraced, and the Friends they purchaſed at a great Expence with their Preſents; and they tried all means to make *Lucullus* odious to the *Comitia* of the *Roman* People. They let looſe againſt him the venal Tongues of the *Tribunes*; and theſe accuſed him of Negligence in his Office, as General. They ſaid publickly in *Rome*, That the Pro-Conſul of *Aſia*, loſt Time in Shows and Amuſements; That inſtead of purſuing *Mithridates* to the very Court of *Tigranes*, he ſuffered his Troops to languish in Idleneſs; and That he had already done nothing for a whole Year.

*Appian. L. 1. de Bell. Civ. Plut. in Pomp.* §. XIX. Theſe Diſcourſes artfully ſpread by eloquent Men, gradually diſpoſed the People to recal the General who had vanquiſhed *Mithridates*, and conquered a great Kingdom; but they were not in haſte to offer ſo ſhocking an Affront to ſo great a Man. They gave him Time to prove by new Exploits, that he was the moſt active, and moſt expeditious, of all the *Roman* Generals; as will appear when we come hereafter to relate the reſt of his Victories. The Concern of the People about the Choice of new *Conſuls*, and the Difficulty they had in fixing their Choice, ſuſpended their Reſentments againſt *Lucullus*. Two Men of the greateſt Merit were Candidates for the *Conſulate*. One was the Conqueror of *Spartacus*, the other had pacified *Spain* by the Death of *Sertorius*. The Services of both were freſh; and the Friends of each uſed their utmoſt Interest to exclude the other. The *Romans* could not readily reſolve on conferring the *Conſulate* on both at the ſame Time; leſt their continual Rivalſhip ſhould expoſe the Republick to the ill Conſequences of thoſe Diviſions which would certainly ariſe between them. *Pompey* had the Favour of the People and Senate; but he was no more than 34 Years of Age, and had never been *Quæſtor*, or *Ædile*, or *Prætor*. So that it was doing him double Honour, to diſpence with the Laws in his Favour, on purpoſe to raiſe him to the firſt Dignity in the State. Whereas the Caſe of *Cræſſus* was very different. He was of a mature and competent Age, and had paſſed through all the inferior Offices. Nevertheleſs, the Majority of the Voters ſeemed inclined to favour the younger Candidate.

*Cræſſus* ſeeing he ſhould be unjuſtly excluded, did not lay down the Command of the Troops which had followed him in his Expedition againſt *Spartacus*; and *Pompey*, following this Example, kept up thoſe he had brought from *Spain*. So that *Rome* was inveſted by two Armies encamped under her Walls, and every Thing recalled the Remembrance of the Civil Wars, in the Time of *Marius* and *Sylla*. The *Romans* feared they ſhould ſee the two Rivals come to Blows; the Conſequence of which would be, that the moſt illuſtrious *Citizens* would be expoſed to new Proſcriptions. But during the Alarm, *Cræſſus* took a politick Step, which was not expected from him. He ſolicited *Pompey* to give him his Interest for one of the *Conſulſhips*, and propoſed a Reconciliation. *Pompey*, charmed to ſee his Rival ſo far humbled as to deſire his good Offices and Protection, made uſe of them effectually for him; and declared, That he would not accept of the *Conſulate* himſelf, unleſs *Cræſſus* was made his Collegue. By this means, the *Comitia* for the great Elections were held in Peace in *The Field of Mars*, and *Pompey* and *Cræſſus* unaniſmouſly choſen *Conſuls*. Nevertheleſs *Rome* was not entirely delivered from her Fears. There was ſtill a Diſtruſt between the two *Conſuls* elect. *Pompey* was reſolute not to diſband his Troops, till the Minute he entered upon his *Conſulſhip*; and *Cræſſus* as obſtinate in keeping his, as long as *Pompey* ſhould continue in Arms. The People in vain intreated them, not to leave two Armies at the Gates of *Rome*, which upon the leaſt Diſtaſte might become Enemies. But <sup>35</sup> Religion made greater Impreſſions than their Intreaties on the Heart of *Cræſſus*, who had a

Year of  
*ROME*  
*DCLXXXIII.*  
C.N. POMPEI-  
US MAGNUS,  
& M. LICINI-  
US CRASSUS  
Dives, Con-  
ſuls.

<sup>35</sup> The Reconciliation of *Cræſſus* and *Pompey* was in ſome meaſure the Work of a *Roman Knight*, named *Onatius Aurelius*. The Love of Tranquillity had kept him for ſome Years in the Country, far from the Hurry of Buſineſs. But being accidentally at *Rome*, when the People were aſſembled, he mounted *The Tribune*, and gave them an Account of a Viſion which he ſaid he had ſeen in his Sleep. Jupiter appeared to

me, ſaid he, the laſt Night, and admoniſhes you by my Mouth, not to ſuffer the Miſunderſtanding between the *Conſuls* to continue any longer. The People thought this Dream a manifeſt Sign of the Will of the Gods; and they forced the two Rivals to ſacrifice their private Reſentments to the Interest of their Country.



greater Veneration for the Gods than *Pompey*. When News was brought the two Col-  
legues, who were in different Parts of *The Forum Romanum*, that the *Augurs* threatened  
the Republick with the most terrible Scourges, if the two Chiefs persisted in their Dis-  
union, *Crassus* immediately made the first Advances. He drew near <sup>36</sup> to *Pompey*; and held out his Hand to him, as a Sign of Concord. *Pompey* could not decline the  
Civilities of his Collegue; the People renewed their Instances with them; and then the  
two Generals immediately resolved to dismiss their Troops. But after all, this was  
only a Reconciliation in Appearance. There still remained a Leaven of Hatred in  
both their Hearts, which lasted longer than their Joint-Administration,

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXIII.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US MAGNUS,  
& M. LICINI-  
US CRASSUS  
DIVE Con-  
suls.  
App. de Bell.  
Civ. L. 1.

§. XX. The Republick had scarce ever seen two Persons whose Merit was more  
known, in her highest Offices. *Pompey's* Surname of *The Great* proclaimed his Glory;  
and that of *Crassus* imported his great Power and Interest. He was called *Dives*, or *The*  
*Rich*, not only because this was a Surname in his Family, but because he was in reality  
the richest of all the *Romans*. And it is probable, that if *Pompey* had shewn an Inclina-  
tion to recall *Lucullus* and succeed him in the East, it would have been granted: so  
strongly were the People prejudiced in his Favour. The Commons entirely depended  
on him alone, for the Advancement of their dearest Interests. In the first Speech he  
made them, he thanked them for the *Consulate*, and promised them to reinstate their  
*Tribunes* in their ancient Lustre, which *Sylla* had wisely diminished; and he afterwards  
kept his Word. He made the *Tribunate* as powerful as it had been in the most tem-  
pestuous Times; and basely made his Court to the Multitude, by giving the Repub-  
lick a Wound, which she soon felt, and greatly contributed to her Destruction. In-  
deed *Crassus* did not oppose the disannulling the wholesome Laws of *Sylla*. But he  
acquiesced, more for Fear of irritating the People, than out of Inclination. So  
that the Senate still continued to have all that Regard for him, which was due to a  
Man whose Heart was sincerely *Patrician*.

Cic. de Leg.  
L. 3.  
Plut. in Pomp.

Nor was it only in favour of the *Tribunate* that *Pompey* abolished the Laws of *Sylla*,  
whose Creature he had been. He privately engaged *M. Aurelius Cotta* the *Prætor*, to  
move, That other Assessors might be appointed to judge in Civil Causes with him, be-  
sides those of the senatorial Body. *Tiberius Gracchus* had formerly taken these Judg-  
ments from the *Conscrip't Fathers*, and appropriated them to the *Roman Knights*.  
*Sylla* had restored them to the Senate, who had been in Possession of them for ten  
Years. And now, at the Instigation of *Pompey*, the Judges were partly taken out of the  
Senators, partly out of *Knights*, and partly out of those *Tribunes* who had the Care of  
the Finances, and were called *Tribunes of the publick Treasury*. So that a much greater  
Part of them were *Knights*; the *Tribunes of the Treasury* being almost all of that Or-  
der. By these means, *Pompey* gained the Affections of the lower Orders of Men in the  
Republick, at the Expence of the *Patrician* Party, which he had at first espoused. He  
regulated his Conduct wholly by his Interest. Whenever the present State of Things,  
and his immediate Views required it, the zealous *Republican* sometimes became all on a  
sudden an Advocate for the Senate. He was always ready to change, as oft as he  
wanted the Good-will of the opposite Party to promote his Designs; and by these Ar-  
tifices, made himself a kind of Sovereign in *Rome*. Without assuming the odious  
Title of *Dictator*, or making use of Violence as *Sylla* did, he peaceably acquired an  
absolute Authority in the Government; which was only feintly disputed by *Crassus*, who  
had no weight but among the Nobility, and with them not much. It is not therefore  
to be wondered at, that *Pompey* should be so very fond of residing at *Rome*, where he  
was become the Master of all Favours, and the Arbiter of every Man's Fortune. He  
haughtily refused to have any *Province* allotted him by the Senate, as they usually did  
to the new *Consuls*; and declared he would accept of no Office out of the City. But this  
Resolution did not last long. However *Crassus* followed his Example, and would not  
stir from the Capital; doubtless because he would not leave him to reign alone there.

Epit. Liv.  
Cic. Verr. 1.  
Sallust. in Con-  
jur. Catil.

§. XXI. Ever since the Year of *Rome* 667, the Republick had chosen no *Censors*.  
This important Office had been suppressed during the Troubles, and *Sylla* had swal-  
lowed it up, in the absolute Authority of his *Dictatorship*. But it was now revived.  
*L. Gellius Poplicola*, and *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus*, were promoted to it; and the new  
*Censors* thought themselves obliged to use Severity, in Proportion to the Licentiousness

<sup>36</sup> He told the People, He thought it not beneath Person whom they had honoured with the Title of the  
him, to take the first Steps towards an Union, with a Great, and with a Triumph before the legal Age.  
that



Year of that had prevailed during this Interval, when no one was appointed to inspect the Man-  
**ROME** ners of the People. They discharged all the Parts of their Office, with as much Care  
 DCLXXXIII. as Men could do, who desired to re-establish it, on its ancient footing. In the first  
 CN. POMPEI- Place, they drew up a new List of Senators; and by placing at their Head *Q. Catulus*  
 US MAGNUS, one of the most learned Lawyers, and most virtuous Citizens in Rome, created him  
 & M. LICINI- *Prince of the Senate*, that is, President of that august Assembly. Then, to the Sur-  
 US CRASSUS prize of many ancient Senators, they struck the Names of sixty four of them out of  
 DIVES, Con- the List; and among them that of *C. Antonius*, whom we shall hereafter see promoted  
 suls. to the *Consulate* with *Cicero*. He was a known Extortioner, and a Spendthrift, whose  
 Aſon. Effects were all seized; and this made *Catiline* depend upon him, when he saw him  
 Cic. pro Cluen- made Collegue with his most inveterate Enemy. In the next Place, the *Censors* ordered  
 tio. a Review of the *Roman Knights*; and *Pompey*, though *Consul*, did not disdain to appear  
 in the Body, of which he had been a Member before his Advancement. He affected  
 this Air of Popularity, to please the Multitude; and when he came before the *Censors*,  
 Plut. in Pomp. as they were sitting on their Tribunals, attended by his *Lictors*, and was asked, *Whe-*  
*ther he had performed all the Services he owed the Republick*; he answered with an Air  
 of Sufficiency, *I have served as many Years, as the Laws require; not indeed as a*  
*Soldier, or a Subaltern, but as a General*. At these Words, the People made the Air  
 ring with their Acclamations; and the *Censors* rising from their Seats, conducted *Pom-*  
*pey* back to his House, amidst a Crowd of People, who never ceased clapping their  
 Hands, till they had lost sight of him. It was thus the vain Man pleased himself with  
 Applauses. And lastly, the *Censors* made a *Census* of the *Roman People*, and found  
 450000 Citizens fit to bear Arms.

Plut. in Crasso. §. XXII. On the other hand, *Crassus* did what he could, to deprive his Rival of  
 at least a small Part of the Esteem of the Publick. Though naturally <sup>37</sup> covetous, he  
 resolved to give all the People one of those magnificent Entertainments, which Luxury  
 and Ambition had now, for some Time, introduced into Rome. He ordered 10000  
 Tables to be erected in a spacious Place, and covered them with a surprizing Delicacy  
 and Profusion. Nor did he confine his Liberality to the Feast only. That he might  
 be the longer remembered, he gave every Guest Corn enough for three Months Sub-  
 sistence. A mighty Bounty, which would have lain very heavy on any other but the  
 richest of all the Romans! *Pompey* in vain endeavoured to equal the Splendour of his  
 Rival, in a Show he gave the People at his own Expence. But nevertheless they did  
 him so much Justice, as not to proportion their Regards to his Estate, which was  
 less than that of his Collegue. He still retained the Preference in their Affections and  
 Esteem.

In the mean time, *Cicero* acquired another Kind of Glory, by his Eloquence and  
 great Talents of Mind. A *Prætor* of *Sicily*, named *Caius Verres*, had lately been  
 recalled from his Province. This avaricious and brutal Governor had set no Bounds to

\* 38750 l. 37 The Historians reproach *Crassus* with having  
 made use of the most sordid Means to accumulate  
 Riches. He had scarce \* 200 Talents, or the Value of  
 300000 Livres, in Land, when he entered into pub-  
 lick Life; but after he had usurped the Estates of  
 the Persons proscribed in *Sylla's Dictatorship*, he set  
 no Bounds to his Avarice. No Method of increasing  
 his Revenues escaped him. The Profits he drew from  
 the Labour of his Slaves were immense, by his em-  
 ploying them in useful Works. Most of them were  
 Masons, or Carpenters, or Architects, or Husband-  
 men, or Men bred to some profitable Arts; and he  
 employed them, in repairing the Houses he had bought  
 at a very low Price, or in improving his Lands, or in  
 working the Silver-Mines he found in his Estates. Being  
 of Opinion, as he himself declared, That no Citizen  
 was to be accounted a rich Man, till he was able to  
 maintain an Army at his own Expence; he was continu-  
 ally making Acquisitions, and increasing his Estates, by  
 such Parsimony, as was unworthy his Birth and Rank.  
 Nevertheless, *Plutarch* says, That he never refused  
 to assist his Friends in Distress. He freely lent them  
 Money without Interest. But as soon as the limited  
 Time was elapsed, he prosecuted them without Mer-  
 cy, and made them repay him with Usury, the Sums

which he had lent them gratis. And this shameful  
 Provarication in a great Man, made all his good Qua-  
 lities in a manner overlooked. *Plutarch* says, He  
 was a Man of Address and Affability, which pre-  
 judiced People in his Favour, and gained upon their Af-  
 fections. His Frugality and Temperance did not at  
 all lessen the Delicacy of his Table; and the Histo-  
 rians, who have written his Life, extol him for his  
 Continence. Nevertheless, he was accused, some  
 Years before his Death, of an unlawful Commerce  
 with the *Vestal Lethia*. She was summoned to take  
 her Trial, at the Suit of one *Photinus*, who accused  
 her. But the Judges at last determined, That *Crassus's*  
 frequent Visits to *Licinia*, were not founded in a cri-  
 minal Amour, but a Matter of Interest. She had a  
 fine Country-House, some Leagues from Rome, which  
 lay very conveniently for him; and it was, on this  
 Account, that he visited the Priestess of *Vesta* every  
 Day, till at length, he prevailed, on her, by his Im-  
 portunities, to sell him the House which he so passio-  
 nately desired, at a very moderate Price. But these  
 too frequent Interviews raised Suspicions in the Minds  
 of the Citizens, which were not for the Honour of  
*Crassus* or the *Vestal*.



his Oppressions, Cruelties, and infamous Debaucheries. He had robbed the City of their publick Ornaments, the Temples of their Gods, the Fields of their Harvests, private Persons of their Estates, and Women of their Honour. The Complaints of the *Sicilians* against him were universal. They applied themselves to *Cicero*, who had formerly been *Quæstor* in their Island, and entreated him to take them under his Protection, and employ his Eloquence, to get some of the Riches restored to them, which the unjust Oppressor had extorted from them. Hitherto *Cicero* had employed his Rhetorick only in defence of the unfortunate, and he could not readily resolve to undertake an Accusation which would prove hurtful to an illustrious *Roman Citizen*. But at length Compassion for a drained Province got the better of his Inclinations. He undertook to accuse *Verres*, went himself into *Sicily*, and took Informations of his Crimes upon the Spot, employed all his Eloquence in support of his Cause, and pleaded it with so much <sup>38</sup> Strength and Solidity, that he forced *Hortensius*, the Patron of <sup>39</sup> *Verres*, to hold his Peace, and the Criminal himself to have recourse to a voluntary <sup>40</sup> Banishment. In short, the Merit of the Orator was both confessed and rewarded. The *Comitia* granted him the <sup>41</sup> *Ædileship* which he solicited, and enjoyed the next <sup>4</sup> Year; and by that means raised him to the second Station, in the Road to publick Honours. In the same Year *Virgil*, another Light of the *Latin Literature*, was born in the Village of *Andes*, near *Mantua*; and as *Rome* already admired her *Cicero* as a second *Demosthenes*, she afterwards found in her *Virgil* a second *Homer*.

§. XXIII. All the West enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity, in the *Consulate* of *Pompey* and *Crassus*. The East only was disturbed afresh, with the War which *Lucullus* revived against *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* together. *Heraclea* and *Synope*, in the Kingdom of *Pontus*, were yet to be reduced; and he ordered *Cotta*, one of his Lieutenants, to besiege the former. But it held out for two Years. *Cotta*, who was often

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXIII.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US MAGNUS,  
& M. LICINI-  
US CRASSUS  
DIVES, Con-  
suls.  
*Cic. Verrina*, 1.

<sup>38</sup> According to *Plutarch*, *Cicero* sustained the warmest Attacks of many Persons in great Power; who, being corrupted by *Verres's* Presents, were not ashamed to patronize the Villain. Even the *Prætors* on the Bench, who heard the Cause, seemed to have had a private Correspondence with him. After they had tired out *Cicero's* Patience, with affected Delays, they put off the Determination of the Cause to the last Day of the Year. Their aim was to gain Time, till the *Consulate* of *Hortensius*, who privately supported *Verres* with his Interest. One Day was not sufficient to hear the Pleadings of the Orator, and to determine an Affair of such Importance. But nevertheless *Cicero* was not discouraged. He laid aside his usual Method of Pleading in Form, and took a shorter Way. He at once produced the Witnesses to each Article of the Charge, and gave such flagrant Proofs of *Verres's* Crimes, that he silenced his Protectors. The Judges were forced, by the Clearness of the Evidence, and the Enormity of the Grievances, not to fatigue the Accusers with fresh Delays, lest they should be suspected of Prevarication; and they all agreed, to give Judgment against a notorious Robber, whom the Voice of the People had already condemned.

<sup>39</sup> *Hortensius*, according to *Plutarch*, durst not declare himself openly in favour of the accused. But he promised to appear at the Bar, in order to moderate the Fine which would be laid upon him, by way of Reparation for the Injuries which this unjust Magistrate had done, during his *Prætorship*. For this, he had a little Ivory Sphinx of exquisite Workmanship, which was thought a Master piece in its Kind; and this shameful Traffick was not so secretly managed, but it reached *Cicero's* Ears. The Orator reproached him in covert Terms with having shared the Spoils of *Sicily*; and *Hortensius*, imagining that the Thing was a profound Secret, answered, That he knew not what he meant by that Reproach. To which *Cicero* smartly replied, *You may very easily guess. The Sphinx you have lately gotten, will explain it to you.* But the Orator would not bear the Trouble of so much Ceremony with *Quintus Cæcilius Niger*, a Freed-man, who was said to be of the *Jewish Religion*. He had been *Quæstor* in *Sicily*,

when *Verres* was *Prætor*, and pretended to accuse the *Sicilians*; who had Reason to suspect his being in a Combination with the accused, whose Crimes it was his Interest to palliate. *Cicero* therefore plainly asked him, *Think you, that a Jew has no Quarrel with a Boar?* Alluding both to the *Jewish Laws*, which forbid those of that Religion to eat *Swine's Flesh*, and to the Name of *Verres*, which was the *Latin Name* for that unclean Animal.

<sup>40</sup> Though *Verres* had anticipated his Condemnation by a voluntary Banishment, yet Sentence was pronounced, and the Judges, with *Cicero's* Approbation, laid on him a Fine of 750000 *Drachmæ*, or 375000 *Livres*, at the Rate of 10 *Sols* to each *Drachma*, as we have before computed. But this was thought too small a Sum, considering the Damages *Verres* had done in *Sicily* by his Oppressions; and *Cicero* was blamed for it, and suspected of not having been Proof against the Offers that were made him. And indeed *Cicero* himself confesses, That this publick Robber had robbed the *Sicilians* of *Quadrings* *H. S.* that is, of 40000 *Great Sesterces*, or 40 Millions of *Little Sesterces*; which make 5 Millions of *Livres*, according to our Computation, Vol. 2. p. 504. Note 84. Now, the *Roman Laws* condemned every Extortioner to pay double the Sum he had unjustly appropriated to himself, and half as much more. And therefore the *Roman Orator* in his *first Oration against Verres*, insists, in the Names of the *Sicilians*, that he be condemned to pay 12500000 *Livres*.

<sup>41</sup> *Cicero* was then 36 Years of Age; the Term the Laws had fixed to qualify a Man for the *Ædileship*.

<sup>42</sup> The *Sicilians*, to shew their Gratitude to *Cicero*, contributed towards the Expence and Decorations of the Shows, with which his new Dignity obliged him to entertain the *Romans*. He applied nothing of the magnificent Presents they made him, to his own Use; but, according to *Plutarch*, he made use of all their Bounties, to lessen the Price of Provisions, which were grown excessive dear, in the Capital.



Year of repulsed, returned again to the Attack by Intervals, and spent more Time in subduing  
 ROME this single maritime City, than *Lucullus* did, in conquering the rest of this great King-  
 DCLXXXIII. dom. Till at length, being tired out with the Slowness of his Progress, *Cotta* called  
 CN. POMPEI-*Triarius*, the Vice-Admiral of the *Roman* Fleet, to his Assistance; and the latter  
 US MAGNUS, having fixed a Day when he would enter the Ports with his Ships, the former prepared  
 & M. LICINI- to make an Attack on the Place at the same Time, with the Land Forces. Accord-  
 US CRASSUS ingly, *Triarius* appeared at Sea with 43 Gallies, partly *Roman* and partly *Rhodian*;  
 DIVES, Con- and *Cotta* at the same Time brought his Troops to the Walls; and this unexpected  
 fuls. Sight filled the *Heracleans* with Terror. But nevertheless, *Lamachus*, the Governor,  
 immediately sent out the 30 Ships they had in the Port, half equipped, and drew out his  
 Garrison on the Ramparts, to defend them.

The thirty *Heracleot* Ships fell on the twenty *Rhodian* Gallies which advanced at the Head of the *Roman* Fleet; and in the first onset, the Advantage was almost equal. The *Rhodians* sunk five of the Enemy's Ships, and the *Heracleots* three of the *Rhodian*. But *Triarius* with his *Roman* Ships changed the Face of the Battle. He fell furiously on the Enemy, sunk, or boarded and took, fourteen of their Gallies, and forced the rest to return into their Port, which the *Heracleots* shut up. And then *Cotta* who intended to have given a general Assault on the Place, retired, and contented himself with only blocking up the City; which now could receive no more Provisions by Sea or Land, and consequently must soon be starved. Accordingly a Famine soon followed, and after the Famine a Plague, of which *Lamachus* died, and *Damophiles* succeeded him, and at the Instigation of *Connacorex*, proposed to capitulate privately, without the Knowledge of the Inhabitants. But they knew *Cotta* too well, to address themselves to him; and therefore joined in a Letter to *Triarius*. His Answer was intercepted; and then, *Connacorex* pretended, that he would not be concerned in the Surrendry of the City. He left it, and put to Sea, with his Effects, and the Troops that were attached to him, to seek for a Retreat elsewhere; whilst *Damophiles* opened one of the Gates to *Triarius*. During the Commotions that this occasioned, *Cotta* mounted the Walls with his Troops; pretended he had taken the City by assault, though it had really surrendered by Capitulation; and upon this weak Pretence gave it up to be plundered. His Men committed such Cruelties upon the Inhabitants, and took such immense Riches from them, that *Triarius* was much offended at it. But he was soon appeased by dividing the Spoils between his Soldiers, and those of *Cotta*; tho' the latter was indeed the most greedy, and most untractable. He took out of the Temple of *Hercules*, whose Name the City bore, the richest and finest Statue of this Demi-God, that was in the World. His Club, and Lion's Skin, and the Arrows in his Quiver, were all of massy Gold. In short, *Cotta* carried his Fury so far, as to burn all the Houses in *Heraclea*. And when the base *Roman* had thus glutted his Rage, and gratified his Avarice, he put his Booty on board his Ships, sent his *Legionaries* to *Lucullus*, dismissed his Auxiliaries, and set sail for *Rome*. But Heaven punished him for his Covetousness, when he was got very near to the Coasts of *Italy*. He was there over-taken by a Storm, which dispersed his Ships which were over-laden; and beat some of them in Pieces against the Rocks.

§. XXIV. As for *Lucullus*, he had not yet any of *Cotta's* Vices. He made War at present for the Glory of the *Roman* Name, and was very compassionate and merciful to those he conquered. This appeared at <sup>43</sup> *Synope*, with the Siege of which he began this Campaign. It was one of the largest Cities in *Pontus*. *Mithridates* had been born and spent his Infancy there, and had adorned it with valuable Ornaments. Three Governors, *Seleucus*, *Cleobares* an Eunuch, and *Leucippus*, had commanded in it, with equal Authority; but the two former had accused *Leucippus* of Treason before the People, and when they found they could not prove their Charge, assassinated him in the Night. Then *Cleobares* and *Seleucus* were left sole Masters in *Synope*; and sup-

43 The City of *Synope*, which stood in a Peninsula on the Coasts of the *Euxine* Sea, was formerly the Capital, not only of *Paphlagonia*, but also of the Dominions of *Mithridates* in *Asia Minor*, from the Time it was taken by *Pharnaces*, the Grandfather of this Monarch. *Strabo* carries up the Origin of this City to the *Argonauts*, who, according to him, first laid the Foundations of it. But it is more probable, That it was built, or at least considerably increased,

by the *Miletians*; who as *Strabo* himself, and *Xenophon* agree, strengthened it with a good Port. Several Princes subdued it; till at length it fell into the Hands of the *Romans*, who sent Colonies thither. *Thevet* says, it still retains its old Name; but *Chalcondylas* gives it that of *Pardaptas*; and *Leunclavius* says, it is called *Synabe* by the *Turks*. It was famous for having given Birth to *Diogenes the Cynick*.



ported by an Army of Pyrates whom they called to their Assistance, exercised great Tyranny there. They administered Justice arbitrarily, and cut off many Heads. During these Confusions, *Lucullus* came, and prepared to besiege it; and the two Tyrants were of different Opinions about it. *Cleochares* was for defending the City, and preserving at least, this small Remains of his Dominions for *Mithridates*; *Seleucus* was for putting all the old Inhabitants to the Sword, and selling the City at a great Price to the Roman General. But the besieged gained a slight Advantage over the Romans, which prevented the surrendering of the City. With the Assistance of the Pyrates, they took a Convoy which was coming to *Lucullus* by Sea, and beat the thirty Ships that guarded it.

However, the Inconveniencies the Romans suffered in their Camp were soon removed. *Machares*, that Son of *Mithridates*, whom he had settled King in *Colchus*, was afraid of the Power of the Romans; and dreading that he should be dethroned in his turn, sought the Friendship of *Lucullus*, sent him the Provisions he had gotten together for his Father, and with this Present, a Crown of Gold. This Plenty of Provisions, and new Alliance, greatly raised the Courage of the Romans, and drove the Tyrants to despair. They embarked great Riches on some of the lightest Ships they had, and when they had set Fire to the rest, and ordered the Pyrates to plunder the City, sailed off in the Night. The Clamours this occasioned, and the Fire he saw, induced *Lucullus* to make an attack upon the City, and he entered it without Difficulty, and put 8000 Men, partly Pyrates and partly Inhabitants, to the Sword. After this he resettled the rest in their Houses, restored them to their Liberty, recalled the Fugitives from Exile, and increased the Privileges of the City. This uncommon Clemency from a victorious General, is ascribed to the miraculous Appearances of a Demi-God, the Protector of *Synope*, to *Lucullus* in a Dream; but it is more probable, that all that was marvellous in this Moderation, was the Consul's own Generosity and good Nature.

§. XXV. When all the South Coast of the *Euxine* Sea was thus conquered and settled in Peace, *Lucullus* left 6000 of his Romans there, to keep the People in subjection, under the Command of Lieutenant General *Sornatius*, and marched forwards. He resolved to fight *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* together, and if it should be found necessary, to penetrate into the Heart of *Syria*. An exceeding rash Design, if we judge of it, by the Number of his Forces; for his Army scarce consisted of 12000 Foot and 3000 Horse. What were they, to withstand the numberless Troops of the two largest Kingdoms in the World, *Armenia* and *Syria*? But Heroes don't depend so much on the Number of their Soldiers, as their Valour, and their own Experience. *Lucullus* was now entering on much the same Career, as *Alexander the Great* had done; and he did it, with as much Confidence, and as much Courage. His Legionaries murmured a little at the new Expedition of their General; and said to one another, *Into what a Country, and through how many Dangers, is the General leading us, to a certain Defeat? The least we have to suffer, is to cross uncultivated Deserts, and deep Rivers, and to climb over Mountains that reach the Clouds, and Rocks that have Torrents running between them!* And at Rome, those very Tribunes of the People, who a little while ago accused *Lucullus* of Dilatoriness, now defamed him in the *Comitium*, as an enterprising Man, who was sacrificing every Thing to his own Fame. So true is it, that artful Enemies will not only aggravate the pretended Faults, but put an ill Construction even on the Virtues, of those whom they want to destroy.

44 According to *Plutarch*, these *Cicilian* Pyrates were in *Mithridates's* Pay; and upon the Approach of *Lucullus*, set fire to the City, after they had inhumanly cut the Throats of a great Number of the Inhabitants.

45 *Plutarch* gives us an Account of this Vision, which upon the Credit of a fabulous Tradition, passed for a Miracle. *Lucullus*, says he, thought he saw in the Night, a Man, who called himself *Autolychus*, and who invited him to draw near him, that he might confer with him; and the General thought this no accidental Thing, but imagined it concealed some Mystery under it. The next Day, he made himself Master of *Synope*; and as he was pursuing the 8000 *Cilicians*, who fled towards the Port to secure themselves in

their Ships which were riding there, he perceived a Statue broken down which the Pyrates had left on the Shore. This was one of the finest Performances of one *Sthenis* a famous Sculptor; and then the General perceived, that this Statue represented that *Autolychus* whom he had seen in his Dream. He was deemed one of the Heroes, who had attended *Hercules* in his Expedition against the *Amazons*; and it was said, That in his return, the Ship he was in struck against a Rock of the *Chersonesus*; That he and his Company were saved from Shipwreck; and That, coming to *Synope*, they took this City from the *Syrians* who then possessed it, and driving out the old Inhabitants, settled a Colony there.

However,



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXIII.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US MAGNUS,  
& M. LICINI-  
US CRASSUS  
DIVES, Con-  
suls.  
Plut. in Lu-  
cullus.

However, *Lucullus*, little concerned at what passed at *Rome*, turned towards *Cappadocia*, where *Ariobarzanes* was waiting for him, to supply him with the Provisions and Ammunition necessary for his Expedition. A false Report was then spread, that *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* were going to enter the Provinces *Rome* possessed on the Coasts of *Asia*, by the Way of <sup>46</sup> *Lycaonia* and *Cilicia*; and the *Pro-Consul* was less struck with the Thing, than the Policy of *Tigranes*. This powerful Monarch, said he, formed no Design of invading the Roman Provinces, whilst *Mithridates* was prosperous and powerful. He was afraid of lessening his own Glory, by sharing it with a King, who was in a Condition to second him. But now that *Mithridates* is ruined, he makes no scruple to join him with him in his Conquests; as well knowing, that all the Glory of them will be his own. Nevertheless, the March of the Syrians into *Lycaonia*, did not so terrify *Lucullus*, as to divert him from his Resolution. He continued his March towards *Cappadocia*, in order to enter *Great Armenia*, after he had passed the *Euphrates*. But this River was so much swelled the Day he came to it, that he could not pass it, even with the Boats he had made for that purpose. He was forced to tarry till the <sup>47</sup> next Day, and then the Roman Army passed it, and found on its Banks some <sup>48</sup> Herds of those Oxen, which were sacrificed to the Gods, and particularly to *The Genius of the Euphrates*. The neighbouring People continued in Tranquillity, and payed the Contributions *Lucullus* demanded. One single *Armenian* who was zealous for his King, ran to inform *Tigranes*, that the Romans were entered into his Dominions; and the brutal King ordered his Head to <sup>49</sup> be struck off, for disturbing his Repose. Hence the Inactivity of the *Armenians*, who suffered their Country to be plundered without Resistance; and *Lucullus* treated them with his usual Moderation. Some of the *Legionaries* knew that there was a Castle in the Neighbourhood, where *Tigranes* was said to have deposited some of his Treasures; but the *Pro-Consul* would not suffer them to besiege it. These are the Walls you must scale, said he to them, pointing to Mount *Taurus*: And accordingly, the Army crossed it, and came and encamped on the Banks of the *Tigris*.

App. in Mi-  
thrid.

Plut. in Lu-  
cullus.  
App. in Mithri-  
dat.

In the mean time, the Flatterers about *Tigranes* lulled him on, in a false Security. *Lucullus*, said they, will be a great Officer, if he has the Courage to wait for you, even at *Ephesus*. The very Presence of the King of Kings will soon send him back into Italy. *Mithrobarzanes* was the only Man of all his numerous Court, who dared represent to his Sovereign, That it was of Importance to him, not to leave *Armenia* a Prey to his Enemies; and his Fidelity was ill rewarded. *Tigranes* immediately ordered this faithful Servant, to march against *Lucullus* with a Detachment of only 3000 Men, to fall upon all the Roman Army, give no Quarter, and bring him the Roman General alive. Strange! that it should be possible for a Prince, otherwise a prudent and good Statesman, to be so intoxicated with Flattery, as to be brought to believe, that an handful of Asiatics could beat a whole Army of Romans! He soon found, that all the Forces of *Syria* and *Armenia* were not sufficient to withstand those invincible Legions. However, *Mithrobarzanes* obeyed, tho' with regret; and attacked the Romans, tho' he was satisfied the Consequence would be certain Death. When he appeared, *Lucullus* was busy in making a new Camp, and had only part of his Troops with him. The rest followed slowly. Nevertheless, he sent *Sextilius*, with somewhat better than 3000 Men, Horse and

<sup>46</sup> *Lycaonia* is a little Province of *Asia Minor*, divided from *Cilicia* by Mount *Taurus*. The City of *Iconium*, formerly its Capital, is now called *Cogni*.

<sup>47</sup> According to *Plutarch*, the very Night he came, the *Euphrates* which had overflowed, sunk within its Banks, all on a sudden; the People of the Country thought this sudden Change a Miracle wrought by *Lucullus*; and paid him divine Honours as a God, to whose Presence this River had shewn such Regard.

<sup>48</sup> *Plutarch* here adds another marvellous Circumstance, in his Account of the Roman Army's passing the *Euphrates*. He observes, That on the Banks of this River some Heifers were grazing, which were consecrated to *Diana of Persia*, a Goddess much revered in these Cantons; That these Animals who were kept for Sacrifices, were marked with the Figure of a burning Torch, the Symbol of the Goddess, on

their Backs; and That they were hard to be caught. But, says our Author, one of them came of her own accord to *Lucullus* to be sacrificed, and offered her Throat to the Knife of the Sacrificer. Whence he concludes, That the Gods declared themselves for the Roman General, and favoured his Designs.

<sup>49</sup> *Tigranes*, according to *Plutarch*, ordered the Man to beheaded, who brought the News of the Approach of *Lucullus*; and this Act of Barbarity, says the Historian, so intimidated all those who were well affected to him, that no one durst run the Hazard of the like Fate. They made it their chief Concern, to keep from him, what it was most necessary he should know, in order to prevent the Mischiefs that threatened him; and his Courtiers were wholly employed in lulling him on in a false Security, at the same Time that his Dominions were a Prey to his Enemies.



Foot, to discover the Enemy; and upon the fight of the *Roman* Detachment, *Mithrobarzanes* fell on *Sextilius* with great Fury. But the Attack was not equal to the Defence. *Mithrobarzanes* lost his Life in the first Onset, and his Troops were cut in pieces; so that, only a few of them escaped, to carry their King the News of their Defeat.

*Tigranes* was then at *Tigranocerta*<sup>50</sup>, a favourite City which he had built at a great Expence, furrounded with a Wall of 50 Cubits high, and peopled with a very great Number of *Armenians*, *Greeks*, and *Syrians*. There he had built a Citadel, which served him for a Palace, and for a Retreat for the Women of his *Seraglio*. There they lived in Pleasure, in a kind of Cloister; but such a one as contained magnificent Gardens, fine Ponds, and a Park full of Deer and all sorts of Game. The King was forced to leave this delightful Place, and send for *Mithridates*, whose Assistance and Advice he wanted, against an Enemy which he now began to fear. He encamped with the *Armenian* Troops he had ready, in the Defiles of Mount *Taurus*; and sent Orders to all the Soldiers in his Dominions, in *Armenia*, *Syria*, and *Arabia*, to come and join him. In the mean time, *Lucullus* was not unactive; the Report of the great Preparations his Enemy was making, kept him always upon his Guard. *Cappadocia* supplied him with Provisions as well as Auxiliaries; but he had little dependance on any except his *Romans*. He sent *Sextilius* to meet an Army of *Arabians* who were coming to join *Tigranes*; and surprized them when busy in pitching their Camp, and routed them. He also detached *Murena* to watch the King, who was posted between his Mountains; and the *Roman* Commander, thinking he had a good Opportunity to fall on *Tigranes*, who was embarrassed in a very narrow Passage, attacked and defeated him. He forced him to leave his Baggage, and flee, and made a considerable Slaughter of his *Armenians*.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXIII.  
CN. POMPEI-  
US MAGNUS,  
& M. LICINI-  
US CRASSUS  
Dives, Con-  
suls.

§. XXVI. After all, these were small Losses to *Tigranes*, who had so many Troops come to him from all Parts of *Asia Minor*. He got together in a few Days, 250000 Foot, and 50000 Horse; yet this pompous Appearance was so far from terrifying *Lucullus*, that he greatly rejoiced at it. He hoped to destroy all the Forces of the most powerful Monarch in the World, at one Blow; and in order to draw his Enemies the more precipitately to a Battle, had the Boldness to lay Siege to *Tigranocerta*. At his Departure, *Tigranes* had given the Command of this beloved City, to one of his bravest Officers, named *Manæus*; who, when he saw *Sextilius* investing the Place, made a Sally, and was shamefully repulsed. Then the *Romans* made their Circumvallation without farther Opposition, plundered the Suburbs, and ordered their Machines to be advanced. But the City not being yet so much invested, as to make *Tigranes* despair of rescuing his Women; he sent 6000 of his Horse, with Orders to leave no Means untried, to deliver the Queens and their Attendants out of the Hands of the Enemy. These brave Men stole into the Place by Night, furnished the Ladies with Carriages, and made them advance before them; and in their March, they defended them with great Bravery, and brought them to a Place of Safety.

However, this slight Advantage of *Tigranes*, only made *Lucullus* the more careful in guarding the Avenues to *Tigranocerta*. The Garrison was numerous, and the City full of Inhabitants, from all the Nations of *Asia*, or bordering upon it. Several of them were skilful in making *Naphta*<sup>51</sup> and other bituminous Things, which they threw in burning Balls, at the Besiegers. Nevertheless the *Romans* still continued their Works, in full persuasion, that the King would not suffer them to take a City which bore his Name, and which he had built and magnificently adorned. And indeed, *Tigranes* was extremely desirous of fighting a Battle and raising the Siege. But *Mithridates*, who had had more Experience than the King his Son-in-Law, was not for hazarding a general Action. He had experienced how formidable the *Romans* were in pitched Battles. While he was on the Road, he often wrote to *Tigranes*, to take care of doing any Thing precipitately; and when he came to him, he advised him only to cut off the Enemy's Provisions, and starve them in their Camp. *Taxiles*, the King's Confident,

<sup>50</sup> *Tigranes* had lately built this City which he called *Tigranocerta*, or *Tigranopolis*, from his own Name. It stood, according to *Pliny* and *Ptolomy*, beyond the Springs of the *Tigris*, towards Mount *Taurus*, on an high Hill, in the south Part of *Armenia*. And *Strabo* tells us, That he placed there the Inhabitants of twelve

Cities which he had conquered.

<sup>51</sup> *Naphta* is a sort of *Bitumen*, soft, sulphureous, and very inflammable. It was very common in *Babylonia*. Some of it is now found, near *Ragusa*, in some Provinces of *France*, and in *Italy*, &c.



Year of  
R O M A E  
DCLXXXII.  
CN. POMPEI-  
US MAGNUS,  
& M. LICINI-  
US CRASSUS  
Dives, Con-  
suls.

Plut. in Lu-  
cullus.  
Oros. L. 5.

supported the Advice of *Mithridates*; and till such Time as the great Reinforcements which he expected from several Places were arrived, *Tigranes* contented himself with sending out Detachments of his Horse, to attack the *Romans* upon foraging, or intercept their Convoys. But as soon as he saw himself at the Head of an innumerable Multitude of *Syrians*, *Armenians*, <sup>52</sup> *Gordyæans*, <sup>53</sup> *Adiabeni*, <sup>54</sup> *Albani*, *Babylonians*, *Scythians*, *Medes*, and <sup>55</sup> *Arabians*, he could hold out no longer; and at his Meals, he never mentioned this Handful of rash Occidentals, who were come so far to bury themselves in his Lakes, but with Contempt. *Taxiles* and *Mithridates*, who understood War, modestly opposed the King's Presumption, but neither of them was heard. The former was suspected of Cowardice, the latter of Jealousy.

At length, *Tigranes* took his Resolution, unknown to his Father-in-Law. He sent away the King of *Pontus*, and marched alone against the *Romans*. As he drew near to *Lucullus's* Lines, he was continually talking to his Friends in this manner. *Alas! Why have I but one Pro-Consul to fight with! I wish all the Generals Rome has were here. I would then destroy all the Forces of the proud Republick at one Blow.* With such Confidence did the numerous *Phalanxes* that followed him, inspire him; whilst, on the other hand, *Lucullus* was not at all alarmed at his Approach. Most of his Officers were for continuing the Siege, and standing the Attack of the Barbarians in their Lines; others were for abandoning the Place, and meeting the Enemy with the whole *Pro-consular* Army; and *Lucullus* chose the medium between those Opinions. He left *Murena* to block up the Town with 6000 Men; whilst he himself, with only 24 Cohorts, that is, about 10000 Foot, and all his Horse, went to meet *Tigranes*. The Inhabitants of *Tigranocerta* saw the two Armies from their Walls, and insulted the *Romans*. The Earth seemed covered with the Multitude of the *Asiatics*. Their light armed Infantry, consisting of 20000 Men armed with Slings and Bows; their Cavalry, of 55000, 17000 of whom were mounted on Horses in Armour; and their heavy-armed Foot, which amounted to 150000, besides 30000 Pioneers, Carpenters, and Servants, together with their Camels and other Beasts of Burden; covered a vast Tract

<sup>52</sup> The *Gordyæans* were so called, because they inhabited a Province of *Armenia* which bordered on the *Gordyæan* Mountains; which is the Name *Ptolemy* gives to one of the Branches of Mount *Taurus*.

<sup>53</sup> The *Adiabeni* inhabited that Part of *Assyria*, which contained *Arbelitis*, and the Fields of *Aturia*, between the *Tigris*, and the Rivers *Capros* and *Lycus*. The Cities of *Arbela*, *Gaugamela*, and *Ninive* stood in this Province. *Ammianus Marcellinus* places *Ecbatana* also in it, tho' this last City belonged to *Media*. This Historian derives the Name of *Adiabene* from the Name of the River *Adiaba*, which he thinks the same as the *Lycus* which falls into the *Tigris*. At least, it has been remarked, That the Word *Diaba* signified a *Wolf* in *Chaldee*, as *Lukos* does in *Greek*, and *Lucus* in *Latin*. Some Writers are of Opinion, that the Name of *Adiabene* was given to all *Assyria*; and support it, with the Authority of *Pliny*, who seems to be very express in their Favour. *Adiabene, Assyria ante dicta.* *Stephen, of Byzantium* by mistake places this Country between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. It is evident, that he confounded *Adiabene* with *Mesopotamia*.

<sup>54</sup> The *Albani* inhabited all that great Province of *Asia*, which is bounded to the East by the *Caspian* Sea, to the West by *Georgia*, to the North by a Part of *Sarmatia Asiatica* near Mount *Caucasus*, and to the South by a District of *Great Armenia*, near the River *Cyrus* or *Cur*, as the People of the East now call it.

<sup>55</sup> The Country of the *Arabians*, or *Arabia*; reaches Eastward to the *Tigris* and *Euphrates*, Northward and Westward to *Palestine*, and advances Southward, between the *Red Sea*, and the *Persian Gulph*. It is divided into three Provinces, called *Arabia Deserta*, *Arabia Felix*, and *Arabia Petraea*.

The first is bounded, to the West, by *Syria*, *The Holy Land*, and *Arabia Petraea*; to the North, by

*Diarbeck*; to the East, by *Persia*; and to the South, by a Chain of Mountains. It was inhabited forty Years by the *Israelites*, till such Time as they took Possession of the Land of *Promise*. Its chief Nations were formerly reckoned to be, *The Idumæans*, *Meabites*, *Midianites*, and *Amalakites*. It was called *Deserta*, or *The Desert*, on account of the dryness of its Soil, which is sandy, and lies among Mountains. Its Inhabitants were called *Scenitæ*, because they formerly lived in *Tents*, after the manner of the *Nomades*; as they do to this Day, under the Conduct of their *Emirs*.

The second is bounded, to the East, by the *Persian Gulph*; to the West, by the *Red Sea*; to the South, by the Ocean; and to the North, by Mountains that divide it from *Arabia Deserta* and *Arabia Petraea*. It was called *Felix*, or *The Happy*, on account of the Fineness of the Climate, and the Fruitfulness of the Soil; which, according to *Strabo*, produced two Crops in a Year. The Ancients also call it *The Holy*, because it produced Incense, and Aromaticks of all sorts, which the *Pagans* used in great Plenty, in the Worship of their Gods. But *Arabia Felix* was chiefly famous among the Ancients, for its great Plenty of Gold and Silver Mines, and for its precious Stones, and Pearls, which are found on the Sea-Coast in Shell-fish. The People of this fine Country were called *Sabæans*, from *Saba* the Son of *Chus*, and Grandson of *Ham*.

*Arabia Petraea* took its Name from the City of *Petra*, situated on the Coast of *The Dead Sea*. *St. Jerome* and *Josephus* call it *Nabathæa*. But *Strabo* derives the Name from the City of *Petra*, which, according to him, was called *Nabatha* in the most ancient Times. This Country lies along by the Side of the *Red Sea*, between *Syria*, *Palestine*, *Arabia Felix*, and *Arabia Deserta*. The *Ammonites* possessed a Part of it, near the Mountains of *Gilead*.



of Ground. Whereas on the other hand, the 30000 Men in the *Roman* Army, seem-  
ed scarce visible, or at least appeared to take up but a very little Spot. Infomuch that  
*Tigranes* himself despised the *Romans*, when he first took a view of them from an Emi-  
nence; and jocosely said of them, what the ancient Historians so often repeat: *If Lu-*  
*cullus comes to me as an Ambassador, his Train is too numerous; if as a General, his*  
*Army too weak.* Upon which, some of his principal Officers, the more effectually to  
make their court, earnestly pressed him, to give one of them a Commission, to go and  
fight the *Romans* with a single Detachment; and told him, *That it was beneath*  
*the Dignity of the King of Kings, to engage personally with an handful of rash*  
*Men.*

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXIII.  
Cn. POMPEI-  
US MAGNUS,  
& M. LICINI-  
US CRASSUS  
Dives, Con-  
suls.

§. XXVII. There ran between the two Armies in a vast Plain, a winding River  
which the Historians don't name, and which by the Circumstances of the Story, we  
guess was the <sup>56</sup> *Tigris*. The King was posted on the East side of it; and *Lucullus* on  
the West, in a kind of Peninsula, formed by its turnings. There the *Pro-Consul* drew  
up his little Army in Battalia, on the sixth of *October* in the Morning; and seemed to  
intend to pass the River. One of his Officers informed him, this was deemed an *un-*  
*fortunate* Day, because *Cæpio* had formerly been beaten on this Day, in a Battle of  
Importance with the *Cimbri*. But *Lucullus* briskly replied, *Then we will make it for-*  
*fortunate.* He had ordered the River to be founded in several Places; and finding it ford-  
able in an Elbow at some distance where it widened, he instantly ordered his Troops to  
seize the Ford, and marched out of his Peninsula in fine Order. *Tigranes* saw the *Ro-*  
*man* Army move, and being vain, said, *These Romans are afraid of me, and are flee-*  
*ing.* But *Taxiles* judged better. He said to the King: *No; it is not for nothing that*  
*our Enemies have dressed themselves in their finest Cloaths, and cleaned their Arms. By*  
*the shining of their Helmets and Bucklers, I guess they are coming to us, to fight us.* And  
indeed, *Lucullus* had the Boldness to pass a great River in sight of an Army of 300000  
Men, tho' followed by only one *Legion* and some *Cohorts*, and attack the Enemy. He  
thought it necessary to surprize the *Asiatics* by an unexpected Blow, before this Mul-  
titude could have Time, to draw themselves up in right Order, and take their  
Posts.

*Tigranes* really thought the *Romans* retiring, till he saw one of their *Eagles* draw  
near him, after they had passed the River. Then trembling, he cried out in Astonish-  
ment, *What! they are then really coming to us!* and this said, ran in all haste, to draw  
up his Army in some Regularity. But it was formed in great Disorder. *Tigranes*  
commanded in the Center, the King of the *Adiabeni* in the left Wing, and the King  
of the *Medes* in the Right. The light Cavalry covered the right Wing, and those  
mounted on Horses in Armour the Left; and the latter being the most formidable  
Part, *Lucullus* there began the Attack in Person. That he might be the more easily  
known, he made himself conspicuous by the Finery of his Arms; and perceiving that  
the heavy-armed Cavalry of the Enemy were posted on an Eminence, he marched up  
to them on Foot, Sword in Hand; exhorted the two *Cohorts* he led on, to follow him,  
and ordered his auxiliary Cavalry to attack them in Flank, while he did so in Front.  
The only Arms of the *Asiatick* Cavalry were Lances; these the *Romans* turned aside  
with their Swords; and then, it was easy for every one to kill his Man, who was in a  
manner imprisoned in his Armour. As soon as *Lucullus* had reached the top of the  
Eminence, he cried out to his Army, *Romans, the Victory is ours!* The Cavalry  
which was so formidable in appearance, fled in a shameful manner, and in their  
Rout fell in with their own Infantry, and put them into Disorder.

Epit. Liv. L.  
98. c. 46.

Ibid. c. 47.

After this beginning, the Slaughter grew very great. The *Romans* conquered al-  
most without striking a Stroke, or losing a drop of Blood. *Tigranes* retired immedi-  
ately, gave his Diadem, with Tears in his Eyes, to his Son, and ordered him to secure  
himself by Flight. This young Prince durst not put on the royal Fillet; and before he  
left the Plain, gave it to an *Armenian* one of his Friends, to secure it. This Man,  
with his Depositum, was taken Prisoner, and the Diadem was kept by *Lucullus* to be a  
Monument of his Victory. However, the rest of the Army, did not find it so easy to

<sup>56</sup> The *Tigris*, called *Dagella*, by the *Arabians*, rises in the Mountains of *Great Armenia*, near the  
Places where the *Euphrates* rises. It waters the Plains  
of *Mesopotamia*, after it has run a considerable Way  
under Ground. From thence it passes into *Babylonia*,

and divides itself into two Branches, which both fall  
into the *Euphrates*, and make it a great River, which  
also divides itself into two Branches, and then falls into  
the *Persian Gulph*.



Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXIII.  
CN. POMPEI-  
US MAGNUS,  
& M. LICINI-  
US CRASSUS  
Dives, Con-  
suls.

retreat, as *Tigranes* and his Son. Their own Numbers embarrassed them. The swift-est stopped up the Roads against the rest, and kept them back under the Swords of the Conquerors. The *Romans* are said to have been tired, with the Number of their own Blows, and to have thought it rather a Reproach than an Honour to them, that the whole Action was more a Slaughter than a Battle. In this bloody Defeat, which was such as had seldom been paralleled, *Lucullus* is said to have lost only five Foot-Soldiers, tho' he killed 100000 of the *Asiatick* Infantry, and almost all their Cavalry. And after this compleat Victory, the greatest Generals in *Rome* expressed an Esteem for him. They said, *That he had conquered the two greatest Generals in the East, by very different Methods; the vast Army of Mithridates before Cyzicus, by Delays; and the yet more numerous Forces of Tigranes, by Dispatch.* *Mithridates*<sup>57</sup> was not in this great Action. Some say, that depending on the Delays of *Lucullus*, which he had experienced, he did not make much haste to the Camp of *Tigranes*; and by that means, had the good Fortune, not to partake of his Disgrace. Nevertheless, he did not insult *Tigranes* in his Misfortunes, tho' he had met with such Treatment from him, in his own Distress. He, on the contrary, comforted him, kept up his Spirits, and gave him Hopes of being soon able to raise a new Army.

App. in Mi-  
thridat.  
Plut. in Lu-  
cillo.

§. XXVIII. Notwithstanding the Loss of the Battle, *Manæus* the Governour of *Tigranocerta* did not surrender it up immediately: But put himself into a Condition to defend it, tho' by such Means as proved fatal to it. The Inhabitants of the City consisted partly of *Armenians*, partly *Syrians*, and partly *Greeks*; and the Governour suspecting the latter of a Plot, to deliver up the City to the Enemy, disarmed them without turning them out of the Place. They therefore armed themselves with Staves, made themselves Bucklers of their Cloaths and Moveables, fell upon the Garrison, seized the Arms of those whom they killed, and overpowered the rest. Then they invited the *Romans* to scale the Walls, and helped them to take the City. Thus *Tigranes* lost in few Days, a very great Army, and the finest City in his Dominions. *Lucullus* gave it up to be plundered by his Soldiers, but with the Order that military Discipline requires. Besides the Statues and valuable Moveables, they found there 8000 *Talents*, in Gold and Silver Coin. Out of the whole Booty, the General gave each of his Soldiers, 800 *Drachmæ*; and kept the many Musicians and Comedians, which *Tigranes* had brought to *Tigranocerta* to consecrate a Theatre he had lately built there, to celebrate his Victory. After this, he sent the *Greeks* home into their own Country, and gave them Money to defray their Expences on the Road. The News of these great Exploits, a little effaced the ill Impressions the *Publicans* had made on the Minds of the common People at *Rome*, with regard to *Lucullus*. What *Roman* could refuse his Applause to the *Roman* General, who had first made the Arms of the Republick triumphant beyond the *Euphrates*! But the Conqueror had some very obstinate Enemies among the covetous *Roman Knights*, whose Avarice he had restrained by wise Regulations. They waited only for the News of his ill Success, or Indolence, to ruin him. They already reported, That he had suffered *Tigranes* to escape in the Battle of *Tigranocerta*, only in order to prolong the War, maintain himself in his Government, and enrich himself with the Spoils of *Asia*. Such were the Dispositions of the People at *Rome*, with Regard to *Lucullus*, when *Pompey* and *Crassus* went out of their *Consulship*; somewhat reconciled, as was reported, but still Rivals.

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Sterl.  
l. s. d.  
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§. XXIX. The last Year the Republick had promoted two illustrious Warriors to her highest Honours; and now she divided them between a famous Orator, and an Officer of Reputation. The Majority of the Suffrages were given in Favour of Q.

<sup>57</sup> *Mithridates* was not in haste to join *Tigranes*. He made short Marches, taking it for granted, that *Lucullus* would be dilatory as usual, and not fight a Battle with the King of *Armenia*, till he had taken the same Precautions, he had used against him, before the last Battle, which compleated the Conquest of *Pontus*. But the Appearance of some *Armenian* Soldiers who were struck with Terror, and of a great many wounded Men who were rambling about, out of any Road, sufficiently informed him of the Rout of his Son-in-Law; whom he sought a great while, and at last found deserted by every Body, and reduced

to the State of a miserable Fugitive. Then *Mithridates* seemed to forget his own Misfortunes, in order to shew his Compassion for those of *Tigranes*. The Humiliation of the greatest King in *Asia* drew Tears from his Eyes. As soon as he saw him, he alighted from his Horse, to go and meet him; embraced him tenderly, comforted him, used all the Means he could to raise his Hopes; and ordered his own Officers and Guards, to attend only the afflicted Monarch. At length the two Kings made it their whole Business to raise new Troops, in order to repair their Losses.

<sup>58</sup> *Hortensius*,



<sup>58</sup> *Hortensius*, who spent almost his whole Life in peaceful Employments. He was esteemed in his Youth for his Eloquence; and made but one Leap, if I may so speak, from common Pleadings to the most important State-Causes. No Orator was more methodical, or with regard to Diction, more forcible, or more florid. His Memory was so good, that when he had once considered his Subject, he spoke what he intended without Notes, and without any Hesitation; and his Voice was so harmonious, and his Gestures so well judged, that his Action exceeded all Expectation. The Romans, believing that the Art of Rhetorick, when managed by a Man zealous for the publick good, might be as usefully employed in the Service of the State, as the Art of War, promoted the laborious *Hortensius* to the highest Dignity; and thereby encouraged Persons brought up in those Studies, to consider Eloquence as a Means whereby they might advance themselves to as great Honours, as were acquired by the Sword. The Acclamations of the People were to Orators, what a *Triumph* was to Soldiers; and tho' there was something more glittering in the triumphal Procession, yet the repeated Applauses of the People to those who had charmed them with their Speeches, were surely, at least, equal in Honour, to the transient Glory of the triumphant Victors. In short, *Hortensius*, without any other Merit, than that of Probity, and the Talent of speaking with Dignity, Energy, and Grace, obtained the Suffrages of the People for the *Consulship*; and the Collegue given him was one *Q. Metellus*, who had always made Arms his Profession. It was very proper, that at least one of the Heads of the Republick should be able, if Occasion required, to lead an Army into the Field, or put a Stop to Insurrections, and unexpected Tumults.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXIV.  
Q. HORTEN-  
SIUS, & Q.  
CÆCILIVS  
METELLVS,  
Consuls.  
Cic. in Bruto.

The two new *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces, as usual. Rome was determined to carry the War into the Island of *Crete*, not so much on account of the *Cretans* siding with *Mithridates* and giving a Retreat to the Pyrates, as out of a Desire of conquering it; and it fell to the Lot of *Hortensius*, to command the Troops that were to go thither. But the wise *Consul* understood himself better than to undertake it. As he knew, how unqualified he was for military Expeditions, and found more Pleasure in governing publick Assemblies by the Power of Persuasion, he readily resigned to his Collegue the glorious Employment which had fallen to his Lot. Nevertheless, *Metellus* postponed setting Sail, till the Time of his *Consulship* was expired. So that we shall not see him enter upon Action, till the next Year. All was calm at Rome, during this peaceful Administration. *Pompey* gave himself up to repose, after his long Fatigues. He had protested, when he entered upon the *Consulship*, that he would not accept of any Commission which should send him away from Rome. But Heroes in vain promise themselves great Happiness in Retirement. Their natural Activity soon gives them a dislike to it. They flatter themselves, that they can continue in Tranquillity in Port; but the first favourable Wind that blows, calls them out to Sea. However, *Pompey*, at least, enjoyed his Leisure with Dignity. He no longer intermeddled in publick Affairs; or so much as employed his Rhetorick, as he formerly had done, for the Service of his Friends. He neither frequented the Bar, nor the Assemblies of the People. He seldom went out of his House; and when he did, was always guarded in a pompous manner. He did not think the Multitude worthy of access to him, and therefore admitted only select Persons into his Company; and even these Airs of Sufficiency and Grandeur did not lessen him in the Affection of the People. He affected them, to keep up the Respect due to him, a Man of superior Rank and uncommon Merit; and indeed thought it below the Character of a triumphant Victor, to converse with the generality even of the Nobility. But this Policy, tho' successful with him, would not have been so, with any other.

Flor. L. 3. c. 7.

Cicero Ferr.

Plut. in Pomp.

There was only one Person who disputed with him the first Place in the Esteem of the publick, and he did it, by a very different Conduct. No body was ever more obliging, more affable, or more easy of Access, than *Q. Lutatius Catulus*. After his *Consulate*, which he had distinguished by Acts of great Resolution and Justice; this wise old Man was now at the Head of the Senate; and a Person was to be nominated to consecrate the magnificent Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which since its being burnt in the Civil Wars, had been rebuilt, with an Expence worthy of the Masters of

Epit. Livian.

Cic. Verrina. 6.

Plin. L. 7.

c. 43.

<sup>58</sup> The *Hortensian* Family, tho' *Plebeian*, was one of the most considerable in Rome. It furnished the Republick with one *Dictator* in the Year 666, and with several *Consuls*, *Prætors*, and *Tribunes of the People*.

<sup>59</sup> This *Quintus Metellus* was the Son of *Metellus Dalmaticus*, who has been spoken of, in the preceding Parts of this History.



Year of the World. *Sylla*, to his great Mortification, had missed this Honour; and did not think himself the most fortunate of Men, because he had not the Glory of presiding at the Consecration of an Edifice, which he had begun to raise out of its Ruins. When the Temple was finished, many Persons entertained Hopes of it; and *Pompey* doubtless expected this honourable Distinction. But *Catulus* was preferred before him. When the Ceremony was performed, the Heat being very intense, the Consecrator screened the People from the Sun with a kind of Vails or Curtains; and this introduced the Custom of erecting them in the Shows of the Circus.

ROME  
DCLXXXIV.  
Q. HORTEN-  
SIUS, & Q.  
CÆCILIVS  
METELLVS,  
Consuls.  
Epit. Liv. L.  
98. c. 31.

Dio Cass. in  
Fragmento L.  
15.  
Plut. in Lu-  
cullio.

§. XXX. Such were the Amusements of the idle in the Capital, whilst *Lucullus* was forming the vast Design of subduing all *Asia*. He had spent the Winter, in the Heart of *Armenia*, without stirring from his Conquests; partly, in Incursions into the neighbouring Countries, and partly in Negotiations with the Kings which might join *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*.<sup>60</sup> *Antiochus* King of *Comagene*, and *Alchaudo* one of the little Sovereigns of *Arabia*, declared openly for the Romans. That Province of *Armenia* which was called *Gordyæa*, because at the Foot of the *Gordyæan*<sup>61</sup> Mountains, that is, of Mount *Ararat*<sup>62</sup>, had surrendered to *Lucullus*; and the King of this little Territory, whose Name was *Zarbienus*<sup>63</sup>, had lately been assassinated by Order of *Tigranes*. The Roman General went thither; ordered<sup>64</sup> magnificent Obsequies to be performed for this faithful Ally; and, finding his Coffers full of Gold and Silver, and his Magazines furnished with 300 Measures of Corn, seized them. By this Means he provided for the Subsistence of his Troops, and enabled himself to carry on the War, without any Draughts from the Treasury of the Republick. But, in the midst of this Prosperity, there started up another Enemy, whom the *Pro-Consul* had more Reason to fear than *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*. This was<sup>65</sup> *Arfaces* King of the *Parthians*, whose Dominion reached over all *Persia*, and as far as to *Media*. Indeed the different Provinces of this great State, were not yet united in that Concord which was afterwards established among them, when *Crassus* carried the War thither. But nevertheless, it was in the Power of *Arfaces*, to throw a great Weight into the Ballance, either in favour of *Tigranes*, or the Romans.

Sallust. in  
Fragmento.

The King of *Armenia* had already got the Start; and had sent an Embassy to the King of the *Parthians*, to intreat him to make an offensive and defensive League, against the Enemy of all *Asia*; and the more effectually to engage him, the Ambassador had Orders to give him up three Provinces, which had hitherto been in Dispute, viz. *Mesopotamia*, *Adiabene*, and that which was called *The Great Valley*. With his Instructions, the Ambassador carried a Letter from *Mithridates*, which ought to be esteemed as a masterly Piece of Eloquence. Before you resolve on Peace or a Neutrality, said he to the King of *Parthia*; it becomes you to consider, whether either would not be shameful, and at the same time prejudicial to your Dominions. I am not so presumptuous as to hope, that you will interrupt the beloved Tranquillity you enjoy, on my Account. To espouse the Quarrel of an unfortunate King, and share his Calamities, would be an Act of greater Generosity than I have any Right to require. Or how can *Tigranes* himself expect, that after the Contests that have kept you at variance, you should interest your self in his Cause, if he will not give up the Points in Dispute? For my own part, I

60 The *Antiochus* here spoken of, was the thirteenth of that Name, and the Son of *Antiochus the Pious*, and *Selene*. This Prince, who was the last of the Race of the *Seleucidae*, was surnamed *Asiaticus*, because he kept himself concealed in *Asia Minor*, whilst *Tigranes* made himself Master of his Dominions. After the Defeat of *Tigranes*, *Lucullus* suffered *Antiochus* to take Possession again of the Kingdom of his Ancestors. But *Pompey* would suffer him to reign only in *Comagene*, a little Province of *Syria*, whose Capital was *Samosata*, a City on the Banks of the *Euphrates*.

61 See above Note 52, of this Book.

62 There is an ancient Tradition, that *Noah's Ark* rested on this Mountain, which is now called *Mes-sowar*, that is, *The Mountain of the Ark*.

63 According to *Plutarch*, *Zarbienus*, tired out with the Tyranny of *Tigranes*, had privately concluded

a Treaty with *Lucullus*, by the Interposition of *Appius Claudius*. The King of *Armenia*, being informed of this Negotiation, invaded *Gordyæa*, seized the Prince, and put him and his Wife and Children to Death, before the Romans had made themselves a Way into *Armenia*.

64 *Plutarch* adds, That he gave a great Sum of Money, for erecting a stately Tomb to the Memory of this faithful Ally of the Romans.

65 Since the Time of *Mithridates the Second*, with whom the Romans made an Alliance, by *Sylla's* Means, as we have before observed in this Volume, the Empire of the *Parthians* had been successively governed by *Arfaces Mnashites*, *Arfaces Sinatroskes*, and *Phraates the Third* who was surnamed *Arfaces* as well as his Predecessors. The latter had reigned a Year, when *Mithridates* implored his Assistance against the Romans,

have



have learnt Wisdom by my Adversity; and my ill Fortune has enabled me to give whole- Year of some Advice. My Sufferings may be an useful Lesson to all the Sovereigns in Asia. They R O M E may learn from me, to know the Romans. Their Avarice and Ambition draws them DCLXXXIV. from Kingdom to Kingdom; and they will never leave off conquering, as long as they can Q. HORTEN- find any Riches to seize, or Countries to reduce. Thus from Carthage they went over into SIUS, & Q. Macedon; and Philip's Defeat followed that of Hannibal. And thus the Overthrow CÆCILIVS of Antiochus soon succeeded the Ruin of Perses. Nor has their Artifice contributed METELLUS, less to their Grandeur than Force and Violence. Eumenes and Nicomedes entered into Consuls. Friendship with them; and the Fruits they reaped from it were, that the Kingdoms of Pergamus and Bithynia became Roman Provinces. Yet still I maintained myself in my Dominions, and reigned in Wealth, independent of the Tyranny of Rome. But my Riches and Independence caused all my Misfortunes. Who are there that now enjoy any Liberty, throughout the whole World, but you, Ptolomy<sup>66</sup>, and the Cretans? The West has undergone the same Fate as the East. The Wars of the Romans in Spain, brought on those in Gaul; and the Reduction of one might have foreboded that of the other. And will the Torrent, which is now overflowing the Dominions of Tigranes, when that is done, spare yours? I am very sensible, that your Riches are as immensely great, as your Dominions are extensive. But that is the very bait which will draw these insatiable Robbers upon you. Whether they offer you an Alliance with them, or threaten you with their Arms, their only Aim is to ruin you. But in this, they can never succeed, if you have the Courage to join Tigranes, and me. Our Affairs are far from desperate. We have already armed numerous Nations; and I flatter myself, that I neither want Experience nor Courage, to enable me to command a great Army. If you will appear in Mesopotamia, at the same Time, that we post ourselves in Armenia; the Enemy will irrecoverably be destitute of Provisions, and perish, either by Famine or the Sword.

§. XXXI. Lucullus was informed of the Steps Tigranes and Mithridates were taking, Dio, L. 35. with the King of Parthia; and he sent Sextilius, one of his chief Officers, to<sup>67</sup> Seleucia, Plut. in Lucullo. the Capital of the Kingdom of Arsaces. But the distrustful Prince was suspicious of App. in Mithridat. an Ambassador who was a Soldier. He looked on Sextilius, as a Spy, who was come to examine into the Strength of his Dominions, and immediately sent him back. Nevertheless he, by an<sup>68</sup> Embassy, gave the Romans reason to hope, that he would send them Succours. And as to the Ambassadors of Tigranes, he dismissed them as abruptly as he had done Sextilius; but to make them amends, gave them this Answer, That he would join his Forces with those of the Armenians. These were fine<sup>69</sup> Promises; but his Resolution was, to take Advantage of the Divisions in Asia, to settle himself the more firmly on his Throne, which he had but lately inherited, since the Death of his Father Sinatrus. So that he contented himself with being a Spectator of the Quarrels in his Neighbourhood, without any Concern about the Resentments of Tigranes, or the Vengeance of Lucullus, whom he had deceived with false Promises. But the Roman General was exasperated at the Falshood of a Prince, who laughed at both Parties; and said in a Rage, Arsaces thinks to procure himself Peace by base Actions. Plut. in Lucullo. But I will kindle a War in his Dominions, and have the Pleasure of having put the three most flourishing Countries in Asia, in a Flame. It is much to the Honour of a Wrestler, to be able to contend with more Adversaries than one, at the same Time.

In pursuance of this Resolution, Lucullus sent Orders to Sornatius, whom he had left Governor in the Kingdom of Pontus, to bring him to Gordyæa, all those Roman Troops, that were left on the Coast of the Euxine Sea. But the Legionaries mutinied in a very scandalous Manner. Sornatius had already experienced their Untractableness more than once; and now, they entered into a Plot, to despise the Pro-Consul's Or-

<sup>66</sup> This Ptolomy is known in the History of the Lagidæ, by the Name of Alexander the Second. He was the Son of that Ptolomy Alexander whom we have seen so long dispute the Crown of Egypt, with his Brother Ptolomy Lathurus. We shall have occasion to speak of him, in the next Volume.

<sup>67</sup> There were many Cities of this Name in Asia. That here spoken of was situated on the Banks of the Hedypbo in Elymais, a District of Persia, near The Persian Gulph. Strabo speaks of it as a considerable City.

<sup>68</sup> According to Plutarch, Arsaces had first presented Lucullus by a solemn Embassy. The Roman

General was then in Gordyæa; and there received the Ambassadors, who came to him in the Name of their Master, to desire the Alliance and Friendship of the prevailing Republick.

<sup>69</sup> Memnon and Plutarch add, That Arsaces, who was long in doubt what Part to act, at length determined in favour of Tigranes, upon Condition, that he would give him up Mesopotamia, and Adiabene, for his Reward, for the Succours he offered him. On the other hand, Lucullus, who was informed of those private Negotiations, threatened the King of Parthia to make War in his Dominions, if he accepted the Offer of the King of Armenia.



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXIV.  
Q. HORTEN-  
SIUS, & Q.  
CÆCILIUS  
METELLUS,  
Consuls.

ders, and demand their Dismissal, with leave to return to *Rome*, or at least settle in a Country already conquered, where they lived at ease, and out of Danger. From them the Mutiny spread to the Troops *Lucullus* had with him in the middle of *Armenia*; and they highly extolled the Conduct of their refractory Comrades. *They behave themselves like Men*, said they, *and will not submit like Slaves to the Caprice of those that command them.* Shall we be obliged to encounter a new Enemy, and expose ourselves to the Arrows of the Parthians, after we have tried the Lances of the Syrians? In short so effectual were these Murmurs, that they obliged *Lucullus* to lay aside his Design of attacking *Arfaces*; and the Report of the Discontents of his Army reached *Rome*. There the *Publicans*, who hated him, declaimed loudly against him; and the *Comitium* rung with severe Censures of his Conduct. Some said, *He was so ambitious as to raise up one War after another, purely for the sake of continuing himself in his Command; and thereby brought the Roman Name into Disgrace among Foreigners.* Others said, *He was so imperious, that his Haughtiness made the Yoke of Discipline insupportable to his Soldiers; and so proud and contemptuous, as to despise Officers of Distinction, some of whom were better born than himself.* And indeed, these Complaints were not entirely without Foundation. He was haughty in his Deportment, and when he gave Orders, there was something very rough and insolent in his Manner, at least in the Tone of his Voice. But, should such slight Defects in Temper and Behaviour, have been punished as Crimes? Ought not rather the very many Victories and Conquests which he had gained, to have effaced them? But this is one common Inconvenience in all Republican Governments. Great Services are in them soon forgotten; and sometimes the smallest Failures, or even their Superiority of Merit, are made Crimes in those who have served the State, with most Zeal and Fidelity.

*Memnon apud  
Euseb.*

§. XXXII. These Invectives against *Lucullus* were also increased by the Condemnation of *Cotta*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, in the Wars in *Pontus*. We have before observed, that *Cotta*, after he had taken, sacked, and burnt, the City of *Heraclea*, set out for *Rome*, and carried with him the rich Spoils of that fine City. As soon as he appeared in the Capital of the World, the Enemies of *Lucullus* began a Suit against him, for imbezzling the publick Money; more in order to have a Pretence to decry the General, than out of Hatred to the accused. Indeed *Cotta* had put into the publick Treasury a great Part of the Booty he had brought from *Heraclea*, and the Sea had swallowed up the rest. But the common People said, *The Robber has concealed from us the best Part of the Spoils. Why else does not Oppius his Quæstor appear? Without doubt, he has spirited him away, that there might be no Eye-witness here, to testify his Rapines.* Whilst, at the same time, every one knew the Cause, that obliged *Oppius* to conceal himself. He had made an Attempt to assassinate his Commander, and had been taken with a Dagger in his Hand, ready to stab him. So that the Malice of the Accusers made *Cotta* responsible, for the Absence of a Man, who would have taken away his Life; and to increase the Injustice, a formal Suit was begun in Behalf of the *Heracleots* against their Conqueror. One *Thrasimedes*, a Native of *Heraclea*, was produced before the Judges, and in the Name of all his Countrymen, inveighed bitterly against *Cotta*. Besides, the great Number of *Heracleots*, of all Ages and both Sexes, which had been brought Prisoners to *Rome*, came and prostrated themselves before the assembled People, with Olive-branches in their Hands. So that, every Thing seemed to tend towards condemning the Lieutenant-General to Banishment, the Punishment inflicted on publick Oppressors; but the People were content, with depriving him of his Seat in the Senate, by a Decree; and this Disgrace affected him less, than it did *Lucullus*. The Exclamations were so great against the latter, that the People immediately decreed it necessary, to send two *Prætors* to *Pontus* in *Asia*, to set in order that Province, which had been so ill governed; and the same Decree added, that one of the succeeding *Consuls* for the next Year, should go and govern *Cilicia*. This was depriving *Lucullus* of all Titles, without recalling him. This illustrious Soldier had hitherto carried on the War in the *Levant*, with no other Quality or Character, than that of *Pro-Consul* of *Cilicia*; and being now deprived of his Government, he retained the Command of the Army only by the Connivance of the Republick, which had not yet ordered him to be recalled. As for *Pompey*, it is not probable, that he at all contributed to this first Fall of *Lucullus*, or yet had it in his view, to succeed him in the East. His whole Pleasure at present consisted, in spending his Time in Tranquillity and Pomp, though in Retirement; in being considered in *Rome* as a Man necessary to the State; and



and being desired as the most proper Person for all the important Expeditions which were given in Commission to others.

§. XXXIII. When the *Consular* Year drew near to an end, and the People assembled in *The Field of Mars* to choose new Governors; the majority of the Suffrages were given to <sup>70</sup> *L. Cæcilius Metellus* the Brother of the last *Consul* of that Name, and to <sup>71</sup> *Q. Marcius* surnamed *Rex*, because his Family was descended from King *Marcius*. But the former died before he entered upon his Office, and another was chosen in his Room, whose Name the Historians have not transmitted to us. He also died, almost as soon as he had taken Possession of the *Consulate*; and *Rome* being alarmed at these two Deaths, the People superstitiously took it for granted, that it was the Pleasure of Heaven, that the Republick should be governed one whole Year by *Marcius Rex* alone. Before his Election, the *Roman* People had decreed, That one of the *Consuls* for this Year, should go and govern *Cilicia*, that is, all the Coast of *Asia*; for *Cilicia* properly so called was become the Retreat of the Pirates; and *Marcius*, being sole Governor of the Republick, deferred his Voyage till the next Year, and continued in *Rome*, to preserve Order there. The *Tribunes of the People*, whom *Pompey* had restored to their first Lustre, now began to take Wing. There were unlawful Assemblies forming in *Rome*, the Consequences of which were dreaded; and the Presence of the *Consul* was thought necessary, to disperse these Cabals. *Marcius* therefore got these lawless Meetings forbidden by the Senate; and the Capital continued in Tranquillity.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXV.  
L. CÆCILI-  
US METEL-  
IUS, & Q.  
MARCIVS  
REX, Consuls.

*Dio Cassius.*

*Ascon.  
Pædian. in  
Pisonianam.*

Abroad, two illustrious *Roman* Generals were employed in two Wars, an old, and a new one. Notwithstanding the Untractableness of his Troops, *Lucullus* continued to make War with *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*; and *Q. Cæcilius Metellus* prepared a great Armament, to be made use of against the *Cretans*, whose Ruin had been resolved on at *Rome*. We will therefore begin with the first Exploits of the former, and conclude with the Victories of the latter.

§. XXXIV. *Lucullus*, at the great distance he was from *Rome*, either knew little of the Pains that were there taken to bring him into Disgrace, or at least affected not to know it. He was bent on finishing the Work he had begun, either by utterly destroying the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*, or by forcing them to accept of such a Peace from him, as should redound to his Honour, and confound his Enemies. And he would certainly have executed one of these Schemes, if his Officers and Soldiers had been as obedient as they ought to have been. But the Ill-will which was raised in the *Roman* People against him, was sensibly perceived even in *Asia*. His Troops were no longer attached to him as formerly. He had, for a great while together, Authority enough over them, to force them to spend very severe Seasons in Tents; which had enabled him to prevent his Enemies, and appear first in the Field. But now, it was not without Difficulty, that he could prevail on his Soldiers to leave their Winter-Quarters and follow him. So that he continued much longer than he desired in the plentiful Country of *Gordyæa*; and by this forced Delay, gave *Mithridates* time to collect himself.

The King of *Armenia* left all the Care of raising Troops, and making new Preparations for the next Campaign, to his Father-in Law; and *Mithridates* preferring the *Armenian* Soldiers to the *Syrian*, raised all his Army in *Armenia*. All the Subjects of *Tigranes* that were able to bear Arms, were obliged to appear before the King of *Pontus*; and he chose 60000 of the most robust for his Infantry, and 35000 of the most dextrous for his Cavalry. This new Army was not tumultuously divided into Nations, as usual, but formed into *Cohorts*, under their proper *Centurions* and *Tribunes*. Each Troop had its own Standards, and at the same time was subject to its general Officers. In short *Mithridates* introduced among the *Asiatics* the Customs and Discipline of the *Romans*, in Encampments, Marches, and the Conduct of Battles. In all the Villages in the Country, he ordered Arms to be made, and Provisions got together; and taught his new Levies their Exercise, and the Use of their Arms, by the old Officers, who had followed him in the Wars in *Pontus*: and by this means, raised a much more regular Body of Forces, than those of *Syria*, of which *Tigranes* had formed an Army.

*App. in Mi-  
thridat.*

<sup>70</sup> The *Great Tables* falsely suppose, that this *Metellus* was the same *Quintus Cæcilius Metellus*, surnamed *Creticus*, who was *Consul* the last Year. At that Rate, this must have been his second *Consulship*.

<sup>71</sup> We have already shewn the Origin and Descent of the *Marcian* Family in the preceding Volumes.



Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXV.  
Q. MARCIUS  
REX, Consul.  
Plut. in Lu-  
cillo.

App. in Mi-  
thridat.

Dio Cass.  
L. 35.

The Spring and the best Part of the Summer were already past, when *Lucullus's* Soldiers thought fit to leave their Winter-Quarters, and take the Field; and it was not without Intreaties, and Management, that the General could get his Orders obeyed by his disaffected Troops. However, he took the Advantage of a Fit of Good-humour, and at last passed Mount *Taurus* with his Army. But, tho' the Corn was ripe in all other Places, he found to his great Mortification, that in the neighbouring Valleys, it was yet in the Blade; and he was under a Necessity of subsisting upon it. The Army of *Syrians* which *Tigranes* commanded, and that of the *Armenians* under the Conduct of *Mithridates*, were both near him; and the latter ran less Hazards, and moved with much more Precaution, than the former. *Mithridates* had pitched his Camp at the Foot of a Mountain, which covered it, and scarce ever stirred out of it. *Tigranes* was continually sending out his Cavalry, either to intercept the Convoys of the *Romans*, or skirmish with them; though they never returned to their Camp without being beaten. *Lucullus* often attempted to draw *Mithridates* to a general Action, but he had learnt Wisdom from his Losses. Nevertheless the *Roman* found Means to make his Advantage of the Fearfulness of the one, and the Rashness of the other. He seized the Magazine of Corn, which was prepared for *Tigranes*, and thereby reduced those Enemies to want, who intended to have starved him. The *Roman* Cavalry never went upon the Scout, without a Body of light armed Infantry, to make Head against the numerous Squadrons, which *Tigranes* used to detach; and which often did more execution on their Enemies in their Flights, than in their Attacks. As they turned their Backs on the Enemy, they threw Showers of Darts on those who pursued them, and the Wounds made by these Darts were very dangerous. They had double iron Heads; one of which was fixed to the Shaft of the Dart, and the other was a sort of Case to it, which slipped off from it. So that when the Dart was drawn out of a Wound, one of the Iron Heads continued in it, and could not be taken out, without very painful Incisions.

§. XXXV. At length, *Lucullus* perceived, that the Design of the two Kings his Enemies was to consume his Army gradually, by lessening it with little Skirmishes, though they were always worsted in them; and observed, that they had a Design by drawing nearer to each other, to surround him. Upon this, he resolved immediately to decamp, and formed a Design worthy of his great Courage. *Artaxata*<sup>72</sup> was a strong City on the Confines of *Armenia* and *Media*, watered by the *Araxes*<sup>73</sup>. Thither *Tigranes* had brought the Queens his Wives, and the Princes his Children, as to a Place of Safety; and *Lucullus* turned his Arms that way, with a Design to surprize or besiege it. The

<sup>72</sup> *Strabo* speaks of *Artaxata* as a considerable City. According to him, it stood in a Place where the *Araxes* turns towards the North-East. There the River made a Peninsula, and watered all the Ramparts of this great City, except on one side, where it was fortified with Palisades and a wide Ditch. According to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Lucullus*, *Artaxata* was built by one of the Kings of *Armenia*, named *Artaxes*, or *Artaxias*. To which he adds, That the great *Hannibal* drew the Plan of it, and carried on the Works, at the Request of this Monarch, who offered him a Retreat in his Dominions, after the Defeat of *Antiochus* King of *Syria* by the *Romans*; and *Strabo* affirms the same Thing. But *Plutarch* does not seem to be fully persuaded of the Truth of this Tradition. At least he expresses himself in such a Manner, as gives room to believe, he did not think it out of all doubt. *Cornelius Nepos*, who has written the Life of this sworn Enemy of the *Roman* Republick, does not say one Word of it. In the Account he gives of *Hannibal's* Misfortunes, after the Victory gained over *Antiochus the Great* by *Scipio Asiaticus*, he only says, That he went first into *Crete*, and from thence to the Palace of *Prusias* King of *Bithynia*, and there killed himself. He does not say any Thing of that Hero's Journey into *Armenia*. We still find the stately Ruins of *Artaxata*, in a Place which *Chardin* calls *Ardachat*.

<sup>73</sup> The *Araxes* has different Names in ancient Au-

thors. *Erythræus*, in his Index to *Virgil*, calls it *Dorinx*. *Plutarch the Geographer* calls it sometimes *Almum*, and sometimes *Baethrum*. Nor is its modern Name less disputed. *Thevet* pretends, that the Natives of the Country call it *Colachi*; *Leunclavius* gives it the Name of *Achlar*; and most of the late Geographers say, that it is called *Aras*, or *Ares*, by the People of the East. Neither are Authors better agreed about the Head of the *Araxes*. *Chardin* places it at the Foot of Mount *Ararat*. But it is more natural to believe *Tournefort*, who traced out the course of this River himself. He found, with *Strabo*, that it rises in Mount *Abus*, where the *Euphrates* also rises. *Pliny* says, That this Mountain was anciently called *Capotes*. Its modern Name is *Caicol*. *Ptolomy*, and before him *Pomponius Mela*, says, That after the *Araxes* fell into the *Cyrus* by a Canal running from North to South, it divided itself, and fell into the *Caspian* Sea. Whereas *Strabo*, on the contrary contends, that these two Rivers were confounded together, and had but one Mouth. *Pliny* examines these two Opinions, and seems to determine in Favour of *Strabo*; and *Cornille le Brun*, who saw the Conflux of these two Rivers, confirms this Opinion. The Rapidity of the *Araxes* has given rise to the Conjecture of some Moderns, that this was the *Gihon* of the Holy Scriptures; that Term in *Hebrew* signifying, according to them, The rapid Course of a River.



March was long, and before he came thither he must pass the <sup>74</sup> *Arsanias* (which runs Year of into the <sup>75</sup> *Euphrates*); and notwithstanding all the haste the *Romans* could make, the *ROME* two Armies of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* came up with them at that River. This <sup>DCLXXXV.</sup> was the Thing *Lucullus* had desired. He had long wished for a Battle, and so great <sup>Q. MARCIUS</sup> a Concern as that of saving his Wives and Children, induced the King of *Armenia* to <sup>REX, Consul.</sup> hazard one. Preparations were therefore made by the *Romans* for a general Action. *Lucullus* drew up twelve *Cohorts* in his first Line; kept the rest of his Troops for a *Corps de Reserve*, which he widened to prevent being surrounded; and posted his Cavalry in the Wings.

*Tigranes*, on the other hand, who had two Kings named *Mithridates* in his Army, posted them in the two Wings; took upon himself the Command of the Center; and placed at the Head of his Troops the choicest of his Cavalry, whom he intermixed with <sup>76</sup> *Mardian* and <sup>77</sup> *Iberian* Archers. The Attack was begun by the Cavalry of the two Armies; which was rather a Skirmish than a Battle. As soon as the *Asiatics* saw the *Roman* Infantry advancing slowly towards them, the Squadrons and Archers of *Tigranes* dispersed, and the *Roman* Horse pursued them. The bare Shout of the *Roman Cohorts* affrighted *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, and he was the first that fled. After his Flight, the whole Army dispersed; and the *Romans* had no further Trouble, but to pursue and kill the Cowards, who received Death without defending themselves. In short, all the rest of the Day, and all the Night, were spent in killing, making Prisoners, and chaining them. The Battle of *Tigranocerta* was not so bloody as this, neither did the Enemy lose so many Persons of Distinction there. Besides the Multitudes of common Soldiers that were slain, there were here 5000 Men of Figure in the *Asiatick* Army killed upon the Spot; and a greater Number made Prisoners of War.

§. XXXVI. After this compleat Victory, *Lucullus* might have depended on taking *Artaxata*; but the Severity of the Season, and Alterations of the Weather, prevented his attempting it. Ever since the Autumnal Equinox, the Cold was grown so intense, that the Soldiers could not possibly bear the Severity of it. The Country was marshy, and the melted Snows had made the Roads more unpassable than before. In a Word, it was become very difficult to continue there longer under Tents, in the midst of Ice and Snow. So that the *Roman* General in vain intreated his Troops to go through with this their last Labour. He told them, *That Artaxata was to them a second Carthage; That it was the capital City of Tigranes, where not only his Riches, but those of all Asia were deposited; That the taking it would finish the War, and put an end to all their Toils; That when they were Masters of the Seraglio and the Children of Tigranes, he would immediately sue for Peace; and That they had but this Conquest to make, and then return home to their own Country in Triumph, and with Riches enough to last them all their Lives.* But as he was no longer in a Condition to command them, the Soldiers would not hearken to his Representations. They insisted upon being carried into a more temperate Climate. And *Lucullus* therefore made them repass Mount *Taurus*, and brought them into <sup>78</sup> *Mygdonia Asiatica*, a fruitful Part of *Mesopotamia*, where the end of Autumn was like the finest Spring.

<sup>74</sup> According to *Plutarch*, the *Arsanias* ran between *Artaxata*, and *Tigranocerta*. The *Roman* Army commanded by *Lucullus*, was obliged to pass it, in going from *Tigranocerta* to besiege *Artaxata*.

<sup>75</sup> The *Euphrates* has Springs in the *Gordyæan* Mountains, now Mount *Ararat*, according to the Generality of the Geographers. But it is agreed at present, that it comes originally from Mount *Abos*, a Branch of Mount *Taurus* in *Great Armenia*. After it has watered very large Plains running from North to South, and among the rest *Mesopotamia*, it falls into the *Tigris* in several Streams, near old *Babylon*. Then the two Rivers are confounded in the same Bed, and fall into the *Persian* Gulph. But several Moderns pretend, that they divide again before they fall into the Sea, and by their Separation make a Peninsula, which *Stephen of Byzantium* and *Philostorgius* call *Messene*.

<sup>76</sup> *Ptolemy* acknowledges there was a Nation of *Mardi*, or *Mardians*, in *Great Armenia*, and *Media*. *Strabo*, *Suidas*, *Stephen of Byzantium*, and *Quintus Curtius*, place them in a Canton in *Hyrcania*. He-

*rodotus* and *Arrian* say, That not only the Countries bordering on *Persia*, but likewise one of the Provinces of *Persia*, were inhabited by *Mardi*. And lastly *Pliny* affirms, That they were dispersed in *Sarmatia Asiatica*, near the *Euxine* Sea. They were a wild and rambling People, accustomed to live upon the Booty they got in the Provinces near them.

<sup>77</sup> The *Iberians* formerly possessed that Part of *Asia*, which is now properly called *Georgia*. It contains the Principalities of *Carduel* and *Cachatl*. According to the ancient Geographers, *Iberia* was bounded to the West, by *Colchis* and a Part of the Kingdom of *Pontus*; to the North, by Mount *Caucasus*; to the East, by *Albania*; and to the South, by *Great Armenia*. Some Writers have made a random Guess that a swarm of these People went into *Spain*, and that from them that large Country was called *Iberia*; and others have said, with as little Foundation, that a Colony of *Spaniards* was transplanted into *Iberia Asiatica*.

<sup>78</sup> *Mygdonia* was a small Province of *Mesopotamia*. The



Year of ROME DCLXXXV. Q. MARCIUS REX, Consul. Dio Cassius, L. 85.

In this fine Country, there was a famous City, named <sup>79</sup> *Nisibis*, lately built on the River <sup>80</sup> *Mygdonius*. *Tigranes* had taken it from the *Parthians*, and being a frontier Town, kept a great Garrison in it, under the Command of his Brother *Guras*. Nevertheless, *Lucullus* resolved to attack it; and as soon as it was reported, that *Nisibis* was invested, *Callimachus* the famous Engineer who had so well defended *Amisus*, hastened to the Defence of it. It was in itself one of the strongest Cities then in the World. It was in the first Place surrounded with a Rampart of Brick; behind that was a wide Ditch; and within the Ditch, another Wall: And *Tigranes* depended so much on the Fortifications of the Place, the Valour of his Brother, and the Skill of *Callimachus*, that he did not think fit to draw near it, so much as to molest the Enemy. However the Attack was begun, and by the Help of his Machines, the skilful Engineer kept the Foot of the Wall inaccessible. In the mean time, Winter drew on, and the Weather became tempestuous; and then the Rigour of the Season, which might have been expected to have saved the *Nisibians*, was the Cause of their Ruin. There arose such a Storm of Rain, Hail, and Thunder, in a very dark Night, as made the Machines of the Town useless, and drove the Garrison from their Posts on the Ramparts; and *Lucullus* took this Opportunity to make a general Assault. His Men mounted the first Wall, without Opposition; then filled the Ditch; and broke the second Wall, which was much weaker than the first, without Difficulty. As soon as the Breach was made *Guras* and *Callimachus* retired to the Tower, and demanded to capitulate. *Lucullus* granted the former favourable Terms; but, notwithstanding the Intreaties of his Officers, condemned the Greek Engineer to die. He said, That he was a Traitor; had set Fire to *Amisus* before he left it, contrary to the Law of Nations; and had deprived the Inhabitants of the Favour he intended them, which was to give them their Lives and Effects. This fine Conquest, furnished the Romans with rich Spoils, Provisions in great Plenty, and an agreeable Retreat during the Winter. Thus had *Lucullus* made a glorious Campaign; which should have taught his Soldiers to obey him, and the Citizens of Rome to esteem him. But his Troops were influenced by other People; and the People of Rome looked on his Merit, at a great distance. The best established Reputation will suffer by distance of Place, when opposed by Men jealous of it.

§. XXXVII. The Expedition of Q. *Cæcilius Metellus* in *Crete*, did him more Honour at Rome, than *Lucullus* gained by his prodigious Conquests in *Asia*. He was indeed, a good General, though inferior in Merit to *Lucullus*. This *Cretan* Expedition had been resigned to him by his Colleague, as we have observed, the last Year; and he had spent his *Consulate*, in making Preparations for it. The Motives that induced the Romans to undertake this War, were much Revenge, and more Ambition. *Crete*<sup>81</sup>, which was a large and wealthy Island, had furnished almost all Nations in the World with Gods, and Laws. It was so populous, that the Greeks had given it the Name of *Hecatompolis*, that is, *The Island of an hundred Cities*. It had always been free; and the Alliances it had made with Rome, had not much restrained its Liberties. It had often entered into Measures with other Potentates, without much consulting the Roman Senate; and was now said to be in a Correspondence with *Mithridates*, and secretly to favour him. But the most specious Pretence the Republick had for attack-

The River *Mygdonius* which falls into the *Euphrates* divided it into two unequal Parts. *Pliny* is of Opinion, that this Country was originally inhabited by a Colony of the *Mygdonians* of *Macedon*.

<sup>79</sup> The City of *Nisibis* or *Nesibe* as it is called in the ancient Medals, stood in the North Part of *Mesopotamia*. *St. Jerome* carries up the Antiquity of this City so high, as to *Nimrod*. It was as considerable for the number of its Inhabitants, as its great extent. The *Syro-Macedonians* who conquered it, gave it the Name of *Antioch of Mygdonia* to distinguish it from the Capital of *Syria*. It served for a Barrier against the IncurSIONS of the *Parthians* and *Persians*, down to the Time of the Emperor *Jovian*, who gave it up to the latter, by Treaty. Some Moderns falsely assert, that *Nisibis* stood on the *Tigris*. It is plain, that it was watered by the *Mygdonius*, as appears by the Emperor *Julian's* first Oration. The People of the East now call it *Nassibin*.

<sup>80</sup> The River *Mygdonius* rises in Mount *Mafius*, between the *Tigris* and the *Euphrates*. It runs, from North to South, to the latter of these Rivers, into which it falls.

<sup>81</sup> *Crete*, now called *Candia* from its Capital, is one of the largest Islands in the *Mediterranean*. It lies between the *Archipelago* to the North, the *African Sea* to the South, the *Carpathian Sea* to the East, and the *Ionian Sea* to the West. It is generally said to be 270 Miles long, 50 broad in the widest Place, and 589 round. It was anciently called *Curete* and *Macaros* to shew the Sweetness and Beauty of the Climate. The *Cretans* were famous among the ancient Pagans, for the Wisdom of their Government, and gave Laws to several Nations. The Ancients say it had 90 Cities before the *Trojan War*; and 100, after the Colony of *Dorians* had built 10 more. All the Island is overlooked by Mountains, the highest of which is *Ida*, now Mount *Psfiori*.



ing it, was the Retreat and Succours it gave to the Pyrates, who were dispersed about the Seas. Whilst in reality, the true Cause of it was the Independence it enjoyed. The Romans could not see this with Patience. They, who were so very fond of their own Liberties, were ever most intent on robbing all other Nations of theirs.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXV.  
Q. MARCIUS  
REX, Consul.

*Metellus* left the Coasts of *Italy* with three *Legions*, which he embarked on his Fleet. The *Cretans* expected, that the *Romans* would not suffer them to escape unpunished, for the Victory they had gained over them; when, as we have observed, *M. Antonius* had appeared on their Coasts, and had been attacked and beaten by the Pyrates, who had hanged his Soldiers with the Chains he had brought for them; and in Consequence of which, *Antonius* had died of Grief. In order to make amends for this Fault, and obtain a Pardon, the *Cretan* Republick had sent an Embassy to *Rome*, consisting of 30 illustrious old Men of the Island, who were best skilled in Business. These, by their earnest Sollicitations, but chiefly by their humble Supplications, wrought so far upon the *Roman* Senate, that they were ready to grant them a Renewal of their ancient Treaties. But *P. Lentulus Spintber* alone opposed the Good-will of the Senate towards the *Cretans*, and stirred up the *Fathers* against them. He said, they could never expect to be secure, till *Crete* was reduced to the State of a Province; and his Opposition changed the Decree. So many, and so hard Conditions, were then demanded of the Suppliants, that they could not comply with them; and *Crete* was forced to maintain a War. The Army of *Metellus* landed in the Island, when their Ambassadors were endeavouring to raise Money, in order to make up the Sum of 4000 *Talents* which *Rome* demanded of them.

The *Cretan* State was then governed by two Chiefs, *Lasthenes* and *Panares*; and the former persisted in making his Countrymen take up Arms. He knew that the *Romans* would make it a Preliminary, that he and his Colleague should be delivered up to their Vengeance. They were conscious of having been the Cause of *Antonius's* Misfortune; were afraid of being punished for it; and *Lasthenes* resolved to die in Arms: and therefore his Faction fomented a War in all Parts of the Island. In a little Time, 24000 of these brave Islanders assembled together, crying out *Liberty!* and resolved to maintain their Independence to the last. They did not want Arms. They made them, for all the Armies in *Europe* and *Asia*. During these Motions of the alarmed People, *Metellus* advanced towards *Cydonia*<sup>82</sup>, the Capital of the Island; and this March obliged *Lasthenes* to meet him and give him Battle, to prevent the Siege. But what could an unexperienced General do, with Troops tumultuously assembled, against a *Pro-Consul*, at the Head of three *Roman* *Legions*? His little Army was dispersed, himself fled to<sup>83</sup> *Gnossus*, and *Cydonia* was besieged. *Panares* defended it but faintly, and at last surrendered it, upon a Promise from *Metellus*, that himself and the Inhabitants should have their Lives saved. From thence the *Roman* marched to *Gnossus*, where *Lasthenes* had shut himself up; and the fearful General, instead of defending the Place, set fire to it, and fled; and after this, *Lychus*<sup>84</sup> made even less Resistance than *Gnossus*. So that, in one Summer, *Metellus* possessed himself of the best Part of the Island, without Difficulty; altho' it had the *Cilician* Pyrates, as well as its own Inhabitants, to defend it. But after all, the Conquest of *Crete* was only begun. *Metellus* took up his Winter-Quarters there, and could not subdue it, till the next Year.

*Phlegon apud Photium.*

§. XXXVIII. *Rome* had already chosen *C. Calpurnius Piso*, and *M. Acilius Glabrio* for her new *Consuls*; and *Cicero* was advancing very fast to publick Honours. Almost as soon as his *Aedileship* was expired, he was promoted to the *Prætorship*, had the greatest Number of Suffrages, and was first elected of eight Competitors. The *Consuls* drew Lots for their Provinces; and it is probable, That *Calpurnius* continued in *Italy* and kept

<sup>82</sup> *Cydon* or *Cydonia* was one of the strongest Places in *Crete*. It had a Port which could hold a great Number of Ships. *Strabo* reckons it one of the threemost considerable Cities in the Island. The other two that he ranks with it, are *Gortyna* and *Gnossus*. It is thought to be the same Place which is now called *Canea*.

<sup>83</sup> *Gnossus*, where King *Minos* is said to have fixed his Residence, was anciently called *Ceratus*, from the River that ran through it, according to *Strabo*; and he adds, That it was the Capital of the Island. He places it 25 *Stadia*, or a good League from the

*Archipelago*, and 90 *Stadia* from the *African* Sea. It was, according to him, 30 *Stadia*, or near a League and an half, in Circumference. It is uncertain, whether *Gnossus* stood near the Town of *Castel Pediada*, or in a Place, where now stands the Village of *Cynassa*. Authors are divided in Opinion on this Head.

<sup>84</sup> *Lychus* was thought to have been originally a Colony of *Lacedæmonians*, according to *Polybius*, B. 4. It was an inland Town, and is supposed to have stood, where we now find *Paleo Castro*. Some place it near a Town called *Agustini*. Others say the Ruins of it are discovered near *Giropetra*.



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the City in Order, and That *Acilius* was appointed to govern *Bithynia* and *Pontus*. The Promise made the last Year to *Marcus Rex*, of the Government of the Coast of *Asia*, was also now performed. And there is Reason to believe, That with the Consul *Acilius*, and the Pro-Consul *Marcus*, went twelve Commissioners to the *Levant*, all chosen out of the Senate, to take Possession of the Kingdom of *Mithridates*, settle a new kind of Government there, and put *Pontus* on the Foot of a Roman Province. *Lucullus*, after his Victories the last Year, was so sure of his Conquest, that he had desired they might be sent. But the Face of Affairs in the Eastern Provinces was quite changed, as soon as *Acilius* and *Marcus* and the Commissioners arrived. Their Presence stopped the Progress of *Lucullus*; and this great Man, who was still the same Hero he had always been, lost more of his Reputation than his Virtue. This we shall soon find Cause to lament, after we have first represented the State of Affairs in the Capital, and shewn the present Condition of the Government at *Rome*.

*Pompey* was still the Idol of the Roman People; and the *Tribunes*, whom he had put on the same Foot as in the Times of their greatest Prosperity, were intent at present, on aggrandizing their Benefactor, and getting him great Power. The Zeal also they had formerly shewn, in treating the Grandees and Nobility ill, revived; and tho' with less Fury, not with less Success, than in the Times of the *Gracchi*. *Cornelius* the Tribune drew up a Law, which forbid, under very severe Penalties, the immoderate canvassings of those, who stood Candidates for the first Offices in the State; and it was very visible, that the Tribune's Design was to mortify the *Patricians*, who were more greedy of Honours than the common People. Those Irregularities were indeed carried to so great lengths, that a Reformation was necessary; and the Senate, who durst not reject the Law proposed, got the Consuls to examine it. *Calpurnius* and *Acilius* were suspected of having themselves obtained the Consulship by such Means; and they laboured to moderate the Penalties the Tribune had appointed against the Infringers of his Law. It enacted, That they who were convicted of Intrigues in their Elections, should be deprived of their Offices, degraded from being Senators, and fined; and the Consuls insisted, That the Evil would be more effectually cured, by punishing the guilty with less Severity. Who, said they, will take upon them, to accuse Men of high Birth, if the Punishments to be inflicted on them are so grievous? They therefore mitigated the Rigour of the Edict, got their Amendments approved by the Senate; and waited to have the Law with the Amendments passed by the People, at the next *Comitia*. But *Cornelius* was angry at this softening of his Law, and he raised a Commotion among the People, in which the Consul *Calpurnius* was insulted, and his *Fasces* broken. In short, the Law passed without any Amendment, and was called *The Calpurnian Law*, tho' the Work of the Tribune *Cornelius*.

Cic. pro Murena.  
Dio. Cass. L. 36.  
Juvenal. Sat. 3.

Liv. Epit. L. 99. c. 3.

This first Advantage, which *Cornelius* gained over the Consuls and Senate, emboldened the other *Tribunes* also to make new Laws. *L. Roscius Otho*, one of that Body, undertook to raise the Order of *Knighthood*, and in some measure equal it in Dignity with the Senate. The Roman Knights had hitherto had no proper Places in the Theatre<sup>85</sup>. They sat blended with the People, as they happened to come. *Otho* therefore honoured them with a new Mark of Distinction; and, while he was mortifying the Senate, gave offence to the better sort of Citizens, who before sat promiscuously with the Knights. In short, he, by a new Law, assigned the fourteen Seats, or Steps, next the *Orchestra*, to such of the Roman Knights, as had kept their Estates, and never demeaned themselves so far, as to act the Part of Stage-Players, Wrestlers, or Gladiators. By the Assistance of the Populace, who are little concerned about Marks of Distinction, the Law passed, and continued in Force under the Emperors, long after the Destruction of the Republick.

Dio. Cassius. L. 36.

§. XXXIX. Tho' *Pompey* had been the first Author of the new Attempts of the *Tribunes*, he had not appeared in the late Innovations. He kept at Home in an honourable Solitude, and seemed to have dedicated the rest of his Life to Retirement. But he concealed a very great Ambition, under the Appearance of keeping himself at a distance from publick Employments. There is Reason to suspect, that he set *Gabinus*, one of the *Tribunes* at work, to get another Law passed, which could scarce suit the Interest of any one, but such a General as himself, that is, one who was most esteemed and beloved by the People; tho' the Motion *Gabinus* made, seemed very proper in



the present State of Affairs. He desired, that the Seas might be cleared of that terrible Multitude of Pyrates, whose Numbers and Power daily increased. These Robbers had acquired a very extensive Dominion on the Shores of the *Mediterranean*, from East to West. In this great Compass, there were 400000 Mariners that were subject to them. Many Persons of Distinction, of all the Countries of the World, were not ashamed to partake of their Rapines, and to trade with them. The Appearance of their Fleet was grand and terrible. It consisted of 1000 Gallies, the chief of which were pompously adorned with gilded Ballisters, purple Sails, and Oars plated over with Silver. Joy and Licentiousness reigned among them, and wherever they landed, the Shores rung with their Songs and Shouts.

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Nevertheless their Love of Debauchery did not at all abate their Ferocity. They spared not one Temple, that was famous for its Riches. That of *Apollo*<sup>86</sup> *Didymæus* in *Claros* in *Ionia*, that of the *Dii*<sup>87</sup> *Cabiri* in *Samothrace*, that of<sup>88</sup> *Ceres* at *Hermione* in *Argolis*, that of *Æsculapius*<sup>89</sup> at *Epidaurus* in *Peloponnesus*, and among the rest, even that of *Juno Lacinia*<sup>90</sup> on the Coast of *Italy*, had been plundered by these sacrilegious Barbarians. All the Country Seats on the Sea-shore were a Prey to them. They took Slaves without Number from the maritime Countries, and insulted *Italy* itself. They had pillaged the Port of *Cajeta*; sunk part of a *Consular* Fleet at *Ostia*; and had made a Descent near *Misene*, and carried away the<sup>91</sup> Daughter of the old *Consul Antonius*, as she was walking on the Shore. The Title of a *Roman Citizen* was no Security against their Insults. If a Captive pleaded it, to procure better Usage, he was immediately treated with Derision and Cruelty. *A venerable Quality* indeed, said they! *The Honour of being a Citizen of Rome! How unfortunate are we, to have seized a Man so worthy of Respect!* Then lifting up their Hands and Eyes to Heaven, they begged<sup>92</sup> Pardon of the Captive for their Mistake; and finished the Raillery with a very tragical Conclusion. *Go, my Lord, Roman Citizen*, said they, *Go out of our Ships, in full Liberty*; and then, either threw him into the Sea, or forced him to leap into it. But the greatest Calamity the World suffered by these Sea-Tyrants, was the Scarcity of Provisions which they occasioned, not in *Europe* only, but likewise in *Africa* and *Asia*.

*Gabinus* therefore gloried in the Zeal he shewed for the publick Good, whilst he had in reality nothing in view, but procuring Honours for *Pompey*. He proposed his Law in these Terms. *May it please you, Romans, to enact, That the Tribes shall choose out a Man from among the old Consuls, to whom you will give the Dominion over all the Seas, from the East to the West, with the Title of Pro-Consul; That his Jurisdiction shall reach over all the Coasts, and as far as 50 Miles within them; That he shall have a Right, to choose a great many Lieutenant Generals, to fit out several Fleets, to embark Land-Forces, to oblige the Kings our Allies to send him Succours, and to take what Money he pleases out of the publick Treasury; and lastly, That his Commission shall be for three Years. The Republick ought to spare no Expence or Trouble, to wipe off the Disgrace, which the Licentiousness of the Pyrates casts on the Roman Name.* As soon as *Gabinus* had read his Motion, all the People turned their Eyes on *Pompey*, and easily saw through the *Tribune's* Design. He was so far from having any great Love for his Country, that he was really a bad Commonwealths-man. But he was a Friend to *Pompey*, and wanted to please the Commons.

§. XL. The People were very well disposed to the new Law, and appoint *Pompey*, whose Name *Gabinus* had designedly omitted, to be the Man; but the *Consuls*, Senate,

86 Near *Miletum* there was a Place called *Didyma*, famous for a Temple and Oracle of *Apollo*. Hence the God took the local Name of *Didymæus*. *Plutarch* says he was worshipped in the Island of *Claros* under the same Name. This Island lay in the *Ægean Sea*, on the Coast of *Asia*. It is now called *Calamo* as well as its chief City.

87 See Vol. 3.

88 *Hermione* stood in the Gulph of *Engia* in *Argolis*. The Temple erected in this City in Honour to *Ceres* and *Proserpine*, was deemed an inviolable *Asylum*.

89 See the preceding Volumes.

90 See the preceding Volumes.

91 The Daughter of *Antonius*, according to *Plutarch*, was forced to pay a considerable Ransom, before she could get out of the Hands of these Barbarians.

92 *Plutarch* says, they, in Derision, threw themselves at the Feet of a *Roman Citizen*, pretended to implore his Protection, and officiously dressed him in a *Toga*, after the *Roman* manner. But after they had insolently sported with their Prisoner, they used him with Barbarity and Contempt, and forced him to throw himself into the Sea, to deliver himself, as they said, from a shameful Captivity.

and



Year of and Nobility, and generally speaking, all true Republicans<sup>93</sup>, were against the Motion. *ROME* Indeed a Power at Sea almost equal to this, had formerly been granted to *Antonius*; but he had too little Merit to create Jealousy, and his Character being that of a voluptuous Man, this took away all Apprehensions of his abusing this Authority, which was a kind of Sovereignty over all the World. Whereas *Pompey* had been brought up under *Sylla*; and was said to conceal mighty Designs, under the Appearance of great Modesty. Besides, his Popularity it self was a just Cause for Umbrage; and the Devotion of the *Tribunes* to him, was really the Beginning of a Tyranny, whose Consequences were justly dreaded. All Men therefore, who saw beyond the present Instant, opposed *The Gabinian Law*; and the *Patricians* made so great a stir in the *Comitium*, that *Gabinus* had like to have been torn in pieces. Whilst, on the other hand, the *Consul Calpurnius* had like to have been murdered by the Populace, because he had said of *Pompey*, *That the new Romulus had Reason to fear being cut in pieces by an enraged Senate*. But at length, a stop was put to Violences and Threatenings; and the *Conscript Fathers* had recourse to their old Method of disconcerting the Measures of the *Tribunes*. They gained over two of them, *Trebellius* and *Roscius*, Men of Eloquence and Credit; and these promised to oppose the *Gabinian Law*, and protest against the Decree of their Collegues.

*Dio Cassius*  
L. 36.  
*Plut. in Pomp.*

When the *Comitia* came to be held, on the Day appointed, the Concourse was prodigious. No one doubted but the *Pro-Consulate of the Seas* was designed for *Pompey*; and the greatest publick Opposition to erecting this new Office came from him for whom it was designed. He was indeed very impatient to be vested with this Authority by a Decree of the People, and his Honour was now concerned in the Success: But nevertheless, he was both by Nature and Art very covert in his Designs, and fond of Diffimulation even in the most trifling Circumstances of Life. He always pretended to decline the Thing, of which he was most desirous; and with this Disposition appeared in the Assembly of the People on this Occasion, and addressed himself to them thus. Roman People, *the Regards with which you have always honoured me have been such, that I could never form a just Sense of them, much less sufficiently express the Obligation. From my Youth you have carried me in your Bosom, and raised me to Honours above my Age or Services. Does it then become you, to have no Regard to any but me, and even to oppress me with your Favours? Bestow some of them on others; and suffer me to rest a little in my Retreat after my past Labours. Indeed I am yet young; but if my Years are to be counted by my Fatigues, it seems but just, that I should enjoy the Repose of an early old Age. Besides, I am not so much afraid of a new War, as of the Jealousy of my Competitors. O ye Gods! Must a Man of my Profession be incessantly struggling, either with the Contempt of the Publick if overcome, or with the Envy of his Equals in case of Success! Suffer me then, Romans, to apply my self wholly at present to the Cares of my Family. I have already exhausted my self enough for the Honour of my Country. Am I the only one, on whom you can bestow honourable, but laborious, Employments? No, Romans; You have yet able Generals enough, who have your Interest at Heart; and who will do more for you, from a Sense of Virtue, than I can, from a Sense of Gratitude.*

Thus spake *Pompey*; and his Speech only made the People the more earnest for his Promotion. The crafty Politician's Point in view, was to remove the Odium that generally attends so glittering an Employment, and to secure it in an honourable Way, by declining it: And he was well seconded by *Gabinus*. The *Tribune* addressed himself to the People, as had been agreed between them, in this manner. *Strange! That Pompey should refuse his Service, when wanted and desired by his Country! The Contempt he has shewn for the most glorious Commission that ever was given, is a sufficient Proof indeed, how little desirous he is of great Honours; and his Moderation ought to remove the Fears of those timorous People, who form to themselves imaginary Dangers, from the too great Elevation of Men of distinguished Merit. But ought we to regulate our Decisions, by Pompey's Desires, or by the Interest of the Publick? It is a pardonable Error in him, modestly to refuse us his Assistance; but ought he not to be told, That he is not his own Master? As he was born a Subject of the Republick, he owes her the Use of his*

<sup>93</sup> *Caesar* only subscribed the Law; which, as *Plutarch* observes, he did, not so much to make his court to *Pompey*, as to the People.



*Talents, and we have a Right to demand it. He has told us indeed, that Rome does not want great Generals: And I would willingly believe him. But let him shew them? Are they every where to be met with? Or are those we have all employed Abroad? Let one only be produced, who has always been successful! If such a one there be, let him be taken from his domestick Gods, and forced to prefer Labour to Repose, whether he will or not. Pompey spent his earliest Youth in Arms. He commanded Armies at an Age, which is thought more proper for Obedience. He is, if I may so speak, grown familiar with Victory. Let us then, Romans, offer the same Violence to him now, that we did, when we sent him to fight Sertorius. We forced him to accept of a Commission, which all our Warriors refused. And we have no Reason to fear, that the Conqueror of Sertorius will be overcome by the Pyrates.*

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§. XLI. Then the Tribune Trebellius attempted to oppose the Law; but as soon as he had opened his Mouth, the Clamours of the People made him silent. He only said, *I forbid the Tribes to enter into the Enclosure, to give their Suffrages*; and then Gabinius immediately attacked him; proposed his Deposition to the People; and they directly went to voting, to deprive him of his Tribuneship. Seventeen Tribes actually gave their Suffrages, and when the eighteenth was entering the Enclosure to finish the Affair, the refractory Tribune gave way, and his Silence was understood to be acquiescing in the Law. Roscius therefore, who was likewise to oppose the Law, concluding that he should not be heard, instead of speaking, made Signs against it; and enraged the People more by his Gestures, than he could have done by the most angry Speech. He held up two Fingers of his Right-hand very high, to signify, that he was for dividing the *Pro-Consulate* between two Persons, and not entrusting Pompey with the whole: And upon this Sign, the Assembly made such a terrible outcry, that a Raven, which accidentally flew cross the Comitium, is said to have been stifled by the violent Agitation of the Air.

But, tho' the People would not hear the two Tribunes who appeared to oppose the Law, they shewed more Respect to Q. Catulus, than Prince of the Senate, and the greatest Magistrate in Rome. He spoke with that Air of Authority which flows from Age and a Superiority of Merit; and was heard with Patience. *You have always known me, said he to the Assembly, to be one of the most sincere Friends, and affectionate Protectors, of the Roman People; and if I take upon me to speak on this Occasion, it is only in order to open your Eyes, to prevent your being surprized, and lead you to your true Interest. Neither the Rules of Prudence, nor our Laws, will permit you, to entrust any one Man with so vast an Empire, as that of the whole World. I allow, that this Person for whom you intend it, will resign it. But the Precedent is a bad one, and may prove fatal. Marius was ruined, by having too many Honours heaped upon him; and Sylla, by being continued too long at the Head of our Troops. And why must we be inventing new Dignities, and coining extraordinary Commissions, upon every Exigence of State? Don't we every Year choose Consuls, whose Offices are prescribed by Law; and to whom the Command of our Armies of Right belongs? Why then must they be left in the Capital, to enjoy the Honours of their Dignity, without taking upon them the Burden of it? Why substitute Vicegerents in their Room; and in order thereto, force Men from their Retirement against their Wills, and capriciously raise them to a State of Independence? I grant the present Exigency of Affairs is great. Storms are risen, which require the Hand of an experienced Pilot. But our Ancestors have wisely provided for this. They have taught us to nominate Dictators, in difficult Times. But at the same Time, with what Circumspection did they limit the Power of these extraordinary Magistrates? Our Laws forbid them to keep the Dictatorship longer than six Months, or to exercise any Part of that Office out of Italy. Promote then Pompey, or whomsoever else you please, to the high Office of Dictator. This will be acting regularly, provided you confine his Power within the ancient Limits. But to erect a Dominion, which will reach over all the Seas and all the Lands in the World; which will give an Authority over foreign Kings; and put all the Riches and all the Forces of the State into the Hands of one Man; this will be giving such a Wound to the Government as has never yet been heard of, and will indeed be, in effect, the total Subversion of the Republick. Has Pompey himself, tho' entitled The GREAT, Strength enough to bear so great a Burden? I join my Request to his; and desire you would leave him to enjoy the Repose he loves. Don't reward his long Services, by exposing him to new Dangers. Reserve him for more honourable Conquests. If the Sea, or the Fury of the Barbarians, should deprive us of him,*



Year of *to whom shall we have recourse? To You*, cried one of the Auditors from below the *ROME* *stra*, as the Orator was going on, *To You, Catulus! You only can supply the Place of a* *Pompey*. Immediately, *To you Catulus*, passed from Mouth to Mouth, and the Cry was universal: And then the virtuous old Man, both confounded and pleased with the Applauses of the Publick, retired to his House, amidst the Acclamations of all the People. After this, *Hortensius* spake against the Law, but his Eloquence was not powerful enough to efface the Prejudices of the Multitude. And it is observable, that *Cicero* did not speak at all, when so fine an Occasion offered for displaying his Talents. He was then in the Road to the highest Honours; and did not care to make either *Pompey*, or the Senate, or the Commons, his Enemies, by taking either Side of the Question. In short, the whole Day was spent in Speeches, and the Determination postponed to the next.

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In the mean time, *Pompey*, who was very sure of his Faction, retired into the Country, that he might not be a Witness, as he pretended, of the Disturbances that would be raised in the *Comitium*, on this Occasion. But all passed without any Tumult in the Assembly, the next Day. *Gabinus's* Motion was agreed to by the People by a Majority of Suffrages; and the *Plebiscitum* was carried to the Senate, who confirmed it against their Wills. In short, the Law was passed in full Form for the *Pro-Consulate* of *Pompey*; and the Senate even did more in favour of the new *Pro-Consul*, than the *Tribune* had desired in his Motion. Instead of 200 Ships of War, they allowed him 500: They also allowed him to choose 15 Lieutenant Generals out of the Body of the Senators, and assigned him a very considerable Sum, out of the publick Treasury. *Pompey*, whom the News of his Nomination and of the Agreement of Senate and People in favour of his Enterprize soon reached in the Country, returned to the City; and being very cautious in every Step he took, would not enter *Rome*, till Night. He took it for granted, that if he entered by Day, a numerous Crowd of People would meet him, which might give Umbrage to the Senate; and to avoid Noise as much as possible, he returned to his House without a Guard. *Gabinus*, the Author of this new Distinction, came to visit him, and became his most avowed Friend, and his greatest Confident.

Dio Cassius L. 36. Plut. in Pomp.

§. XLII. Then the *Pro-Consul of the Seas* prepared every Thing for his Expedition against the Pyrates; for which the Plan was already drawn up. He had been considering of it at leisure, during his Retreat for these two Years; and was sensible, that his Business was not to conquer a Province or Kingdom, or Nation, by reducing Cities which lay within a small Tract of Ground; but to rescue the whole *Mediterranean*, from the Streights of *Gades* to the *Red-Sea*, out of the Hands of Barbarians of all Languages and Nations in the known World. Within this compass, they possessed Islands, maritime Cities, and Forts which they had built in different Places; tho' their most common Retreat was among the Rocks of *Cilicia*: and he took such just Measures for finishing this great Enterprize, that instead of the three Years allowed him, he did it within four Months. In the first Place, he seized the *Consular Army* which *Calpurnius Piso* had assembled for himself. The *Consul* complained of it, and raised such a Disturbance about it, that the People assembled in order to depose him. But *Pompey* interceded for him, appeased the Tumult, and kept the Troops he thought necessary for his Design. To these he added as many other *Legions* as made the Number of his Land-Forces amount to 120000; procured 500 Ships, which he was allowed to man with what Pilots, Seamen, and Rowers he pleased; and lastly, instead of 15 Lieutenant Generals, obtained five and twenty.

Ept. Liv. L. 99. c. 30.

After this, instead of reserving solely to himself the Command of so numerous an Army, and so great a Fleet, he divided the one into several Bodies, and the other into several Squadrons. The extent of Country that he was to take from the Pyrates being very great, he divided his Fleet and Army into 13 Parts; appointed to each, a Lieutenant General, to whom he assigned a proper Share, both of the Land and Sea Forces; and gave them the Title, and all other Marks of Distinction, of *Prætors*. The Province he assigned to *Tiberius Nero*, was the Seas of *Spain*; to *Manlius Torquatus*, the Seas about the *Baleares* Islands; to *Pomponius*, the *Gallic Sea*; to *Lentulus Marcellinus*, that of *Africa*; and to *P. Atilius*, those of *Liguria*, *Corfica*, and *Sardinia*. *L. Gellius* and *Cn. Lentulus* were to guard the Coasts of *Italy*; *Plotius Varus* and *Terentius Varro*, those of *Sicily*, and the *Ionian Sea*. The Borders of *Achaia* and *Macedon* were allotted to *L. Sifenna*; all the *Hellepont* and the Islands of the *Ægean Sea*, to *Tubero*; for the entrance into the *Euxine*



*Enxine* Sea, *Bithynia*, *Thrace*, and *The Propontis*, to *P. Pifo*; and to *Metellus Nepos*, Year of  
*Lycia*, *Pamphylia*, the Island of *Cyprus*, and *Phœnicia*. *Pompey* himself, at the Head R O M E  
of the largest Division of Ships, and guarded by some *Legions* of Land-Forces, was ac- DCLXXXVI.  
knowledge to be Generalissimo, passed through all the Seas, and provided for the Ex- C. CALPUR-  
igencies of every Station. He began with clearing the Coasts of the Countries that were NIUS PISO,  
nearest *Italy*, and supplied *Rome* with most of her Provisions; and in forty days Time, & M'. ACI-  
there was not a Pyrate-Ship to be seen in the *Tuscan* Sea, or from *Sicily*, *Africa*, and LIUS GLA-  
*Sardinia* to the Port of *Ostia*. Commerce was revived, and the Capital of the World BRIO, Con-  
so greatly relieved, that when *Pompey* came to *Rome*, the People received him as the tuls.  
God of the Seas. He loved Applauses; which, in the present Instance, were the more  
sincere; as the Relief given was great and affecting <sup>94</sup>.

§. XLIII. The Sea was already surrounded on all Sides, and the Pyrates seemed caught as in a Net. There was not a Ship of the Robbers to be found in all the west-ern Seas. And as their chief Strength was in the East, *Pompey's* next Step was to sail thither in all haste. His Fleet waited for him at *Brundusium*, and from thence he sailed to *Rhodes* <sup>95</sup>. There, to shew, that his Enterprize was only Matter of Diversion to him, he gave himself the Pleasure of conversing with <sup>96</sup> *Possidonius*, a Man well versed in all kinds of Literature; and then cruized all along the Coasts of *Asia*, chasing the Pyrates wherever he came. A great Number of them had recourse to his Clemency; and the favourable Reception they met with, attached them to him. They informed him of the Ports, to which their Companions usually retired; and of the Places, where they deposited their Booty: And in these Retreats, the *Pro-Consul* attacked them, and by his Lieutenant Generals, drove them from them. At last, he turned towards *Cilicia*, the last Refuge of these Wretches, and the Place where they generally lodged their Treasures, and the many Slaves they had taken on the Coasts. This the Pyrates had expected; and had hid their Wives and Children and most valuable Effects, in Castles, and the Passes of Mount *Taurus*; whilst they themselves lay at Anchor in the Port of <sup>97</sup> *Coracesum*, a strong Citadel on the Coast of *Cilicia*. But when *Pompey* appeared, the Intrepidity of these Barbarians was soon turned into a Consternation. They laid aside their Fierceness, and threw their Darts and Oars into the Water. By this Signal, *Pompey* understood that they surrendered to him without <sup>98</sup> fighting; and he accepted of their Submission. He promised them, that their Lives should be saved; and demanded of them <sup>99</sup> *Cragus* and *Anticragus*, two important Castles, which were deemed the Keys of *Cilicia*, as a Guarantee for their Submission. In these Places, the *Romans* found large Magazines of Iron, and Brass, and Materials for building Ships, and of Hemp for Cordage and Sails.

The first use he made of their Reduction, was to set at Liberty the Captives whom these Tyrants kept in Slavery, either for their own Use, or for Sale; and then he kept his Word with the *Cicilians*, tho' so perfidious themselves, and gave them their Lives. Nay, his Clemency went so far, as to provide Habitations for them in the inland Countries, and assign them uncultivated Lands to clear and improve. He sent some of them, to people deserted Cities, as <sup>100</sup> *Mallus*, *Adana*, and *Epiphanca*; and placed some

<sup>94</sup> The *Consul Calpurnius Pifo* looked with jealous Eyes on *Pompey's* Grandeur. No body opposed the Enterprize of the new General against the Pyrates with more Violence. He did what he could, to have the Fleet designed for this Expedition, entirely dispersed. But the Return of Plenty to *Rome*, and the Re-establishment of Commerce, opened the Eyes of the People, with Regard to *Pifo's* unjust Proceedings; and they had like to have deposed him from the *Consulship*. The Decree of Deposition was actually drawn up by the *Tribune Gabinius*. But *Pompey* screened him, and made it an Act of Merit with the Senate, and the *Consul* himself, whose Fury he despised.

<sup>95</sup> *Pompey* stopped some Days at *Athens*, where he was received with the Acclamations of the Citizens of this great City; who carried their Flattery to such excess, as to pay him the Honours appropriated to the Gods of the Country. In the Inscriptions which they made to his Honour, they ranked him among the Immortals, and gave him the first Place among the Heroes of Antiquity.

<sup>96</sup> We shall give some Account of *The Philosopher*.

*Possidonius*, in the next Volume. He is said to have been the Author of the Continuation of *Polybius's* History; which some, as *Vossius* observes, ascribe, without any Foundation, to *Possidonius* of *Alexandria*.

<sup>97</sup> *Coracesum* was a strong Place situated near the Sea, on a Rock which bordered on *Cilicia* and *Pamphilia*, according to *Strabo*. This Fort is now called *Scandelors*.

<sup>98</sup> *Plutarch* says, the Pyrates waited for *Pompey* in Order of Battle, and after their Defeat retired to a Fort, in which the *Romans* besieged them, and forced them to surrender at Discretion.

<sup>99</sup> Mount *Cragus* stood in *Lycia*, as well as Mount *Anticragus* which was over against it. On the Summit of these two Mountains were built two Forts which were difficult of Access. The *Cragus* was planted on the Sides with Trees, and several Flocks pastured upon it.

<sup>100</sup> These three Cities belonged to *Cilicia*. *Mallus*, which is now called *Mallo*, stood on the Sea-Coast of that Province, near the Mouth of the *Pyramus*, now the *Malistra*: a River which rises in the neigh-



Year of some, <sup>101</sup> in the extreme Parts of *Italy*, in *Calabria*. But he settled the most considerable Part of them at *Soli* <sup>102</sup>, a City which *Tigranes* had sacked, and called *Pompeiiopolis*, from his own Name. The *Pro-Consul* considered, that Men seldom run into great Excesses, unless driven by Want, or allured by Example and Opportunity; and in order to draw off these Robbers from their infamous Trade, he placed them at a great distance from the Sea, dispersed them in several Countries, and put them into a Condition of subsisting by their Labour. The Dispatch he made in this Expedition, exceeded the Expectations of the Publick, and even his own Hopes; and it is therefore probable, that his Work was much forwarded by the Valour of the Lieutenant Generals, whom he had posted on all the Coasts. But *Pompey's* Glory has <sup>103</sup> totally eclipsed that of his Subalterns. All we know of it is from *Varro* himself, who says, he received from his General, a *Rostral Crown* <sup>104</sup>, as his Reward for the Service he had done in his Station. This able Man, who was called *The most Learned of the Romans*, had confined himself to Retirement, only for the Sake of Reading and Meditation. He was a Soldier, and at different Times, made use of his Sword, as well as his Pen.

R O M E  
DCLXXXVI.  
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M. ACILIUS GLABRIUS,  
Consuls.  
*Plut. in Pomp.*

*Var. de Re Rustica.*

neighbouring Mountains, and falls into the *Mediterranean*. *Adana* became one of the most considerable Cities in *Cilicia*. The *Pyramus* washed its Walls. And as for the third, called *Epiphanea*, and in the more distant Ages *Oeniandos*, according to *Pliny*, we know nothing more of its Situation, than that the *Notitia Ecclesiastica* place it in the Eastern Part of *Cilicia*.

\* See Plate xv.  
Page 416.  
No. 6.

<sup>101</sup> According to *Plutarch*, he placed some of these Corsairs at *Dymæ*, a City in the West of *Achaia*: It was separated from *Elis* by the River *Larissus*, which rises in Mount *Scollis*. This City is now called *Clarenza*.

\* See Plate xv.  
Page 416.  
No. 7.

<sup>102</sup> *Soli*, called also *Solæ*, by some ancient Geographers, was formerly a maritime City of *Cilicia*. It stood on the Banks of the *Iffus*. It was said to have been founded by a Colony of *Greeks*, who corrupted their Mother-Tongue, by the Commerce they had with the Natives of the Country; and from this Corruption came the Terms of *Solæcisfare* and *Solæcismus*. *Soli* is now only a small Town, which is called *Palepoli*.

<sup>103</sup> *Plutarch* says, That *Pompey* took from the Pyrates a vast Number of Ships of all Sizes, and among the rest 90 Galleys armed with Beaks. The Number of the Pyrates that surrendered willingly, or by Force, amounted, according to him, to 20000. This glorious Expedition is represented on two Medals struck in Honour to *Pompey*. The Head of *Numa*, which is the Face of the first \* shews the Origin, whether real or pretended, of the *Pompeian* Family; and the

\* See Plate xv.  
Page 416.  
No. 5.

*Prow* of a Ship in the Reverse, points out the Victories *Pompey* gained by Sea over the Pyrates. The Title of *Pro-Quæstor*, which is given to *Cneius Piso* on this Medal; agrees with *Appian's* Account, who says, That this *Roman* attended *The Pro-Consul of the Seas*, in that Quality. The second \* Medal confirms the Testimony of the Historians, who say, That *Marcus Varro* was one of *Pompey's* fifteen Lieutenant Generals. We find his Name on the Face of it; and the Scepter, Dolphin, and *Roman Eagle*, on the Reverse, are Symbols of the Power the Admiral exercised, over the Coasts of the *Mediterranean*. To these two Medals we add a \* third, which points out the *Pro-Consulate of Spain*, which was granted to *Pompey* for five Years; tho' that Event was subsequent to this Time. We thought it proper, to give the Reader together all the ancient Medals that are preserved, relating to this Conqueror. On the Reverse, is the Figure of *Spain*, as we see it represented on *Galba's* Medals with the Word *Hispania*. She offers a Palm Branch to the *Pro-Consul*, by way of Homage for his Victories; and we likewise find the Title of *Imperator*, with which he was honoured after his Expedition to *Africa*, on this Reverse. That Province was governed under *Pompey* by *Marcus Publicius*, with the Title of *Pro-Prætor*; as appears, by the other Part of the Inscription of this Medal: M. PUBLICIUS LEGATUS PRO-PRÆTOR.

<sup>104</sup> See our Remarks on the *Corona Rostrata* in the preceding Volumes.





T H E  
Roman History.  
B O O K LX.

§. I. **T**HUS Pompey finished his War with the Pyrates; but as the three Years of his *Pro-Consulate* were far from being expired, he did not leave his Ships, or lay down his Sea or Land-Forces. He fought for Pretences to continue in Arms; and endeavoured to find himself Employment in the Countries of the *Levant*. The first Object that tempted him, was the finishing of the War in *Crete*. We have before observed, that *Metellus* had began the Conquest of it, and wanted little of entirely subduing it. He had taken *Cydonia*, *Gnossus*, and *Lyctus*, three important Cities; and tho' a great number of fugitive Pyrates had by joining *Lasithenes* and *Panares* increased their Armies, he had made Progress enough, to promise himself the entire Reduction of the Island. He had fought the *Cretans* and Pyrates together, taken from the latter the Castles they had built on the Rocks near the Sea, and from the former their strong Holds in the Centre of their Country. But *Metellus* treated the Pyrates with extraordinary Severity on all Occasions. So cruel was the Slavery to which he reduced them, that several of them poisoned themselves to deliver themselves from it. On the other hand, the *Cretans* were so obstinate in their Resistance, that when they wanted Water in an invested City, they chose rather to drink their own Urine, than surrender at Discretion. And the ill Usage both *Cretans* and Pyrates had received from *Metellus*, induced them both to send an Embassy to *Pompey*. They had been informed, with what Goodness the *Pro-Consul of the Seas* had shewn Favour to the vanquished *Cilicians*; and in Hopes of experiencing the same Clemency, they intreated him to come and finish the Work *Metellus* was ready to compleat, promising to surrender to him, without any Resistance.

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*Pompey* had a Fault with which he had been already reproached. He was very ready to undertake the Work of other Generals; and made no Scruple of going to finish, when no Difficulty remained, what others had well-nigh compassed with great Labour. He was accused, of having gone to *Spain*, to rob another *Metellus* of the Glory of finishing the War with *Sertorius*; and of having endeavoured to deprive *Crassus*, of the Honour of entirely defeating the Army of *Spartacus*. And he was now much delighted with the View of acquiring the Reputation, of having put the last Hand to the Reduction of the *Cretans*. He heard their Ambassadors with Pleasure; and promised to come and conclude a favourable Peace with them. And accordingly, after he had received Hostages, he sent from *Bamphylia*, where he then resided, *L. Octavius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, with Orders to proclaim all over the Island, That *Pompey* had the sole Right of making Treaties in all Places of his *Pro-Consulate*; and That *Metellus* had no Right to assume the Title of General, in a Country which was within the Province which the People had given to *Pompey*. But this was pitiful Chicanery. *Pompey's* Friends could not excuse this excessive Greediness of Glory, which led him to rob other illustrious Warriors of the Fruit of their Labours. *Metellus's* Commission, which was prior to that of the *Pro-Consul of the Seas*, had not been recalled, either by Senate, or People. It was manifestly their Intention, to leave the old General, at the Head of the Army he had carried into *Crete*.



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This shameful Claim of *Pompey* therefore caused a kind of Civil War in the Island. The *Romans* disputed with one another, who should give the last Stroke to the *Cretans*. *Octavius* joined with the *Pirates* and People of the Island, to oppose *Metellus's* Conquest; and he, not fearing the additional Forces which *Pompey* had sent against him, bravely pursued his Enterprize. He besieged <sup>1</sup> *Eleuthera*, and took it by a Stratagem. A Burgher, who had been gained by the *Roman* General, poured down so many Barrels of Vinegar, for several Nights together, upon one of the Towers, that it was easily beaten down. By this means, *Metellus* became Master of the Place, and raised but small Contributions on the Inhabitants. From thence, he turned towards <sup>2</sup> *Lappa*, a strong City, which *Octavius* in Person undertook to defend. But though he maintained the Siege with Courage, *Metellus* took it at last by Assault. So that *Pompey's* Lieutenant-General, and his Company of *Romans*, became the Ridicule of their Conqueror. He sent them away without their Arms, amidst the Hisses of his Soldiers. But the *Cilicians* that *Octavius* brought to *Lappa*, were all put to the Sword. *Pompey* therefore sent new Succours to *Octavius*, and ordered *Sisenna* to sail from the Coasts of *Achaia* to *Crete*. But *Sisenna* died, before he could attempt any Thing; and *Metellus*, after he had taken <sup>3</sup> *Hierapytna*, forced *Octavius* to reimbarc, to carry the News to *Pompey*, that the Conquest of *Crete* was compleated. In short, *Metellus* obliged *Lasthenes* and *Panares* to lay down their Arms, and all the Inhabitants of the Island to submit to the Yoke; changed their Government; imposed new Laws upon them; and made them Subjects to the Republick. We may therefore conclude, that he did not spare *Pompey*, either in the Letters he wrote to him, or in those by which he gave the Senate an account of his Victory. And when all was finished, he returned to *Rome*, to receive the Honours of a *Triumph*. But *Pompey*, by his Interest, opposed it so much, that he was not honoured with it, till three <sup>4</sup> Years after his Victory. A Proceeding very unworthy of a Man, who was, by way of Eminence, stiled THE GREAT! He was not only insatiably covetous of Glory himself, but envied others the small Share of it, which they acquired by their Merit.

Epit. Liv.

§. II. His jealous Temper appeared, yet more sensibly, with Regard to *Lucullus*. This great General, who had been so often victorious, in *Pontus*, *Armenia*, and even in *Media*, had lost a little of his former Glory, since he had made the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* tremble. The Republick had sent the Consul *Acilius Glabrio* to succeed him in his Government of *Cilicia*, and the Pro-Consul *Marcus Rex* to succeed him in *Bitthynia*; and thereby, that General's Authority in *Asia*, which he had enjoyed for seven Years, was now greatly diminished. Besides, his Soldiers <sup>5</sup> were revolted from him; and had most notoriously shewn their Disobedience before *Artaxata*, which they refused to besiege. They had indeed just taken *Nisibis*; but whilst *Lucullus* was wholly intent on this glorious Conquest, *Tigranes* had returned into *Armenia*, recovered his Cities, and driven before him *Fannius*, whom *Lucullus* had left Governor there, during his Absence. *Mithridates*, on the other hand, had marched towards *Pontus* his ancient Patrimony, in order to reconquer it. And *Tigranes* in *Armenia*, and *Mithridates* on the Shores of the *Euxine* Sea, had gained great Advantages over the *Romans*, whilst *Lucullus* was absent. *Mithridates* made himself Master of *Little Armenia*, and beat *Fabius Adrianus*, who opposed his Passage. The Stratagem that procured his Success was the gaining over a Body of *Thracians*, who had formerly served under him, and afterwards surrendered to the *Romans*. These *Thracians* were sent out, to get Intelligence of *Mithridates*, and went over to him. *Fabius*, notwithstanding this, gave Battle, and was forced to retire to his Camp, after he had lost 5000 Men.

The next Day, *Fabius* drew out his Troops in the Plain, and was bent on Revenge. He had armed a great Number of Slaves; but the Traitors imitated the *Thracians*,

<sup>1</sup> The City of *Eleuthera* in *Crete*, called also *Saorus*, or *Aorus*, according to *Stephen of Byzantium*, was an inland City.

<sup>2</sup> *Lappa*, which stood at a little Distance from the Sea-Coast, is called *Lampa*, in *Polybius*, and the *Notitia Ecclesiastica*. It is now only a small Town, which retains its ancient Name.

<sup>3</sup> This City was successively called *Cyrba*, *Pytna*, *Camiros*, and at last *Hiera-Pytna*. It is supposed to be the same Place that *Ptolomy* calls *Hiera-Petra*, or The Sacred Rock. *Strabo* seems to understand, that it stood on a Hill which he calls *Pytna*, and which, says

he, was a Part of Mount *Ida*. At least, he adds, That the City of *Hiera-Pytna* took its Name from this Hill. The same Geographer places it near the Coast, that lay against the *African* Sea.

<sup>4</sup> Most Antiquaries are of Opinion, that the \* Medal which bears the Name of *Quintus Metellus* represents the *Triumph* of this General.

<sup>5</sup> *Sallust* ascribes this Revolt to the too great Severity of *Lucullus*, who would never suffer his Soldiers to live any where, but in Tents, even in the severest Winter.



and went over to *Mithridates*. So that the King of *Pontus* was the stronger; and was endeavouring to cut in Pieces *Fabius's* Army, when he received a Blow with a Stone on his Knee, and was wounded under the Eye with an Arrow, fighting at the Head of his Battalions like a young Man, though almost seventy. This Accident suspended the King's Victory, who was obliged to leave the Field of Battle, and lamented his not having entirely destroyed the *Romans*. But *Fabius* and his Troops were in so great Disorder, that not any Body of them could keep together. They dispersed, and ran to the Forts in *Cabira*, where they were safe. In the mean time, *Mithridates's* Wounds were soon cured, by the Help of some *Scythians* called <sup>6</sup> *Agarians*, who made excellent Remedies for Wounds, out of the Poison of the most venomous Reptiles.

§. III. As soon as *Mithridates* was recovered, he drew near *Cabira*, in order to surround *Fabius* and his Army. *Triarius*, one of *Lucullus's* Lieutenant-Generals, and the Commander of his Fleet, hastened to the Assistance of the invested *Romans*; and his Army terrified *Mithridates*. He left *Cabira*, and drew near *Comagena*. *Triarius* followed him thither; and *Mithridates*, after he had passed a River over a Bridge, drew up his Troops in Battalia, and waited for the Enemy. *Triarius* appeared, and the Battle began; but there arose a more furious Storm than had been seen in the Memory of Man. The Bridge was broken down by the Violence of the Water, and both Parties left off fighting. Then *Mithridates* returned to his Kingdom of *Pontus*, posted himself near <sup>7</sup> *Gaziurza*, an old Castle in his Dominions; and there offered *Triarius* Battle, which he a great while declined. At length, in order to draw him into the Plain, the King sent a Detachment to invest <sup>8</sup> *Dadasa*, a Fort where the *Romans* kept their Ammunition; and then a Battle became necessary. Whether *Triarius* was not the more in haste to fight before *Lucullus* came up, that he might have no Share in the Glory of the Action, is uncertain; but, whatever was his Motive, he advanced with his Troops as far as <sup>9</sup> *Ziela*, a little City, which became famous for the Defeat of the *Romans*. *Mithridates* had, early in the Morning, placed a Body of Troops in ambush there. These fell upon the *Roman* Battalions, and broke them; and *Mithridates* coming up, when he heard the Noise, compleated the Defeat of *Triarius*, whose whole Army was routed. The *Pontians* pursued the Fugitives, as far as to the Banks of the *Lycus*; and there the Ground was so marshy and slippery, that the vanquished could not so much as rally, and fight as they retreated.

The Battle of *Ziela* had therefore like to have replaced *Mithridates* on the Throne of his Ancestors, and to have brought *Lucullus* into Disgrace at *Rome*, if it had been compleat. But a *Roman Centurion* allayed a little the Joy the King of *Pontus* felt at having extirpated all the Troops which *Lucullus* had left to guard his Conquest. As the King was pursuing the Cavalry that fled before him, his Guard consisting of *Roman* Deserters who were more furiously bent on destroying *Triarius* than the Barbarians themselves, the *Centurion* mixed with them, and finding a fair Opportunity, threw the Dart he had in his Hand at the King, and wounded him in the Thigh. He was therefore forced to be carried off, and to let *Triarius*, and the rest of the Fugitives, escape. In the mean time, it was thought, that the King was dead; and his Troops ran to his Litter, to inform themselves of it. But *Timotheus* the King's Physician had stopped the Blood, and the Wound proved not dangerous. Then *Mithridates* lamented their having so soon put an end to the Battle, and immediately ordered himself to be carried to the Enemy's Camp, which was deserted. So that nothing remained, but to rifle the dead, among whom were found 24 Military *Tribunes*, and 150 *Centurions*. After this the King of *Pontus*, suspecting all the *Romans* who were mixed with his own Soldiers of Treachery, ordered them to be put to Death; and when he was cured,

6 The *Agarian* or *Agrian Scythians*, who are mentioned by *Strabo*, and *Stephanus the Geographer*, dwelt in that Part of *Scythia Europea* which borders on the *Palus Maëotis*. These Authors agree with *Dioscorides*, in placing them in *Sarmatia*. They probably took their Name from the River *Agarus*, now the *Schirwet*, or the *Malououda*, which, according to *Ortelius*, after it has watered the Country of *Præcopian Tartars*, falls into The Sea of *Zabacha*. Near this River, there grows on the Trunks of Trees a kind of Mushroom, called *Agaric*, which the ancient Naturalists recommend as an excellent Purge.

7 *Gaziurza*, or as *Strabo* calls it *Gaziura*, was anciently a Castle, in which the Kings of *Pontus* spent some Months in the Year. The River *Iris* ran near it. But *Pliny* places it near the Banks of the *Halys*, towards the Frontiers of *Paphlagonia* and *Cappadocia*.

8 All we know of this Place is from *Dio*, who places it in *Cappadocia*.

9 *Ziela*, or *Zela*, according to some ancient Geographers, is placed by *Hirtius*, in his *History of the Alexandrian War*, on the Banks of the *Lycus*, at the Foot of a Rock, towards the Eastern Confines of *Pontus*.



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he went to wait for *Lucullus*, in *Little Armenia*. There he committed great Devastations, in order to distress the *Roman* Troops in their Passage by a Want of Provisions; and encamped in a rough hilly Country, resolving not to stir out of it, till *Tigranes* had joined him with his Troops.

§. IV. At length, *Lucullus* come in sight of *Mithridates*, and in vain endeavoured to draw him to a Battle. Then the other *Mithridates*, King of the *Medes*, appeared all on a sudden, surprized a Party of *Romans*, who were dispersed about the Country, and cut them in Pieces. These unseasonable Disasters still more exasperated the *Legionaries* *Lucullus* had brought from *Mesopotamia*; their Discontents with their General increased; and at last they refused to obey him. They complained, That they were forced to lay encamped all the Winter, and not suffered to Quarter even in the Cities of the *Allies*. They accused the *Pro-Consul* of Avarice, and Severity. They said, he took the best Part of the Booty to himself, and left them only a small Share of it. Besides, they were informed from *Rome*, That the *Tribunes of the People* who were *Pompey's* Friends, declared publickly, in full *Comitia*, against the Conduct of their General. *Gabinus* in particular, was continually jesting upon the fine Country-house *Lucullus* had built in *Campania*, and telling the People, that as soon as he returned, he would build a second, which would be more magnificent. On the other Hand, the *Consul Acilius Glabrio* had caused it to be published in the Cities on the Coast, before his Arrival in *Asia*, That *Lucullus's* Generalship was expired, and the Command of the *Roman* Troops in the *Levant* devolved upon him. And to increase the Misfortune, the *Legions* which *Valerius* had formerly brought into the East, and which *Fimbria* had taken from him, demanded their Dismissal, pretending that they had served their full time. All these Circumstances together increased the Mutinies of *Lucullus's* Soldiers; and they executed only such of his Orders as they pleased.

Plut. in Lucullo.

But after all, no Body contributed more to sow Discord between the General and his Troops, than the seditious *App. Clodius*; whom *Lucullus* had made one of his Lieutenant-Generals, more out of Regard to his Relation, as a Brother-in-Law, than his Merit. He had the Character of a Man of no Probity; was said to maintain an incestuous Commerce with his two Sisters, and particularly with her whom *Lucullus* had married; and his Ambition was at least equal to his Lust. He wanted to supplant his Brother-in-Law, and succeed him in his Command. He asked the *Legionaries*, What they were, more than a Guard to the Camels which the *Pro-Consul* had loaded with Gold and precious Stones; and why they did not choose themselves a General, who would give them some ease, and share the Spoils of the Enemy with them. These Discourses made an Impression on the old *Legions* which had formerly made War in *Asia* under *Fimbria*, and whom this Villain had debauched from their true General. They had hitherto continued in the *Levant*, and made a Part of *Lucullus's* Army. But now, they pretended their General had no Authority over them, since the Arrival of the *Consul Acilius*, and *Marcus Rex*; and when *Tigranes* and *Mithridates* were ready to join their Forces, *Lucullus* could by no means prevail on his *Legionaries*, to march against the two Kings. Nevertheless, Revenge supplied the Place of a Sense of Duty for a Moment; and when they heard *Triarius* had been defeated, they offered to fight, provided *Triarius* should be delivered up to them to be cut in Pieces. But *Lucullus* abhorred this Barbarity, and his Refusal raised a new Revolt. His Soldiers looked on him only as a private Person; and when he ordered them to go and fight *Tigranes* before he joined *Mithridates*, they mutinied, and the *Legions* of *Valerius* in particular, declared, That they renounced *Lucullus*. Then the proud General was forced to humble himself before his Troops. He fell on his Knees to them; and the seditious shewed him their empty Purses, and bid him Go and fight the Enemy by himself, since he had found out the Secret of enriching himself only with the Spoils. But at last the Mutineers complied with the Intreaties of the rest of the Army, and promised to follow *Lucullus* the rest of the Campaign; but swore they would leave him, as soon as Winter returned.

In the mean time, *Cappadocia* was a Prey to the Troops of *Tigranes*, and *Mithridates* was by degrees recovering his old Cities. *Acilius* made no haste into the Kingdom of *Pontus*; probably to embarrass *Lucullus* the more, and to enjoy the Pleasure of seeing this famous Conqueror deprived of the Fruits and Glory of his Conquests. And *Marcus Rex* was still more dilatory, in sending the Succours *Lucullus* desired of him. He pretended, that his Soldiers refused to serve, under any General but himself.

Indeed,



Indeed, Deserters from the Camp of *Lucullus* came daily to *Marcus*, and among the rest the seditious Lieutenant-General *Clodius*, whose other Sister *Marcus Rex* had married. The latter received him graciously, and gave him the Command of his Fleet; and afterwards he was taken by the Pyrates, and redeemed at a very mean Price. Wherever *Clodius* came in *Asia*, he discovered that restless Spirit, which, we shall see, will not leave him, when he becomes *Tribune of the People* at *Rome*. Thus *Lucullus* was, by all these Desertions, forced to continue unactive; and was fallen from that Reputation, which he had acquired in the midst of *Asia*: And then *Pompey*, who had nothing to do, after he had finished the War with the Pyrates, cast his Eyes on the Ground *Lucullus* had cleared, and desired to take his Place. But he was too much of a Politician, to march without leave, against *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, with those Troops which the Republick had given him, only to act against the Pyrates; and therefore took the following Method, to procure himself a legal Grant of the Commission, which *Lucullus* had executed with Honour, for so many Years.

§. V. The Day before the new *Consuls*, *Man. Æmilius Lepidus*, and *L. Volcatius Tullus* entered upon their Office, that is, the last Day of *December*, *Caius Manilius*, the *Tribune of the People*, made an ill use of the Hurry and Confusion *Rome* was in, upon the new Year, and the new Election. He proposed a Law, as it were by Stealth, in Favour of the meanest of the People. It was to this Effect, That the *Freed-men* should give their Suffrages in the same manner as their Patrons, without any Distinction between *them* and those who had always been of free Condition. It was pretended, That the *Tribune* made this odious Attempt, at the Solicitation of *Crassus*, who wanted to gain the Affections of the Populace. But whatever were his Motives, as soon as it was known, that *Manilius* was endeavouring surreptitiously to assemble the *Tribes* in order to get the Law passed, the Nobility and rich *Citizens* assembled together. *Abenobarbus*, the *Quæstor*, appeared at the Head of them, and they dispersed the armed Men which the *Tribunes* had posted on the Declivity of the *Capitol*. This Attempt made a great Noise in the Senate; and as soon as the new *Consuls* had taken their Seats for the first time, the audacious *Tribune* was cited to appear. When he came, the Authority of the *Conscript Fathers* terrified him so much, that he threw all the Odium of his Enterprize on *Crassus*. But he was not believed; all the effect his Deposition had was, that he thereby made himself another Enemy in *Crassus*; and this obliged him to have recourse to the Rival of his new Adversary, and secure himself under *Pompey's* Favour and Protection.

§. VI. The *Pro-Consul of the Seas*, tho' absent, had his Friends and Agents at *Rome*, who knew how to make the best use of every Conjunction, for the Service of their Friend; and they advised *Manilius*, to make a Motion to the People in Favour of *Pompey*, and promised him to get the Law passed. They depended on the *Tribunes* and the Commons, who were more devoted than ever to the Conqueror of the Pyrates, who had procured the City a great Plenty. Accordingly, the *Tribune* proposed his Bill in these Terms. *May it please you, Romans, to enact, That Lucullus shall be recalled from Asia; That the Command of your Armies against Tigranes and Mithridates shall be transferred to Pompey; and That, without taking from Pompey that full Power which you have given him over the Islands and Sea-coasts, the Government of Bithynia shall be added to his present Commission.* This was the famous Bill, which from its Author was called *The Manilian Law*, after it was passed. When the *Tribune* proposed it in the *Comitia*, it raised such Disturbances among the Nobility, and the zealous Republicans, as are not easily to be described. *We have then at last got a Sovereign*, said they; *and the Republick is changed into a Monarchy. Every Thing gives way to the Superiority of one Master. The Services of Lucullus, the Honour of Glabrio, and the Regard due to the Birth of Marcus Rex, are all to be sacrificed to his Promotion; and they are to be forced to abdicate, before their Year of Office is expired. Phrygia, Lycæonia, Cappadocia, Galatia, Cilicia, Upper Colchis, Armenia, and the Sea Coasts of both East and West, are all to be subject to Pompey only. Sylla never carried his Tyranny so far.*

These Discourses were in the Mouths of all the Senators, who in private mutually exhorted one another, to suppress this Bill. But in publick their Zeal evaporated, and their Fear of displeasing the People forced them to keep Silence. Of all the *Conscript Fathers*, only *Hortensius* and *Catulus*, the *President of the Senate*, had Courage enough to speak out against the Law. The latter especially made surprizing Efforts to



Year of disswade the People from passing it; but they heard him coldly, and were not moved. *ROME* At last he turned towards the Senators, and with Looks full of Fury, cried out to them, *Let us leave a City where Liberty is no more! Let us retire to Rocks and Caves, to shelter us from the Slavery, with which we are threatened!* But all this vanished into Air. Two great Men spake, in favour of *Pompey* and the Bill proposed; which were, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Cicero*. Not that the former was a Friend to *Pompey*, or desired his Advancement; but he was willing to make Court to the People, whose Faction was much stronger than that of the Senate. He had already laid his Scheme, and was delighted to see the Commons insensibly losing that Republican Spirit, and Love of Liberty, which would obstruct his Designs. He therefore encouraged *Rome* to choose themselves a Master for a short Season, thereby to pave the Way for his usurping a more lasting Sovereignty with the less Opposition.

*M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS, & L. VOLCATIUS TULLIUS*, Consuls.

As for *Cicero*, tho' his Views were not so great, as those of *Cæsar*, he had his Eye on the *Consulate*; which *Pompey's* Party could more easily procure for him, than that of *Catulus* and the Senate. He had hitherto pretty well acted a neutral Part, with regard to the two Factions that divided the Republick. But he was now *Prætor*, and his Office, together with the Influence he had by means of his Eloquence, gave him weight enough, to turn the Balance to the Side he favoured. He therefore mounted *The Tribune*, and made that Speech in favour of *The Manilian Law*, which is yet preserved, and will be the Admiration of all Ages. He proved, that the War with *Mithridates* was necessary; and without laying much to the Charge of *Lucullus*, concluded, that *Pompey* only, was able to maintain the Glory of the Roman Arms in *Asia*. His Experience in War, said he, the Authority he has always preserved over his Troops, his personal Bravery, and the Good-Fortune that every where attends him, are strong Assurances that he will be victorious beyond the Euphrates. *Cicero* had lately acquired fresh Honour in his *Prætorship*, by the Judgment he had passed on *Julius Macer*, an oppressive Magistrate, who was supported with all the Interest of *Crassus*. His Equity had got the better of Intrigue and Favour. He had condemned *Macer* to make large Restitutions, though the accused had flattered himself with the Hopes of a favourable Sentence, and this Act of Resolution and Justice had gained the Judge the Esteem of the People. Insomuch that he determined the People to pass the Law in Dispute, and *Pompey* was declared sole General of the Roman Armies in the East, that were to act against the Kings of *Armenia* and *Pontus*. As for *Manilius*, he was hated by the Senate, and could no longer guard himself against the Prosecution of the *Conscript Fathers*, than whilst his *Tribuneship* made his Person inviolable. As soon as he was out of his Office, an Accuser cited him to appear before the *Prætor*, which was *Cicero*, whose Office was ready to expire; and he gave the accused only one Day to give in his Answer. The People were at first offended at his allowing *Manilius* so little Time to make his Defence; but he told the Friends of the accused, that he hastened the Trial so much, only to secure its coming on before him, and prevent its falling into other Hands. So that this was a new Act of Merit with the People, and gained him the good Graces of both *Pompey* and *Manilius*.

§. VII. *Pompey* was still on the Coasts of *Asia*, when the News was brought him of his being chosen to succeed *Lucullus*, and of the unlimited Authority which had been given him almost over the whole World: And then he discovered in a full Light that Spirit of Dissimulation, to which he had always had recourse on all Occasions. He was at the Height of his utmost Wishes; but concealed his Joy under the Appearance of an affected Modesty. *What*, said he, *will Rome then burden me with a new War! Must I never have any Rest, but always be exposed to new Dangers! Dear Solitude, must I then sacrifice thee to the Desires of my Country!* When at the same time every one knew, what Steps he had taken in order to procure this new Dignity. He found a double Advantage in it. 1. The exquisite Satisfaction of having suppressed the only Man in the Republick, who could efface his Glory. And 2. The Pleasure of having only such Kings to fight with, as were already weakened, and well nigh discouraged. Besides, he had Troops enough already raised, to finish an Expedition which another had so far advanced. He had nothing to do, but to assemble the numerous Forces he had received from the Republick to fight the Pyrates. And this he did, omitting no Means he could contrive, to abolish, if possible, the very Memory of his Predecessor in *Asia*. He disannulled every Thing *Lucullus* had done, restored those whom he had degraded, and persecuted those who had been in his Favour. And to gain himself the



more respect, he assembled all the Kings in Alliance with *Rome*, and even the private Governors of free Cities; and in the midst of this great Court, declared, That *Lucullus* was now deprived of all Power, and That in him alone was vested all the Authority of the Republick. These Proceedings offended *Lucullus*, who, tho' abandoned by his old Soldiers, might have raised new ones, and carried his Resentments to a Civil War; and therefore their common Friends thought it necessary to prevail on them to come to a Conference; which they did, at <sup>10</sup> *Domale* in *Galatia*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCI. XXXVII.  
M'. ÆMILI-  
US LEPIDUS,  
& L. VOLCA-  
TIUS TUL-  
LUS, Consuls.

There a very trifling Incident led those who were present at the Interview, to form Prognosticks of what would happen. The two *Pro-Consuls* came to the Place appointed, each preceded by his *Lictors*. Those of *Lucullus* had bound round their *Fasces* with Laurel-branches which were very green, and fresh gathered; but the Laurels about those of *Pompey* were dry and withered. The *Lictors* of *Lucullus* therefore very civilly offered some of their Laurels to renew the Ornaments of *Pompey's Fasces*; and from thence it was inferred, that the Glory of *Lucullus* would be transferred to *Pompey*, who would reap the Benefit of his Laurels, though he had not had the Trouble of gathering them.

The two illustrious Generals accosted each other, upon their first Meeting, with the greatest Politeness. *Pompey* congratulated *Lucullus*, on the extent of his Conquests; and *Lucullus* extolled *Pompey* for his Victories, which had been honoured with two *Triumphs*. But it soon appeared, that these Civilities were mere Compliments. After these first Marks of Esteem and Friendship, rough and very unpolite Reflections immediately followed. *Pompey* reproached *Lucullus* with his Avarice, and his Care to deprive the Soldiers of that Part of the Booty which belonged to them, and told him, *That he had suffered Mithridates to escape out of his Hands, purely in order to prolong the War*. On the other hand, *Lucullus* reproached *Pompey* with his private Intrigues, in order to obtain from the People Commissions which were odious to the Senate; and with his Artifices, in order to engross to himself the Glory of the Generals his Competitors, by robbing them of the Fruits of their Labours. And then added, *I have no need of a Successor, my Expedition is finished; and Pompey may return to Rome with the News, That Mithridates is conquered, and no longer in a Condition to hurt the Republick*. Nor did the Dispute between the two *Pro-Consuls* end with their Conference. *Lucullus* continued in *Galatia*; assumed the Authority of a Master there; and disposed of several Places in the Country, either to their old Possessors, or as he otherwise thought fit: And it was his way to execute his Will with Haughtiness. But *Pompey* was more pliant, and more artful. He suffered *Lucullus* to declaim against him, and tell whom he pleased, *That like a Raven which never attacks a Man till he is dead, he did not undertake to fight any Enemies till they were destroyed*. The only Answer he gave to these Accusations was much more effectual than Words. He drew off his Soldiers, till *Lucullus* had no more than 1600 left with him, and they the most mutinous and insolent of any in his Army. So that he had nothing to do, but to leave *Asia*, and return to *Rome*.

§. VIII. Accordingly, he embarked, and carried with him the immense Riches he had got together, in eight Years time, from all the Cities he had taken, and the Provinces he had ravaged. But all was not for himself. He reserved the greatest Part to grace his *Triumph*. Indeed he had like not to have had any, either through *Pompey's* Intrigues, or by Means of the ill <sup>11</sup> State of his Brother's Affairs, for which, in the end, he suffered. He was three Years soliciting one, before he could obtain it. But at last, *Rome* was ashamed to refuse an Hero a Favour, which she had often granted to moderate Warriors; *Lucullus* triumphed; and his Procession was not long, or tedious. The first Part of the Show, was the prodigious Number of uncommon <sup>12</sup> Arms, which he had

taken

<sup>10</sup> All we know of *Domale* is, that it was, according to *Plutarch*, a Town in *Galatia*, of which no Footsteps are now remaining.

<sup>11</sup> *Lucullus* had the Mortification, upon his Arrival at the Capital, to hear that his Brother *Marcus Lucullus* had been accused of Male-Administration in his *Quæstorship*, which he held under *Sylla*. But he had been declared innocent, and fully acquitted of the Crime of Embezzling the publick Money, to the Shame of *Menimius*; who, enraged at his thus failing of his Blow against an Enemy whose Destruction he had sworn, turned all his Batteries against *Lucullus*

the Conqueror of *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. Him he accused of applying to his own Use the Spoils of *Asia*, and the Treasures he had taken from the vanquished Kings. To which he added, That this General prolonged the War only in order to gain Time to enrich himself. So that *Lucullus* ran the Hazard of being deprived by the People of the Honour of a *Triumph*. But being supported by the Nobility, Magistrates, and Senate, he silenced his Accuser; and triumphed in the Year of *Rome* 690, when *Cicero* was Consul.

<sup>12</sup> The People were entertained with the Sight of ten Chariots, armed with Hooks or Scythes, several Horsemen



Year of *ROME* taken from the conquered Nations; the great Quantity of Vases of Gold and Silver ranged in fine Order on fifty two Steps, carried on Men's Shoulders; and the Sums of <sup>13</sup> Money which were so considerable, that 700 Men had great Difficulty to carry them. The Ingots of Gold, and rich Moveables, were loaded on Mules; and what most attracted the Eyes of the Spectators, was a Statue of *Mithridates*, six Foot high, all of massy Gold <sup>14</sup>.

M. ÆMILI-  
US LEPIDUS,  
& L. VOLCA-  
TIUS TUL-  
LUS, Consuls.

The Senate expected to have found *Lucullus*, who was so famous for his Exploits, an active Support, who would have been some balance to the formidable Interest of *Pompey*; but they were utterly disappointed. He laid aside all Business, and was wholly intent on spending his Days in Ease and Pleasure. His Wife *Clodia* was the only Object of his Resentment. He divorced her, in order to marry *Servilia* the Sister of *Cato*, who in point of Incest, was little less vicious than *Clodia*, and had not one of her Brother's Virtues. So that, being unhappy in his Wives, he indulged himself in Indolence, and forgot the Hero. The end of his Life, was like a Droll-Entertainment at the End of a serious Play. He gave himself wholly up to Debauches, Masquerades, Feasts, and nocturnal Excursions. Indeed some of his Pleasures were elegant, and his Taste refined. He built stately Palaces in the City and the Country, and adorned them with Baths, and magnificent Galleries; which he graced with the finest Pictures, and most valuable Statues *Greece* could produce. The immense Riches he had amassed, were abundantly sufficient to defray the Expences of his Curiosities, and his Table, which was the best served of any <sup>15</sup> in the World. His Gardens and Fish-Ponds of salt and fresh Water are particularly extolled, as being always full of the most exquisite Fish; some of his Country-houses were for the Winter, others for the Summer; and he said, *He <sup>16</sup> was like a Bird of Passage, which changes its Climate according to the Season.* He called his Halls by the Names of the Gods and Goddesses; and according to the difference of his Company, he ordered Dinner to be served up, in <sup>17</sup> *The Apollo*, for instance, or *The Juno*; where the Entertainment was always suitable to the Place and Company. That is, he sometimes spent 50000 \* *Drachmæ* at one Entertainment. But the Expence he was at in furnishing his Library was better approved of by Men of Honour, than the Profusion of his Table. The Place and Choice of Books made his House a

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Sterl.

Horsemen in Iron Armour from Head to Foot, 60 Lords of *Pontus* and *Armenia* in Chains, 110 Gallies armed with their Beaks, and the stately Buckler of *Mithridates* covered with precious Stones.

\* 87187 l. <sup>13</sup> *Plutarch* computes this Money at 2700000 *Drachmæ*, that is, 1350000 *Livres*.

<sup>14</sup> In the Procession were carried the Registers, that shewed what Sums *Lucullus* had supplied *Pompey* with for carrying on the War with the Pyrates, what Money he remitted to the publick Treasury, and how much he had spent in his Bounties to his Soldiers before the Ceremony, when he gave every private Man 950 *Drachmæ*, and the Officers in Proportion. The Ceremony was concluded with magnificent Feasts which *Lucullus* made for the People of *Rome*, and those of the neighbouring Towns.

<sup>15</sup> *Plutarch* says, That at *Lucullus's* Feasts People were never tired with admiring the stately Beds prepared for the Guests, the Glitter of the precious Stones and Plate that loaded the Buffer, and the great Plenty of the most exquisite Meats that covered his Table. And that nothing might be wanting to regale the Senses, adds the Historian, Concerts of Musick, or Plays, generally accompanied these delicious Entertainments. *Cato*, though the Friend and Brother-in-Law of *Lucullus*, often exclaimed with Bitterness against these Profusions. He frequently reproached him with his far-fetched Niceties. One Day when he was tired with the Discourse of a young *Roman* about his own Frugality, he, starting up suddenly, interrupted him with, *Will you never have done boasting of your Temperance; You, that are as rich as Crassus, live like Lucullus, and talk like Cato?* But *Cicero*, who valued himself on his Strictness of Life, never blamed these Excesses. He thought *Lucullus* obliged to restore to the Republick by his Liberalities, the Riches which he was accused of having amassed out of Avarice.

<sup>16</sup> This was his Answer to *Pompey*, when he paid him a Visit at *Tusculum*, and in raillery told him, That his House was a delightful Place in the Summer, but uninhabitable in the Winter.

<sup>17</sup> Each of his Halls had its own Furniture, and Services, and Expence, appropriated to it. *Plutarch* says, That *Cicero* and *Pompey*, having one Day met *Lucullus*, offered him to come and sup with him. *With all my Heart*, said he, *fix your Day.* To morrow, replied *Cicero*, *provided you will add nothing extraordinary.* *Lucullus* desired them to put it off to the next Day, that he might have time to make Preparation for them, but they would not consent. They would not so much as suffer him to give any Orders to his Domesticks. Only one of them was sent in the Name of his Master to give Notice that they would sup in *The Apollo*. The Expence allowed to entertain his Friends in this Hall was 50000 *Drachmæ*, that is, 25000 *Livres*; and the two Guests greatly admired the Dispatch, the Order, the Sumptuousness, the Taste, and the Elegance, of the Feast.

Not that *Lucullus's* Profuseness was confined to set Entertainments. When he was alone, he denied himself nothing that could regale his delicate Taste. Some *Greeks* whom he had splendidly entertained, were unwilling to accept of his Invitations a second Time, for fear of putting him to an excessive Expence. But he told them that they were mistaken. They had only shared with him what was provided for himself. And indeed the Superfluities of his Table were sufficient for many People. He never lessened this Magnificence when he dined alone. One Day, when he had invited no Body, and his Officers had made a more frugal Provision than usual; he reproved them with a magisterial Air, and said, *Did you not know, that Lucullus was to sup here?*



real Temple of *The Muses*, which was open to all that would come. He loved to converse there with Men of Letters, and the System of Philosophy he liked best was that of *The Old Academy*. At length this voluptuous Life ended in a kind of <sup>18</sup> *Stupefaction*, which is said to have been brought upon him, by a Drink which one of his Domesticks prepared for him, to gain his Favour. He <sup>19</sup> died in a very advanced Age; and was as much lamented by the *Romans*, as if he had been in his greatest Flow of Prosperity.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXVII.  
M. ÆMILI-  
US LEPIDUS,  
& L. VOLCA-  
TIUS TUL-  
LUS, Consuls.

§. IX. *Lucullus* was yet solliciting the Senate and People for a *Triumph*, when *Pompey* entered upon the Career, which his Predecessor had made easy for him. He made it his first Business, to shut up the Sea, from *Phœnicia* to the Entrance into *The Bosphorus*. Then he sent to sound *Mithridates*, whether he would conclude a Peace with him. How greatly would it have redounded to his Glory, if he could have finished a War, which had lasted four and twenty Years, with the bare Terror of his Name! But *Mithridates* had very different Views. *Arfaces* the King of the *Parthians*, being lately dead, and his Son <sup>20</sup> *Phraates* having succeeded him, *Mithridates* hoped that a young Prince at the Head of a warlike Nation, would have more Regard than his Predecessor to the common Interests of *Asia*, and join with him and *Tigranes* to drive the *Romans* out of it. Besides, the King of *Pontus* had assembled an Army of 30000 Foot, and between 2 and 3000 Horse, in his own Dominions. This made him so bold, as to send back *Pompey's* Deputies, and treat them as Spies. But when he knew, that the *Romans* had prevented him at the Court of *Phraates*, and that the *Parthian* King had signed a League with the *Pro-Consul*, his Conduct was very different. He humbled himself, and sent a Deputation to *Pompey* to desire a Peace; and then the *Roman* grew haughty in his turn, and told the Ambassadors, That he would have no regard to the Intreaties of *Mithridates*, till he promised to deliver up the *Roman* Deserters, and surrender himself and his Kingdom at Discretion. The Conditions were hard, and if he would have accepted them, the Deserters in his Camp, who were considerable in Number, would rather have murdered him, than have suffered themselves to be surrendered up by him into the Hands of a revengeful Republick. He was therefore forced to resolve to continue the War.

*Pompey* was yet in *Galatia*, where he assembled his Troops, that were dispersed on the Coasts and in the Islands. The *Legions* of *Valerius*, which were formerly so earnest in desiring to be dismissed, came to him, and thereby shewed him to be more fortunate, if not better beloved, than *Lucullus*. As soon as he had formed his Army, he marched for *Little Armenia*, in order to go down from thence to *Pontus*. *Mithridates* came to meet him at the Head of his Army, which consisted of old Troops, and posted himself on Mount <sup>21</sup> *Dasira*, in the Province of <sup>22</sup> *Acislena*. There he lived at ease in a Friend's Country, and thought of nothing but causing the *Romans* to perish for Want. But *Pompey* had provided for the Subsistence of his Troops, by the Provisions he had gathered together, and carried with him. The Armies were therefore soon in sight; and tried one another by Skirmishes and slight Engagements, in which *Mithridates* often had the Advantage. He fell down from the top of his Mountain on the *Roman* Squadrons, and put them in disorder. But the King was obliged to quit this advantageous Post, for want of Water; and encamp in the Plain. Then *Pompey* instantly took his Place; and considering the freshness of the Herbs and Plants, and the verdure of the Trees, that grew upon the Mountain, he concluded that it must abound with Springs of fresh Water, and was not mistaken. So that he enjoyed the same Advantages *Mithridates* had had, without any Inconvenience; and he knew how to make the

<sup>18</sup> His Understanding was so far gone, towards the end of his Life, that his Brother was obliged to take upon him the Care of his Estate.

<sup>19</sup> The People and Nobility of *Rome* lamented his Death, and honoured him by Mourning a great while for him. Several young *Romans* of high Birth carried his Corps on a Bed of State, to the Place of Burial. The *Citizens* who attended it in Crouds to the Tomb, would have buried him by way of Distinction in *The Field of Mars*, if his Brother *Marcus* had not informed them, that Preparations were made for the Funeral, at his fine Seat of *Tusculum*.

<sup>20</sup> *Arfaces Sinatrockes*, the eleventh King of the *Parthians*, from the Foundation of that Monarchy, Vol. V.

had succeeded his Brother *Arfaces Mnaskyres*, at the Age of 24 Years; and after a Reign of 7 Years, he died in the Year of *Rome* 684, and left his Throne to his Son *Phraates the third*, whom he had associated with him in the Government, and who had had the chief Authority in the Life-time of his Father.

<sup>21</sup> According to *Strabo*, B. 12, The Name of *Dasira* was common to a Mountain and City in *Great Armenia*.

<sup>22</sup> The same Geographer tells us, That *Acislena* was a little Province of *Armenia*, between Mount *Taurus* and the Place where the *Euphrates* makes an Elbow, when it turns its Course towards the South.



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The Senate expected to have found *Lucullus*, who was so famous for his Exploits, an active Support, who would have been some balance to the formidable Interest of *Pompey*; but they were utterly disappointed. He laid aside all Business, and was wholly intent on spending his Days in Ease and Pleasure. His Wife *Clodia* was the only Object of his Resentment. He divorced her, in order to marry *Servilia* the Sister of *Cato*, who in point of Incest, was little less vicious than *Clodia*, and had not one of her Brother's Virtues. So that, being unhappy in his Wives, he indulged himself in Indolence, and forgot the Hero. The end of his Life, was like a Droll-Entertainment at the End of a serious Play. He gave himself wholly up to Debatches, Masquerades, Feasts, and nocturnal Excursions. Indeed some of his Pleasures were elegant, and his Taste refined. He built stately Palaces in the City and the Country, and adorned them with Baths, and magnificent Galleries; which he graced with the finest Pictures, and most valuable Statues *Greece* could produce. The immense Riches he had amassed, were abundantly sufficient to defray the Expences of his Curiosities, and his Table, which was the best served of any <sup>15</sup> in the World. His Gardens and Fish-Ponds of salt and fresh Water are particularly extolled, as being always full of the most exquisite Fish; some of his Country-houses were for the Winter, others for the Summer; and he said, *He* <sup>16</sup> *was like a Bird of Passage, which changes its Climate according to the Season.* He called his Halls by the Names of the Gods and Goddesses; and according to the difference of his Company, he ordered Dinner to be served up, in <sup>17</sup> *The Apollo*, for instance, or *The Juno*; where the Entertainment was always suitable to the Place and Company. That is, he sometimes spent 50000 \* *Drachmæ* at one Entertainment. But the Expence he was at in furnishing his Library was better approved of by Men of Honour, than the Profusion of his Table. The Place and Choice of Books made his House a

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 \* 1614 11 8  
 Sterl.

Horsemen in Iron Armour from Head to Foot, 60 Lords of *Pontus* and *Armenia* in Chains, 110 Gallies armed with their Beaks, and the stately Buckler of *Mithridates* covered with precious Stones.

\* 87187 l.  
 Sterl.  
 13 *Plutarch* computes this Money at 2700000 *Drachmæ*, that is, 1350000 *Livres*.

14 In the Procession were carried the Registers, that shewed what Sums *Lucullus* had supplied *Pompey* with for carrying on the War with the Pyrates, what Money he remitted to the publick Treasury, and how much he had spent in his Bounties to his Soldiers before the Ceremony, when he gave every private Man 950 *Drachmæ*, and the Officers in Proportion. The Ceremony was concluded with magnificent Feasts which *Lucullus* made for the People of *Rome*, and those of the neighbouring Towns.

15 *Plutarch* says, That at *Lucullus's* Feasts People were never tired with admiring the stately Beds prepared for the Guests, the Glitter of the precious Stones and Plate that loaded the Buffet, and the great Plenty of the most exquisite Meats that covered his Table. And that nothing might be wanting to regale the Senses, adds the Historian, Concerts of Musick, or Plays, generally accompanied these delicious Entertainments. *Cato*, though the Friend and Brother-in-Law of *Lucullus*, often exclaimed with Bitterness against these Profusions. He frequently reproached him with his far-fetched Niceties. One Day when he was tired with the Discourse of a young *Roman* about his own Frugality, he, starting up suddenly, interrupted him with, *Will you never have done boasting of your Temperance; You, that are as rich as Crassus, live like Lucullus, and talk like Cato?* But *Cicero*, who valued himself on his Strictness of Life, never blamed these Excesses. He thought *Lucullus* obliged to restore to the Republick by his Liberalities, the Riches which he was accused of having amassed out of Avarice.

16 This was his Answer to *Pompey*, when he paid him a Visit at *Tusculum*, and in raillery told him, That his House was a delightful Place in the Summer, but uninhabitable in the Winter.

17 Each of his Halls had its own Furniture, and Services, and Expence, appropriated to it. *Plutarch* says, That *Cicero* and *Pompey*, having one Day met *Lucullus*, offered him to come and sup with him. *With all my Heart*, said he, *fix your Day.* To morrow, replied *Cicero*, *provided you will add nothing extraordinary.* *Lucullus* desired them to put it off to the next Day, that he might have time to make Preparation for them, but they would not consent. They would not so much as suffer him to give any Orders to his Domesticks. Only one of them was sent in the Name of his Master to give Notice that they would sup in *The Apollo*. The Expence allowed to entertain his Friends in this Hall was 50000 *Drachmæ*, that is, 25000 *Livres*; and the two Guests greatly admired the Dispatch, the Order, the Sumptuousness, the Taste, and the Elegance, of the Feast.

Not that *Lucullus's* Profuseness was confined to set Entertainments. When he was alone, he denied himself nothing that could regale his delicate Taste. Some *Greeks* whom he had splendidly entertained, were unwilling to accept of his Invitations a second Time, for fear of putting him to an excessive Expence. But he told them that they were mistaken. They had only shared with him what was provided for himself. And indeed the Superfluities of his Table were sufficient for many People. He never lessened this Magnificence when he dined alone. One Day, when he had invited no Body, and his Officers had made a more frugal Provision than usual; he reproved them with a magisterial Air, and said, *Did you not know, that Lucullus was to sup here?*



real Temple of *The Muses*, which was open to all that would come. He loved to converse there with Men of Letters, and the System of Philosophy he liked best was that of *The Old Academy*. At length this voluptuous Life ended in a kind of <sup>18</sup> Stupefaction, which is said to have been brought upon him, by a Drink which one of his Domesticks prepared for him, to gain his Favour. He <sup>19</sup> died in a very advanced Age; and was as much lamented by the *Romans*, as if he had been in his greatest Flow of Prosperity.

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LUS, Consuls.

§. IX. *Lucullus* was yet solliciting the Senate and People for a *Triumph*, when *Pompey* entered upon the Career, which his Predecessor had made easy for him. He made it his first Business, to shut up the Sea, from *Phœnicia* to the Entrance into *The Bosphorus*. Then he sent to sound *Mithridates*, whether he would conclude a Peace with him. How greatly would it have redounded to his Glory, if he could have finished a War, which had lasted four and twenty Years, with the bare Terror of his Name! But *Mithridates* had very different Views. *Arfaces* the King of the *Parthians*, being lately dead, and his Son <sup>20</sup> *Phraates* having succeeded him, *Mithridates* hoped that a young Prince at the Head of a warlike Nation, would have more Regard than his Predecessor to the common Interests of *Asia*, and join with him and *Tigranes* to drive the *Romans* out of it. Besides, the King of *Pontus* had assembled an Army of 30000 Foot, and between 2 and 3000 Horse, in his own Dominions. This made him so bold, as to send back *Pompey's* Deputies, and treat them as Spies. But when he knew, that the *Romans* had prevented him at the Court of *Phraates*, and that the *Parthian* King had signed a League with the *Pro-Consul*, his Conduct was very different. He humbled himself, and sent a Deputation to *Pompey* to desire a Peace; and then the *Roman* grew haughty in his turn, and told the Ambassadors, That he would have no regard to the Intreaties of *Mithridates*, till he promised to deliver up the *Roman* Deserters, and surrender himself and his Kingdom at Discretion. The Conditions were hard, and if he would have accepted them, the Deserters in his Camp, who were considerable in Number, would rather have murdered him, than have suffered themselves to be surrendered up by him into the Hands of a revengeful Republick. He was therefore forced to resolve to continue the War.

*Pompey* was yet in *Galatia*, where he assembled his Troops, that were dispersed on the Coasts and in the Islands. The *Legions* of *Valerius*, which were formerly so earnest in desiring to be dismissed, came to him, and thereby shewed him to be more fortunate, if not better beloved, than *Lucullus*. As soon as he had formed his Army, he marched for *Little Armenia*, in order to go down from thence to *Pontus*. *Mithridates* came to meet him at the Head of his Army, which consisted of old Troops, and posted himself on Mount <sup>21</sup> *Daftira*, in the Province of <sup>22</sup> *Acislena*. There he lived at ease in a Friend's Country, and thought of nothing but causing the *Romans* to perish for Want. But *Pompey* had provided for the Subsistence of his Troops, by the Provisions he had gathered together, and carried with him. The Armies were therefore soon in fight; and tried one another by Skirmishes and slight Engagements, in which *Mithridates* often had the Advantage. He fell down from the top of his Mountain on the *Roman* Squadrons, and put them in disorder. But the King was obliged to quit this advantageous Post, for want of Water; and encamp in the Plain. Then *Pompey* instantly took his Place; and considering the freshness of the Herbs and Plants, and the verdure of the Trees, that grew upon the Mountain, he concluded that it must abound with Springs of fresh Water, and was not mistaken. So that he enjoyed the same Advantages *Mithridates* had had, without any Inconvenience; and he knew how to make the

<sup>18</sup> His Understanding was so far gone, towards the end of his Life, that his Brother was obliged to take upon him the Care of his Estate.

<sup>19</sup> The People and Nobility of *Rome* lamented his Death, and honoured him by Mourning a great while for him. Several young *Romans* of high Birth carried his Corps on a Bed of State, to the Place of Burial. The *Citizens* who attended it in Crouds to the Tomb, would have buried him by way of Distinction in *The Field of Mars*, if his Brother *Marcus* had not informed them, that Preparations were made for the Funeral, at his fine Seat of *Tusculum*.

<sup>20</sup> *Arfaces Sinatrockes*, the eleventh King of the *Parthians*, from the Foundation of that Monarchy,

had succeeded his Brother *Arfaces Mnashyres*, at the Age of 24 Years; and after a Reign of 7 Years, he died in the Year of *Rome* 684, and left his Throne to his Son *Phraates the third*, whom he had associated with him in the Government, and who had had the chief Authority in the Life-time of his Father.

<sup>21</sup> According to *Strabo*, B. 12, The Name of *Daftira* was common to a Mountain and City in *Great Armenia*.

<sup>22</sup> The same Geographer tells us, That *Acislena* was a little Province of *Armenia*, between Mount *Taurus* and the Place where the *Euphrates* makes an Elbow, when it turns its Course towards the South.



Year of best use of them. He hid all his light-armed Infantry together with 500 Horse in *ROME* a Place covered with Bushes, at the Foot of the Mountain; and sent the rest of his Squadrons to insult the Enemy, with Orders to retire and draw the King's Horse to the Place of Ambush. And the Affair succeeded beyond Expectation. Very few of *Mithridates's* 3000 Horse escaped, to carry the News of their Defeat.

This good Success raised *Pompey's* Spirits, and lessened the Confidence the King put in his Cavalry. Besides, there was greater Plenty in the *Roman* Camp; and the Attacks of the Barbarians were less frequent. And as all the Country was laid waste, the King now began to be in Want, and was forced to leave *Little Armenia*, to secure himself in the inner Parts of his Dominions. *Pompey* followed him, with a Resolution to bring him to a general Action. But the King was encamped on so advantageous a Post, that he was inaccessible. Then the *Roman* General undertook to starve him in the Center of his own Territories; by surrounding his Camp with a Rampart, which was 150 *Stadia* in Circumference, and guarded with little Forts at proper Distances. The King very peaceably suffered himself to be shut in, either out of Fear of running too great Hazards if he interrupted the Workmen, or out of a Bravado; and seemed to despise a Work, which he imagined could only be a Fatigue to the Workmen. But he soon repented of his Inactivity. The Famine was so great in his Camp, that after his Men had long lived on the Flesh of Horses and Mules, he found it necessary to break through the *Roman* Lines, in order to escape. To this end, he ordered all his sick Soldiers, and those that were weakened by the Famine, to be killed, leaving only the most healthy and robust alive; and with this small Body, ventured in the Night-time to break through the *Roman* Trenches, and took his Rout towards *Great Armenia*, where he hoped to join *Tigranes*, and receive some Succours from him.

*Dio Cassius L.*  
36.

§. X. Since *Pompey* had been at the Head of the *Roman* Armies in the *Levant*, the Affairs of old *Tigranes* were much altered. Young *Tigranes* his Son, by *Cleopatra* the Daughter of *Mithridates*, had revolted from his Father. The young Prince, tho' designed for the Throne, had been corrupted by some *Armenian* Lords, who were dissatisfied with the old King. Indeed, the Son lived in continual Alarms at the Court of a jealous and suspicious Father. He had seen his two elder Brothers put to Death by him. *Sariaster* the eldest, had been killed in Battle, by the King's Orders, for entering into Cabals against him; and the second had been beheaded for a much less Fault. Old *Tigranes* had fallen from his Horse, as he was hunting with his Son; the Prince had not been quick enough to raise him up, and had jocosely put on his own Head the Diadem which had fallen from the King's; and for this very pardonable Fault he was condemned to die. The third Son therefore was weary of living at this time of Life under continual Constraint, with a cruel Father, who was exasperated on the least Suspicion. He was already near forty Years of Age; and one of his Daughters had married *Phraates* the new King of the *Parthians*. Besides, the Father and Son had a Dispute about a Treasure hid in *Sophene* <sup>23</sup>, a Province which the Father had given his Son. All these Reasons induced the Prince to withdraw to the King of *Parthia* his Son-in-Law, and to take up Arms against the King his Father.

Besides, *Phraates* had entered into a League with *Pompey*, and had just declared War with the King of *Armenia*. *Gordiene* had long been a Bone of Contention between the two Neighbours; and *Phraates* made this his Pretence for taking Arms. But his real Design was to find *Tigranes* Employment in his own Country, and deprive *Mithridates* of the Succours he might expect, from a King who was his Defender and Ally. So that when *Mithridates* arrived in *Armenia*, he found King *Tigranes* embarrassed with this new War with his Son, and the King of *Parthia*. The *Parthians* had already advanced far into his Territories, and begun the Siege of *Artaxata*. Their King continued for some time before the besieged City, and then left young *Tigranes* to make this Conquest upon his Father. Old *Tigranes* durst not attempt any Thing against his Son and *Phraates* while they continued together; but as soon as the King of *Parthia* was gone, he fell upon his Son, and though he had a large Army under his Command, beat him, and forced him to flee, and raise the Siege. The fugitive Prince had still one Resource left, which was to his Grandfather *Mithridates*; but he was soon informed, that that Prince was so far from being able to assist the unfortunate, that he was himself reduced to the utmost Danger. And then he fixed

<sup>23</sup> *Sophene* was a little Province of *Great Armenia*, and bordered on *Mesopotamia*.



his Hopes on *Pompey*, went over to him, and was graciously received. *Pompey* was a Friend to *Phraates*, and an Enemy to old *Tigranes*; and both these Considerations led the *Pro-Consul* to shew the more Regard to the young Prince.

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§. XI. In the mean time, the *Roman* Army, enlarged with all the Troops *Marcus Rex* had under his Command, made long Marches, in pursuit of *Mithridates*. The King of *Pontus* marched a great Way about, never moved but in the Night, and in the Day encamped only in thick Forests or inaccessible Places. *Pompey* followed him close and harassed him, in order to draw him to a Battle; and at length, the two Armies drew near to the *Euphrates*. If the King could have got first to this River, and passed it safely, he would have saved himself and his Army; and therefore *Pompey* made it his whole Business, to bring him to fight before he got thither. But the King resolved to wait the attack of the *Romans* in his Camp, not to fight unless forced to it, and still to keep before the Enemy's Army, in order to try to pass the *Euphrates* with the less Difficulty. This the *Roman* General saw was his View; and in order to gain a March upon him, *Pompey* set out at Noon, the Time the Men usually rested for some Hours in both Camps; and passing through cross Roads, came and posted himself on an Eminence, in the Road through which the King must necessarily pass, in order to gain his Point. In this advantageous Situation the *Romans* continued drawn up in Battalia, tho' the Night closed; and *Mithridates* not having discovered that they were got before him, entered with Confidence into the Valley which reached to the Foot of the Hill, where the *Pro-Consul* was waiting for him.

And now, whether he liked it or not, the King was under a Necessity of fighting. Upon the Approach of the Enemy, *Pompey* made a terrible Noise in his Army. The Trumpets sounded, the Soldiers shouted and beat their Bucklers, and the Servants of the Camp made an horrible din with striking their Pots and Kettles. The Surprise, Noise, and Darkness together, confounded the King's Troops, who were in no Order but what was observed in a Night-march, when no Danger is expected, and whose Camels, Mules, and Baggage, were confusedly mixed with their Infantry and Cavalry; and the *Romans* immediately attacked them with their Slings and Arrows. Then they came to a closer Engagement, and broke the King's Battalions. The Darkness was such, that the Men felt the Wounds, before they could perceive from whence they came. However, at length the Moon appeared, and gave one Party Hopes of being able to defend themselves with more Certainty, the other of carrying on their Attack with the less Danger. But her appearance likewise was favourable to the *Romans*. She was behind their Backs, and the length of their Shadows made the Barbarians think them nearer than they were. For this Reason they threw their Darts but a little way, and cast their Weapons to no purpose. In short, *Pompey* fell with such Fury on the *Phalanx* of *Mithridates*, that he obliged it to flee; and then the Slaughter increased. The Enemy left 10000 Men dead upon the Spot, and lost as many Prisoners.

But the King did not wait for the total Rout of his Army before he fled: As soon as he found he should be defeated, he broke through a Battalion of *Romans* with a Squadron of 800 Men; and then his Guard dispersed, and left him with only three Persons, one of whom was one of his Mistresses, who had always fought by his Side. *Hyfcratea* the fair Greek, was a true Heroine; whose Name *Mithridates* had changed into that of *Hyfscirates*, because she had a more manly Courage than the bravest Soldiers in his Army. After she had fought in the Battle on Horseback, in a Man's Persian Habit, she followed the King, and never left him; dressed his Wounds, and bore the Fatigues of a long Flight, with a Constancy which would have been admired in the most robust and faithful Man. At length the King arrived at one of his Castles, which he had built on the Frontiers of the two *Armenia's*, called *Sinovia*; and thither also came the Remains of his Army. He had deposited some of his Treasures in this Place; and he gave Money to the Soldiers that were escaped out of the Battle, to engage them to follow him: And with the Money, he gave every one a Box of Poison, that he might have it in his Power to deliver himself out of the Miseries of Captivity whenever he pleased. Then he entered into *Great Armenia*, where *Tigranes* would not see him, from a false Persuasion that he had debauched his Son; and from thence went to the very Springs of the *Euphrates*, passed that River, entered *Colchis*, assembled all his old Troops that he could, and made new Levies.

Plut. in Pomp.  
Liv. Epit. L.  
101. c. 5.

§. XII. In the mean while, *Pompey*, after he had in vain pursued him, rested in the Place where he had been victorious, and there founded a new City which he called  
*Nicopolis*,



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*Nicopolis*, in Memory of his Victory. The Situation being agreeable, between the *Euphrates* and the *Araxis*, the weak and wounded, and a certain Number of the Servants of the Army which the General left, were very glad by peopling it to form a new Colony, and *Pompey* drew the Plan of it. And now, having forced *Mithridates* to lead a rambling Life in the North of *Asia*, the Roman General next turned his Arms against *Tigranes* the Father, at the Request of the Son. The Prince assured *Pompey*, That the old King's Subjects would not hold out long against the Roman Valour, because impatient to see *him*, the Heir apparent, seated on the Throne. The Roman Army therefore entered *Great Armenia*, and the Way, if I may so speak, was paved to their Hands. Most of the Cities surrendered to *Pompey* or young *Tigranes*; and the old King was ready to be stripped of all, when he resolved to try the Clemency of the Roman Pro-Consul. He first delivered up to him the Ambassadors of *Mithridates* that were at his Court, and then sent a Deputy to negotiate a Peace with him. The greatest Obstacles he met with in it, were from his Son, who was perpetually solliciting *Pompey*, and at last induced him, to pass the *Araxis*, and fall upon his Father. But when the Roman Army was not far from *Artaxata*, the King resolved to deliver up the City into *Pompey's* Hands, surrender himself, and treat personally with him of a Peace. A Mark of Confidence which highly flattered the Pro-Consul's Vanity, and had a very happy Effect, with regard to the old King.

*Pompey* was naturally magnanimous, and affected with the least Marks of Respect. As soon as he knew, that the old King was coming to his Camp, he in honour to him, sent his chief Officers to meet him. But the Prince did not go. The old King who had given no notice of his coming, was alarmed to see so large a Company advance towards him; and his Guards dispersed. Nevertheless, *Tigranes* continued to advance, and was soon encouraged by the Civilities he received. But he was notwithstanding, a little surprized, when the Guard at the Gate of the Roman Camp, desired him to dismount. It was an inviolable Law among the Roman Soldiers, not to suffer any Stranger to enter their Camp, but on Foot. *Tigranes* expected, that he should likewise be obliged to put off his Royal Robes before he was brought into the Pro-Consul's Presence; and he conformed himself to his present Condition, and readily laid aside the purple Vest, and white *Simar* which he wore after the *Persian* manner, but kept the Royal Ornaments on his Head. When he came into the *Pretorium*, he fell prostrate before the Pro-Consul, and said; *I am doing to you, my Lord, what I would not have done to any King upon Earth, or to any other Roman General. It is not to your Rank, but to your Virtue, that I pay this Homage.* And at these Words, threw his Turban and royal Fillet at *Pompey's* Feet. The Roman raised him up; replaced those Marks of Royalty on his Head; always treated him as a King, made him sit down, and seated himself in the middle between the Father and the Son. Then followed an affecting Conversation between *Pompey* and the King. *Tigranes* represented the Reasons of his Rupture with *Rome*, and imputed it wholly to *Mithridates* and *Lucullus*. One had affected him with Compassion for his Sufferings, the other had raised his Resentment by his Haughtiness and Avarice. *Pompey* comforted him with a very gracious Deportment, and not only gave him Hopes, that his Dominions should not be taken from him, but even assured him of the Protection and Friendship of the Roman Senate and People. But *Pompey* was displeased with the Prince's Conduct at this Interview. He shewed no manner of Civility to his Father, not so much as even to stand in his Presence: And he afterwards absented himself from the Entertainment, to which he was invited with the King.

§. XIII. The next Day, *Pompey* undertook to reconcile the Father and Son, and adjusted their Disputes. He restored to old *Tigranes* the entire Possession of the Dominions he had inherited from his Fathers; but took from him the greatest Part of his new Acquisitions. All that he had invaded in *Cappadocia*, all that had been given him in *Syria*, and that Part of *Phœnicia* which he possessed, were taken from him: *Sophene*, which he had given his Son for his Portion, was allotted to young *Tigranes* with *Gordiene*; and the Consul adjudged the hidden Treasures, which had caused the Difference between them, to the Father. The King submitted without Reply to this Determination of a Roman Consul, made at the Head of an Army; but the Son shewed his dislike of it, and wanted to escape out of *Pompey's* sight. The Romans therefore watched him, and he was forced to deliver up the Treasure to the Person to whom *Pompey* had adjudged it. The Guardians who were in Possession, opposed it, and declared that they



could not without Breach of Faith, deliver it to the Father, unless they had the express Orders of the Son for so doing. *Pompey* therefore ordered young *Tigranes* to be carried to the Place; and there, surrounded by a Body of *Romans*, he gave what Orders they desired. These Orders the Guardians also disputed, because, as they affirmed, extorted by Violence; but at last they complied. And then old *Tigranes* had Riches enough to pay *Pompey* the 6000 *Talents* agreed on, and make large Presents to the Officers and Soldiers of the *Roman Army*.

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In the mean time, *Phraates*, who had at first declared himself a Friend and Ally to the *Romans*, took it ill, that young *Tigranes*, his Father-in-Law, should be kept in a kind of Captivity; and therefore sent a Deputation to *Pompey*, to demand two Things. First, That the Prince should be sent to him; and 2dly, That the *Romans* should make the *Euphrates* the Bounds of their Empire. The *Pro-Consul* answered, That it was proper the Son should be put into his Father's Hands; and That *Rome* knew no other Limits than those of Justice and the Law of Nations.

The only Person who got by *Pompey's* stay in *Armenia*, was *Ariobarzanes*; who received from him a Reward answerable to the constant Attachment he had always shewn to the *Roman Party*. The *Pro-Consul* not only re-established him in *Cappadocia* which *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* had dispossessed him of, but put him in possession of *Sophene* and *Gordiene*, which he took from the Prince of *Armenia*, on the following Occasion. Young *Tigranes*, who was now in all appearance reinstated in his Father's Favour, plotted against him a second Time to take away his Life; and *Pompey* could not bear the repeated Crimes of so wicked a Son. Besides, he had been informed, that the ungrateful Prince had solicited the King of the *Parthians*, to take up Arms against the *Romans*. So that being at last tired out with this Monster's Ingratitude, and his continual Attempts upon his Father's Life, *Pompey* seized him, put him in Chains, ordered *Metellus Celer*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, to guard him, and kept him for his Triumph.

These Things caused *Pompey* to delay a little pursuing *Mithridates* in his Flight; but his abode in *Armenia* was not fruitless. By humbling *Tigranes*, he put it in his Power, to add *Syria* to the vast Empire of the *Romans*. A Revolution which the *Roman Historians* have omitted, and overlooked with as much Negligence, as if it had been indifferent to *Rome*, whether she possessed *Syria*, or not; and we will therefore supply this defect.

§. XIV. *Syria* had long been divided between two Brothers of the Race of the *Seleucidæ* who disputed for the Throne. One was *Antiochus* <sup>25</sup> *Gryphus*; the other <sup>26</sup> *Cyzicenus* his Brother, by the Mother's side, and the Son of *Sidetes*: And as their De-

<sup>24</sup> *Plutarch* says, That old *Tigranes* was so delighted with being acknowledged to be King of *Armenia* by the *Romans*, that he promised to give every Soldier half a *Mina*, every *Centurion* 10 *Minæ*, and every *Tribune* a *Talent*. The *Mina*\*, as we have observed, was the 60th Part of an *Attick Talent*, and was worth 100 *Drachmæ*, or 50 *Livres*.

<sup>25</sup> *Antiochus the Eighth*, surnamed *Gryphus*, because he had a *Gryphin's* Nose, has the Surname of *Epiphanes* on the Medals. *Josephus* gives him that of *Philometor*. He was the Son of *Demetrius Nicator* and *Cleopatra*. After the Death of his Brother *Seleucus the Fifth*, who was killed with an Arrow by his own Mother, he returned to *Athens*, where he employed himself in studying the *Greek Learning*, and caused himself to be proclaimed King of *Syria*. He had a formidable Rival in *Alexander Zebina*, who had possessed himself of the greatest Part of his Dominions. But one Battle determined the Dispute in Favour of *Gryphus*. *Alexander* lost his Crown and his Life, after a Reign of four Years. *Antiochus*, now established on the Throne of his Ancestors, was next to guard against the Intrigues of his Mother *Cleopatra*. He knew that this Fury wanted his Crown, and had prepared Poison to get him out of the Way. He therefore forced her to drink the Poison she had prepared, and by her Death, she left him peaceable Possession of the Kingdom for eight Years. In this peaceful Interval he married *Tryphene*, the Daughter of *Ptolomy*

*Physcon*. Then a new Competitor appeared, and contended with him for the Sovereignty of *Syria*. This was *Antiochus of Cyzicus*, his Brother by the Mother's Side, who was victorious, and having seized *Tryphene*, inhumanly ordered her to be put to Death. The vanquished King posted himself in *Cælo-Syria*, and maintained a War with his Brother for 18 Years. At length he was assassinated by the Traitor *Heracleon*, whom he had loaded with Benefits, and left his Kingdom a Prey to several Pretenders, who were all of the Race of the *Seleucidæ*. The Historians make him to have reigned 26 Years, and lived 45.

<sup>26</sup> *Antiochus the Ninth*, the Son of *Antiochus Sidetes* and *Cleopatra* was surnamed *Cyzicenus*, because brought up in the City of *Cyzicus*. He had great Contests to maintain with *Gryphus* his Brother by the Mother's side. And when he was at last delivered from this Rival, a more dangerous one started up in the Person of *Seleucus the Sixth* his Nephew, who, according to *Josephus*, deprived him of his Crown and Life. But if we may credit *Porphyry* as quoted by *Eusebius*, he killed himself for fear of falling into the Conqueror's Hands. Nor had *Seleucus* a more happy Fate. According to *Josephus* and *Appian*, after he had been defeated in a pitched Battle by *Antiochus the Tenth*, surnamed *The Pious*, he was burned alive in his own Palace. But *Porphyry* says, he saved himself from the Violence of the Flames, by a voluntary Death.

l. s. d.  
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Sterl.



Year of scendants inherited their Hatred, they perpetuated it. When *Gryphus* died, he left five Sons, *Seleucus*, *Antiochus*, *Philippus*, *Demetrius*, and another *Antiochus*. *Seleucus* the eldest succeeded his Father, and made War with his Uncle; whom he conquered in Battle, made Prisoner of War, and put to Death. Then the Son of *Cyzicenus*, named also *Antiochus*, took up Arms, claimed the whole divided Kingdom, drove *Seleucus* out of *Syria*, revenged the Death of his Father, and from thence took the Name of *The Pious*. *Seleucus* grieved to see himself deprived, died soon after at *Mopsu-esta*; and left *Antiochus Pius* sole Master of *Syria*. But he did not enjoy it long in Peace. The second Son of *Gryphus*, named also *Antiochus*, put himself at the Head of an Army, and took the Field to maintain his Rights, and avenge the Death of his Brother *Seleucus*. However, the Success was not answerable to his Courage. He died in the Battle; and then *Antiochus Pius* enjoyed the Crown in more Tranquillity. *Philippus* the third Son of *Gryphus*, durst not venture alone to fight the Son of *Cyzicenus*. He chose rather to take some Provinces from the King of *Syria*, and make himself a Sovereign over them. *Demetrius* the fourth Son of *Gryphus*, following his Brother's Example, begged the Assistance of *Ptolomy Lathurus* King of *Ægypt*, and with the help of some of his Troops, seized a Part of *Syria*, and erected for himself an independent Sovereignty there. But then the two Brothers, *Philippus* and *Demetrius*, joined together to make War with *Antiochus Pius*; and he could not hold out against their united Forces. He lost his Life, fighting with great Bravery at the Head of his Party, and at his Death left a Son of his own Name.

Then the two Sons of *Gryphus* might have continued in peaceable Possession of *Syria*, and reigned long there; if Ambition had not broken off that good Intelligence which had been the Cause of their Conquest. But *Demetrius* was the Aggressor, and attacked his Brother in that Part of *Syria* which he possessed. In the height of his Misfortunes, *Philippus* had recourse to the *Parthians*, who sent him so powerful, and so seasonable Succours, that upon the first attack *Demetrius* surrendered to them, and was carried into their Country, where he languished away and died. So that the only remaining Princes of the numerous Family of *Gryphus*, were now *Philippus* and *Antiochus*. The former was crowned at *Antioch*, and ordered himself to be proclaimed sole King of all *Syria*; not imagining that his youngest Brother would claim a Part of this great Inheritance. But *Antiochus* made good his Pretensions, seized *Cælosyria*, chose *Damascus* for the Capital of his new Kingdom; and when he was grown powerful went into *Arabia*, to make War with King *Aretas*. This was generously perhaps, but imprudently, leaving his Kingdom at the Mercy of his Brother *Philippus*; and the latter took the Advantage of his Absence, and seized *Damascus*. However, *Philippus* was soon driven out again, and even this did not teach *Antiochus* more Wisdom. He returned into *Arabia*, to renew the War, and there unfortunately perished with all his Troops. By his Death, all the Blood of the *Seleucidæ* was reduced to two Princes, *Philippus* the Son of *Gryphus*, and *Antiochus* the Grandson of *Cyzicenus*, and Son of *Antiochus Pius*; and if the latter had not been a very timorous Prince, the Dissentions of the Royal Family, which had begun with *Gryphus* and *Cyzicenus*, would still have continued between them. But *Antiochus* retired into one of the Kingdoms on the Coast of *Asia*, from thence called *Asiaticus*; and at length *Philippus* died without Children, after a Reign of about nine Years, and with him ended the Reign of the *Seleucidæ* which had lasted 228 Years.

§. XV. Indeed, the whole Race of the *Syrian* Kings descended from *Seleucus Nicator* was not extinct, since *Antiochus Asiaticus* was still alive; but his Flight into *Cilicia*, and his Incapacity to govern, made the *Syrians* despise him. They were grown weary of having been so long governed by a *Macedonian* Race of ambitious and turbulent Princes; and they sought for a King in their own Neighbourhood, who would maintain Peace at Home, and repulse all Enemies from Abroad. They first cast their Eyes on *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, but it was feared his Quarrels with *Rome* would bring a War upon *Syria*. Some *Satrapes* proposed placing *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt* on the Throne; but the *Egyptians* had always been at enmity and hatred with the *Syrians*. They therefore pitched on *Tigranes* King of *Armenia*, who was unanimously invited to supply the Place of the *Seleucidæ*, and he governed *Syria* in Tranquillity, till he received that Overthrow from *Lucullus* before *Tigranocerta*. Then the *Roman* his Conqueror, revived the Right of *Antiochus Asiaticus*, and placed this last Branch of the *Seleucidæ* on the Throne, in the Room of *Tigranes*. But this Disposition of *Lucullus* either

ROME  
DCLXXXVII.  
M. ÆMILI-  
US LEPIDUS,  
& L. VOLCA-  
TIUS TUL-  
LUS, Consuls.



either had no effect, or lasted so little a while, that no body has ever ranked *Antiochus Asiaticus* among the Kings of Syria. So that *Tigranes* possessed this great Kingdom 18 Years; and was not deprived of it, till *Pompey* imposed on him the hard Conditions of returning into *Armenia*, and confining his Ambition to the ancient Inheritance of his Forefathers: And then the Pretensions of *Antiochus Asiaticus* were revived.

*Syria* was without a Governour, and no body had more Right to rule there, than this Grandson of *Antiochus Cyzicenus*, the last surviving Branch of his Family. He therefore appeared before *Pompey*, represented the Misfortunes of his Family, urged the Justice of his Claim, and intreated the Roman not to exclude him from a Throne, on which his Ancestors had sat above 200 Years, with great Glory. But *Pompey* had only the outside of Virtue. If he did equitable Things, it was only in order to do himself Honour, and when they were so circumstantiated, that his doing so tended to aggrandize his Republick. And he was not afraid of doing an Act of great Injustice on this Occasion, when he could thereby procure for *Rome*, one of the finest and richest Kingdoms in the World. He gave *Antiochus* this very haughty and very disobliging Answer. *Don't imagine that you shall be put in Possession of a Crown which you have abandoned. Syria despises you, and refuses to have you reign over her. Why did not you force the Scepter from the Hands of Tigranes? You have lived these eighteen Years in dread of the Enemy which I have just now humbled. What Pretence then have you, to deprive his Conquerors, of the Rights which they have acquired by their Victory? The Kingdom of Syria belonged to Tigranes. The Syrian Nation invested him with it. Now Tigranes is conquered, he delivers himself up to us, and puts us in Possession of all his Rights. Syria therefore now belongs to us; and Rome can defend it better than you, from the Incursions of the Jews and Arabians. Thus Pompey took Advantage of the Divisions of an illustrious Family, to oppress an unfortunate Prince, usurp the Inheritance of the last Antiochus, and by the most notorious Act of Injustice, make Syria a Roman Province.*

§. XVI. This done, he no longer delayed to march in pursuit of *Mithridates*. In order to preserve his new Conquest, which had cost him so little Trouble, he left there *Afranius*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, at the Head of a large Body of Troops, with Orders to encamp between the *Euphrates* and the *Tygris*. Then he went in search of *Mithridates*, who was fled for Refuge to the furthest Part of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, beyond Mount *Caucasus*; and could not come up with him. The King of *Pontus* was more formidable for the Fatigues he brought on his Enemies who were bent on pursuing him, than for fighting. However, *Pompey* had at least an Opportunity to spread the Terror of the Roman Name, in the most distant Countries in the North of *Asia*. All the Space between the *Euxine* and the *Caspian* Seas was then possessed by three principal Nations. The first was the *Albanian*<sup>27</sup> to the East; the second was the<sup>28</sup> *Iberian* in the middle, and the third the *Colchian*, to the West next the *Euxine*: And all these vast Countries *Pompey* passed through, and made them know and dread his Republick. He first passed the River *Cyrnus*<sup>29</sup>; and being surprized with the first Frosts in a Part of *Albania* called<sup>30</sup> *Tanaitis*, he divided his Army into three Bodies, that he might the more conveniently put them into Winter-Quarters, at the Discretion of *Oreses* King of the *Albanians*.

27 It has been already observed, That the Country inhabited by the *Albani*, bordered on the *Caspian* Sea to the West, and on *Iberia*, to the East. This Country now comprehends *Daghestan* in *East-Georgia*, *Chipiacha*, and *Zitrachan*. It took its ancient Name from the River *Albanus* which falls into the *Caspian* Sea.

28 *Iberia*, the Country next to *Albania*, lies between Mount *Caucasus* to the North, *Armenia* to the South, *Albania* to the East, and *Colchis* to the West. It is now a Part of *West-Georgia*.

29 The *Cyrnus*, generally called the *Cyrus*, rises in the Mountains which divide *Armenia* from *Iberia*. The ancient Geographers are divided about the Mouths of this River. *Pliny* pretends, that the *Araxes* falls into it, and that after their Conflux, they ran in one

Bed to the *Caspian* Sea. *Ptolomy* divides the *Cyrus* into two Branches, one of which he joins with the *Araxes*, and carries the other to the Sea. *Plutarch* thinks, that these two Rivers first joined, and then fell by twelve Mouths into the Sea; and *Herodotus* makes those Mouths forty. Nevertheless, *Plutarch* owns, that his Opinion was disputed. He says, The *Cyrus* and *Araxes*, according to some, did not lose their Names till they came to the Sea, into which they ran through separate Channels. This was *Strabo's* Opinion. But modern Travellers agree with *Pliny* and *Plutarch*, That the *Araxes* falls into the *Kour*; which is the modern Name the People of the East give the *Cyrus*.  
30 *Dio Cassius* seems to be the only Author that mentions *Tanaitis*, one of the Cantons of *Albania*, which is watered by the *Cyrus*.



Year of §. XVII. The Winter forced him to continue in the Countries near Mount *Caucasus*,  
 ROME whilst *L. Aurelius Cotta* and *L. Manlius Torquatus* entered on the *Consulate* at Rome;  
 DCLXXXVIII. where their Election had not been peaceable, and their taking Possession had like to  
 L. AURELIUS have proved fatal to both. They had appeared for the *Consulship* at the last Promotion;  
 COTTA, & but had met with two Competitors who succeeded against them, not by any Supe-  
 L. MANLIUS riority of Merit or Birth, but by scandalous and illegal Intrigues. *P. Antonius Pætus*,  
 TORQUATUS, and *P. Cornelius Sylla*, the Son of the *Dictator's* Brother, bought the Suffrages of the  
 Consuls. People, and got their Nomination by Bribery; and this not managed in a private

*Salust. in Ca-*  
*talina.*  
*Dio Cass. L.*  
*36.*  
*Cic. de Lege*  
*Agraria.*

Way, but by a shameful publick Traffick. *Cotta* and *Torquatus* therefore complained aloud of an Offence committed in open defiance of the Law so often repeated, which forbad the ambitious to endeavour to gain Promotions to the first Dignities by unjust Means. This Election of *Consuls* and *Prætors*, was made on the first Day of *July*. So that the Persons whom the People chose, were to continue full six Months, viz. to the *Calends* of *January* following, with the Title of only *Consuls elect*; and in this interval, between the Appointment and Installation of *Antonius* and *Sylla*, *Cotta* and *Torquatus* had Time to accuse them of usurping the *Consulate* by unlawful Methods. The Crime was so notorious and avowed, that *Antonius* and *Sylla* were declared disqualified for their Office before they entered upon it; and this made it necessary to come to a new Election. But in the interim, a new Candidate arrived from beyond Sea, who contended with *Aurelius Cotta* and *Manlius Torquatus*, for the supreme Dignity at which they aspired<sup>31</sup>.

*Asconius.*  
*Pædia. in Ca-*  
*tilin. Cicero-*  
*nis.*

*L. Sergius Catilina*, a *Patrician* by Descent, and Great Grandson to the brave *M. Sergius* whose Glory we have<sup>32</sup> celebrated, was lately come from *Africa*, where he had been *Prætor*. His Government, like the rest of his Life, was remarkable only for a continued Course of infamous Debaucheries, and enormous Oppressions. He had, when very young, debauched a young Lady of distinguished Birth, who afterwards became his Mother-in-Law; and who had a Daughter by him whom he married, tho' he knew himself to be her Father. And to these Incests he added another, which was yet more odious in the Sight of the *Romans*. He was accused of having debauched *Fabia Terentia*, the *Vestal*, Sister of the famous *Terentia*, the Wife of *Cicero*; and all the Interest of *Catulus* was scarce sufficient, to screen the Priestess and her Debaucher from a capital Punishment. As for Murders, *Catiline* was charged with them of all Sorts. In the Time of *Sylla's* Proscriptions he had been *Sylla's* Tool, and the most merciless Minister of his Fury. But the most unpardonable Assassination he had been guilty of, was that of the Child of *Aurelia Orestilla*, an illustrious *Roman* Lady, by her first Husband. Her Affection for her Son had long kept her from consenting to a second Marriage: But *Catiline* fell desperately in Love with her, poisoned the Child, and then married his Mother. Such was the Villain who appeared in a white Robe in the Presence of the People, to dispute the *Consulate* with *Torquatus* and *Cotta*. But happily for the Republick, some Deputies from the *African Province* came to *Rome*, to complain of the Robberies of their<sup>33</sup> *Prætor*; and the Process they brought against him was not tried till after the *Comitia*, in which *L. Aurelius Cotta*, and *L. Manlius Torquatus* were elected *Consuls*.

*Cic. in Orat.*  
*pro Cælio.*

Perhaps no *Roman* ever had a greater Mixture of good and bad Qualities, nay such as are in some measure incompatible, than *Catiline*; tho' the Historians scarce mention any thing but his Vices. Or rather, he had only the Appearance, and some slender Marks, of Virtues, but not the Virtues themselves. In publick he conversed only with Men of Probity; in private, his Companions were Men of no Honour or Estate, and given up to Debauchery. In his House, some of the Apartments breathed

<sup>31</sup> The *Sergian* was a Family of distinguished Rank among the *Patricians*. It carried up its Origin to *Sergestus*, one of *Æneas's* Companions. It is no uncommon Vanity among great Men, to claim great Men to their Families, whose Names at all resemble their own, and carry up their Rise to fabulous Beginnings.

<sup>32</sup> See under the Year 556. Vol. 4. p. 80, 81. Note 128.

<sup>33</sup> It appears by *Cicero's Oration for Cælius*, that

*Catiline* was accused of Oppressions by *Publius Clodius*, the famous Villain, who when he afterwards became *Tribune of the People*, ruined *Rome* with his Acts of Violence. A Man of this Character was not Proof against Corruption. He was won over by the Criminal's Money, as *Cicero* reproaches him, in his Discourse, *De Aruspicum Responsis*. And *Cicero* says, in his *Oration for Publius Sylla*, That the *Consul Manlius Torquatus* was not ashamed to undertake the Defence of so pernicious a Citizen,

nothing



nothing but Effeminacy ; in others, you found nothing but the Marks of the ancient Year of Frugality, and what imported a Love of Labour and Fatigue. He was both fond of *ROME* Pleasure, and of the laborious Exercifes of War. He knew how to make his Conversation DCLXXXVIII. agreeable, both to the beſt and the worſt of Men. Since the Death of *Sylla*, he had L. AURELI- always affected to appear for the *Patrician* Party ; but his real Aim was to deſtroy the US COTTA, & Senate, and ruin the Republick. He ſometimes gave himſelf wholly up to Voluptuous- L. MANLIUS neſs ; ſometimes abſtained from bare Neceſſaries, and inured his Body to the ſevereſt TORQUATUS, Colds, and moſt violent Heats. He was continually employed either in ſeizing the Goods of others by Violence, or in ſquandering away his own with Profuſion. Like a good Actor, he accommodated himſelf to the Times, and the Manners of thoſe he converſed with ; always pretended to be what he was not, and never appeared to be what he was.

§. XVIII. With this Mixture of ſeeming Virtues and real Vices, no wonder that *Catiline* ſhould have about him a Company of Debauchees, whom he ſupported in their Debaucheries ; and likewise ſome Men of Underſtanding and Probity, who had not Sagacity enough to ſee through him, and were therefore impoſed on by him. And it was with a few of theſe Friends, of both Sorts, that he entered into his firſt Plot. He had then nothing in View, but to revenge himſelf on the two preſent *Conſuls*, for having been preferred before him ; and as his Deſigns were violent, he uſually conducted them, with more Boldneſs than Prudence. His firſt Conſpiracy was laid thus. Sal. in Catil. He choſe for his chief Confident, one *Cn. Calpurnius Piſo*, a young *Patrician*, whoſe Cicero, pluri- Similitude of Manners had ſo attached him to him, that they were inſeparable. Theſe bus Locis. two eaſily drew into their Meaſures *Antonius* and *Sylla*, the two late *Conſuls* elect, who Suetonius in had been deprived of a Dignity, which they had bought at a great Price : But found Cæſare. it more difficult, to engage two others, whoſe Aſſiſtance was of the utmoſt Importance to them. The firſt of theſe was *M. Cræſſus*, whoſe great Riches, Eloquence, and his Victory over *Spartacus*, had given him at preſent, the greateſt Share of Weight and Intereſt of any Lord in *Rome*. The other was *Julius Cæſar*, a young *Roman*, of an Sal. in Catil. high Birth, a vaſt Mind, but circumſpect, and of a boundleſs Ambition ; and who was very lately made *Ædile*, and thereby brought into the Road to higher Dignities. The moſt powerful Means they could find out were uſed to draw them into the Conſpiracy ; and at laſt they ſeemed rather to acquieſce, than to join, in it. However *Catiline* informed them, that on *The Calends of January*, when the new *Conſuls* went to preſide in the Senate for the firſt Time, he would break open the Doors, enter Sword in Hand, kill the *Conſuls* and ſuch of the Senators as were againſt him, and in the Tumult cauſe *Cræſſus* to be nominated *Dictator*, and *Cæſar*, his Maſter of the Horſe. The Hopes of the *Dictatorſhip* was a Temptation which *Cræſſus* could not reſiſt, and he conſented to all. But neither he, nor *Cæſar* ever met the Conſpirators. They managed ſo well, that nothing appeared againſt them but bare Suſpicions of their being Accomplices with *Catiline*. When the Day appointed for the Execution came, *Catiline* appeared armed with his Company, at the Door of the Senate-houſe ; and *Cæſar* is ſaid to have undertaken to give the Signal : which was, that he ſhould let fall the Lappets of his Robe, upon which the Conſpirators were to break into the Hall. But the Signal was not given, the Conſpirators diſappeared, and the Affair was put off to *The Nones of February*, the Day appointed for the uſual Meeting of *The Conſcript Fathers*, who were indiſpenſably obliged to aſſemble, at leaſt, three Times in a Month. Nor was this ſecond Attempt more ſucceſſful than the former. *Catiline* gave the Signal at an improper Time, before all his People were got together, and the Deſign of aſſaſinating the *Conſuls*, came to nought.

§. XIX. Nevertheleſs, *Cræſſus* and *Cæſar* ſtill retained ſome kind of Affection for *Catiline* and his Cabal. This appeared by the Step *Cræſſus* took in the Senate, in Favour of the ſeditious *Piſo*. *Cicero*, after his *Prætorſhip*, was to govern all *Spain* ; but he wiſely choſe to continue at *Rome*, where he was nearer at hand to ſecure his *Conſulſhip*, than if he had gone into his Province, and thereby cauſed his Merit to be forgotten. So that, the Place he was to have had becoming vacant by his Renunciation. *Cræſſus* undertook to get it for *Piſo* before any other, becauſe the young Debauchee was an avowed Enemy to *Pompey*. The *Conſuls* and *Conſcript Fathers* were not ſorry to ſee *Rome* delivered from a turbulent *Citizen*, whoſe Plots they feared ; and they readily conſented to ſend *Piſo* to *Spain*, in Quality of *Pro-Prætor*. There he either found Enemies, or ſoon made himſelf ſome by his Violences. For he was killed in his new Province,



Year of Province, by some Friends to *Pompey*, who tho' at so great distance as the middle of *Rome* *Asia*, was suspected of having contrived, and procured, the Assassination. But what Probability is there, that he could send such barbarous Orders so far, or that he even knew of the sudden Appointment of *Piso* to that Province? It is more likely, That they who were jealous of the Glory *Pompey* acquired in the *Levant*, daily encreased at *Rome*; and That the most timorous Republicans dreaded that vast Interest, which the Fame of his Exploits would give him among the People. So that, some out of Jealousy, others out of Love to their Country, endeavoured to disperse Slanders among the People, against the only Man whom they adored.

DCLXXXVIII  
L. AURELI-  
US COTTA, &  
L. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
Consuls.

Dio Cassius  
L. 36.

§. XX. *Pompey* was then spending his Winter in *Albania*, on the Coasts of the *Caspian Sea*. He had divided his Army, as we have observed, into three Bodies, and put them into different Quarters. 2. *Cæcilius Metellus Celer* commanded one, and he had under a Guard *Tigranes* the Son, whom *Pompey* had loaded with Irons, and carried every where with him, designing to bring him to *Rome* to grace his *Triumph*. Till the Feast of 34 *The Saturnalia*, *Oreses* King of *Albania*, suffered the *Romans* to continue peaceably in his Territories, where he had given them leave to spend the Winter. But when he knew, that the *Romans* would have great Rejoicings on that Day, he resolved to go and deliver *Tigranes*, surprize the *Romans* in their Quarters, and attack them with several Detachments, in several different Places, at the same Time. He undertook himself to attack *Metellus Celer* who guarded the Prince of *Armenia*, and detached two of his General Officers, one to act against *Pompey*, the other against *L. Flaccus* who commanded the other Division of the *Roman Army*. All these Troops to the Number of 40000, passed the *Cyrnus*, and went to defeat the *Romans*; but *Pompey* had had timely Notice of the Designs of the Enemy. He could have hindered the King from passing the River; but he chose to let him advance, and surround him in the Snares he intended for the *Romans*. *Oreses* fell first on *Metellus*, but found him on his Guard, and was repulsed. *Flaccus* deceived the Detachment *Oreses* had sent against him, by a Stratagem. The Walls of the City in which he was were double; and he pretending to be afraid of the Enemy, suffered them to enter within the first Wall, and then sallied upon them with such Fury from the second, that few of the *Albanian* Soldiers escaped with their Lives. As for *Pompey*, he boldly marched out to meet the Troops that were coming to surprize him in his Quarters; and attacked them with such Spirit, that he drove them back fighting to the Banks of *The Cyrnus*, and made a terrible Slaughter of them before they could repass it. So that being Victor in all the three Posts his Army possessed, he was in effect Master of *Albania*.

*Oreses*, when thus vanquished and put to flight, placed all his Hopes in humble Supplications, and sent Deputies to the *Roman General's* Camp, to beg Pardon, and desire a Peace. The strongest Motive the *Albani* could use to influence *Pompey* was this; That the *Romans* and *Albani* were Brethren, and came originally from the same Country. When *Hercules* passed through Italy, said they, he took some of the Inhabitants of *Alba*, and brought them into these Countries, and here founded a Colony, which still retains the Name of the Place from whence they originally came. And in the same manner, the same *Hercules* brought from Spain the *Iberians* our Neighbours, who settled in these Asiatick Countries, as we did. *Pompey* paid little Regard to these Accounts which he thought fabulous; but he wanted to give his Troops rest in a rigorous Season. He therefore forgave *Oreses*; and waited for the Return of the Spring, to march after *Mithridates*.

§. XXI. That unfortunate Prince, though deprived of his Kingdom, was still formidable, notwithstanding his Losses. As he passed from Country to Country he every where stirred up new Enemies against the Republick, and caused many of the Northern Nations of *Asia* to take up Arms against her. *Pompey* therefore marched towards 35 *Dioscurias*, where the King of *Pontus* had spent the Winter; and would soon have come up with him, if the *Iberians* had not opposed him in his Passage. They were a fierce People, and had preserved their Independency, even under the Empire of the *Medes*, and against the Arms of *Alexander the Great*. *Artoces* was now their King, and he laid Snares for the *Roman Army*. *Pompey* discovered it, and prevented the De-

34 The *Roman Army* then celebrated the Feast of, took its Name from *Castor* and *Pollux*, who were *Saturnalia*, which the old *Roman Calendar* fixes to, thought its Founders. It stood in *Colchis*, at the most the 17th Day of *December*. northern Part of the *Euxine Sea*.

35 *Dioscurias*, which *Ptolemy* also calls *Sebastopolis*,



signs of the Enemy. He took <sup>36</sup> *Acropolis*, the Key to his little Kingdom; penetrated into the Heart of *Iberia*, by the Foot of Mount *Caucasus*; and by this Conquest terrified *Artoces*. He fled, passed the *Cyrnus*, reconciled himself to the *Roman*, and facilitated his Passage over that River; but still with a Design to go and wait for him, and fight him on the Banks of the <sup>37</sup> *Pelorus*, another River in his Dominions. *Pompey* followed him, came up with him before he could reach the Banks of the second River, and there fought a Battle with him, in which the King lost a great Number of his Men. The rest made their escape with him as they could, by swimming over the *Pelorus*, and fleeing into thick Forests for Refuge. But most of them were drowned in the River. Others climbed up to the Tops of great Trees, and there defended themselves with their Arrows. The *Romans* cut down the Trees; killed the unfortunate *Iberians* in the Places of their refuge; and upon the whole, the Defeat was considerable. The Enemy had 9000 Men slain upon the Spot, and *Pompey* took 10000 Prisoners of War. *Artoces*, whose Measures were quite broken by his Loss, now fought in earnest to regain the Friendship of *Pompey*, and sent Presents to him, from beyond the *Pelorus*. But the *Roman* General refused to accept of any but his Children, which he demanded as Hostages. *Artoces* at first made a Difficulty of delivering up to his Conqueror the Hopes of his Family; but when *Pompey* appeared beyond the River, the King complied. He sent the Hostages demanded, and made Peace with *Rome*.

§. XXII. The *Phasis* was not far from the *Pelorus*; and *Pompey* resolved to pass it, to enter *Colchis*. There *Servilius* the Commander of the *Roman* Fleet which cruised about the *Euxine* Sea, was waiting for the *Pro-Consul*, to transport his Army to *The Cimmerian Bosphorus*, whither *Mithridates* had retreated. But when the *Pro-Consul*, was upon the Spot, he found the Voyage impracticable on a tempestuous Sea, which he was not even sure of coasting, on account of the Multitude of barbarous Nations that lived on the Shores of it. Besides, he received News that his Presence was necessary in *Albania*, where *Oreses* had shaken off the *Roman* Yoke. *Cosis*, his Brother, a brave and enterprising Prince, had caused all the Disorder; and in order to hinder *Pompey* from returning to *Albania*, had guarded the Banks of the *Cyrnus* at certain Distances with high Palisades. *Pompey* therefore sent away *Servilius* and his Fleet, with Orders to hinder any Merchant-Ship from carrying Provisions to *Mithridates*, saying, *His greatest Enemy would be Famine*: and then marched his Army a great way round to *Albania*. He first fell upon *Armenia*; made the *Albani* believe that he was going farther and farther from their Country, and would return to it no more; and by this Feint deceived them. When these Hopes had put them less upon their Guard, he on a sudden, turned toward the *Cyrnus*; and it being the midst of Summer, he found one Part of it fordable, though it was generally very rapid and very deep. Nevertheless, that his Infantry might the more conveniently pass it, he drew up his Cavalry and Beasts of Burden in the Bed of the River, and thereby broke the force of the Stream. From the *Cyrnus* to the <sup>38</sup> *Cambyfes*, he marched through a dry Country, where his Army suffered much by Thirst. But after rambling far out of their Way, which was occasioned by the Country People their Guides, who betrayed them, the *Romans* came at last to the *Cambyfes*; and there, their drinking too greedily of the Water of the River, which was too cold for them, brought many Distempers among them. Nevertheless, they still advanced, with the Precaution of carrying 10000 Skins of Water, to serve them for drink in the vast Desert, which they were to cross, and at last arrived on the Banks of the <sup>39</sup> *Abas*, and passed it, without Opposition.

§. XXIII. As soon as *Pompey* had pitched his Camp, News was brought, that *Cosis* was advancing with an Army to attack him. This brave Prince had got together out of the neighbouring Nations, 60000 Foot, and 12000 Horse. Among his Troops,

<sup>36</sup> *Dio Cassius* places *Acropolis* in *Iberia Asiatica*, that is, in *Georgia*. This Name was generally given to Cities, or Forts, built on the Summits of Mountains.

<sup>37</sup> *Dio Cassius*, is the only Author that gives us any Account of the *Pelorus*, a River in *Iberia Asiatica*.

<sup>38</sup> The *Cambyfes* rises at the Foot of Mount *Cau-*

*casus*. It waters *Cambyfena*, a little Canton of *Armenia*, which was formerly subject to the *Persians*, and falls into the *Cyrus*.

<sup>39</sup> The *Abas*, which *Ptolomy* calls the *Albanus*, rises in the Mountains of *Iberia*; crosses *Albania* from West to East, and falls into the *Caspian* Sea, near the City of *Albana*.



Year of besides *Albanians*, were many *Iberians*, <sup>40</sup> *Geles*, <sup>41</sup> *Leges*, and as we are told, some of *ROME* the <sup>42</sup> *Amazons*, that lived on the Banks of the *Thermodon*. The *Romans* rejoiced greatly at the Sight of the Enemy, and forgot their past Labours. *Pompey* was well pleased to have a Battle to fight so soon, and despised this <sup>43</sup> Multitude of Barbarians, who were ill cloathed, and ill armed. However, in order to overcome them with the more certainty, he hid his *Legionaries* ready formed in an Ambush, and ordered them to kneel down on one Knee, and cover their Helmets with their Bucklers, lest the Reflexion of the Sun upon them, should discover them at a distance. Then he detached his Cavalry, who retired before the Enemy, till they brought them into the middle of his Battalions. The *Albanian* Troops were instantly surrounded by the *Romans*, who rose up on their Feet, and by widening gave their Cavalry an Opportunity to retreat. The Battle was very confused, and no quarter given. Prince *Cosis* stuck close to *Pompey*, and obstinately persisted in pursuing him. He struck his Cuirass with a Dart, but did not pierce it; and *Pompey* threw his Lance with such Vigour at the Prince, that he laid him dead at his Horse's Feet. Then the Loss of the General brought on the Rout of the whole Army; the Barbarians disbanded themselves, and ran, as usual, to hide themselves in the neighbouring Forest. The *Romans* set fire to the Forest, and they perished in the Flames. Whilst the Forest was burning, the *Romans* continually cried out, *Saturnalia, Saturnalia*, to re-mind the *Albanians*, that they had attempted on that Day, to surprize them in their Quarters, and cut them in pieces; and the Consequence of this Victory, was the Ravage and Conquest of all *Albania*. But when the Dead were stripped on the Field of Battle, there were none of those pretended *Amazons* found among them, which had been thought to have been in the Fight. So that this Republick of military Women seems to have been a <sup>44</sup> Fable, adopted on too slight Grounds, by many credulous Historians.

§. XXIV. After the Defeat of his Troops, *Orefes* acknowledged the Dominion of the *Romans*. He was retired to the Summit of one of those Mountains that make the *Caucasus*; and from thence he sent to desire a Peace of *Pompey*, who ordered him to come down into the Plain. The King obeyed, and sent the *Roman* General a Present of a Bed, Table, and Throne, of massy Gold. *Pompey* accepted them, and made other Presents in return, but reserved nothing to himself of what was given him. All was put into the Hands of the *Quæstor* for the publick Treasury. And as for *Albania* and *Iberia*, it is probable, that they at least became tributary to the Republick. Many of the other Nations bordering on the *Caspian Sea*, came also to desire Peace, which *Pompey* granted them. It is said, his Design <sup>45</sup> was to penetrate as far as into *Hyrcania*; but either he forged <sup>46</sup> Monsters, or met with some in his March that

<sup>40</sup> *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Pompey*, places the *Geles* and *Leges* between *Albania*, and that Part of Mount *Caucasus*, which, he says, was inhabited by the *Amazons*, and which borders on the *Hyrcanian* or *Caspian Sea*. *Strabo* had said before him, that these People of *Asiatick Scythia* were bounded to the South by the Country of the *Albani*, and to the North by that of the *Amazons*. Whence it is concluded, that they possessed that Canton of *Circassia* which *Pliny* calls *Cadusia*. This last Author says, there were *Cadusians* or *Geles*, which he calls them indifferently, in *Sogdiana*. And lastly, *Ptolomy* finds some People of this Name in *Media*, near the *Caspian Sea*.

<sup>41</sup> *Plutarch* says, The *Leges* and *Geles* were together but one Nation. But he only speaks of them after *Theophanes of Mitylene*, who had followed *Pompey*, in all his *Asiatick* Expeditions; and had written a Relation of his Travels, and of the Events of which he was an Eye-Witness.

<sup>42</sup> *Plutarch* relates what he says of the *Amazons* as a doubtful Fact, founded only on a very suspicious Tradition.

<sup>43</sup> According to *Plutarch*, The *Albanian* Army consisted of 60000 Foot, and 12000 Horse: These Barbarians were covered with nothing but Skins of Beasts, when they offered Battle.

<sup>44</sup> *Strabo*, and after him, all sensible Historians, rank all that has been said by many too credulous Writers concerning the pretended Empire of the *Amazons*,

in *Asia Minor*, near the River *Thermodon*, and towards the borders of *Scythia*, near Mount *Caucasus*, among the Fables of Antiquity. Nor are they more to be believed, in what they say of the Conquests and different Expeditions which they ascribe to this Nation of Women. Is it probable, says this judicious Historian, that a Republick of Women could ever have subsisted? If so, we must allow of this strange Paradox, That the Women were then changed into Men, and the Men reduced to the State of Women. Besides, the Fiction appears from the Names of *Hippolyta*, *Otrera*, *Lampeto*, *Penthesilea*, *Menalippe*, and *Antiope*, which are Greek Names, and not suited to Barbarian Women, who were shut up in the most distant Regions of *Scythia*.

<sup>45</sup> *Plutarch* says, *Pompey* had a Design to go into *Hyrcania*, and march to the *Caspian Sea*. But he had no occasion to pass through *Hyrcania*, in order to come to the Shores of that Sea. He was then in *Albania*, and consequently not far from the *Caspian*.

<sup>46</sup> According to *Plutarch*, The *Roman* Army was beset on the Road, with so great a number of Scorpions and venomous Beasts, whose Bite was mortal, that they were obliged to return back. Then *Pompey* resolved to march into *Little Armenia*. There he received the Ambassadors of two little Kings of *Assyria* and *Media*, who desired his Friendship, and offered to put their States under the Protection of the Republick.

affrighted



affrighted him. He returned into *Little Armenia* to settle the Affairs of the Provinces he had conquered. *Phraates* was then the only Enemy he had to fear; for, as for *Mithridates*, it was scarce possible to follow him in his Rambles. Ever since the Loss of his Dominions, he was rambling among unconquerable Nations, round the *Euxine* Sea; and was, if I may so speak, abandoned to his evil Destiny, and not worth pursuing. But the Case was otherwise with regard to the King of the *Parthians*. Being Master of a great Empire, and at the Head of a warlike Nation, he was a formidable Prince. Nevertheless, *Pompey*, who had formerly managed him, now appeared against him in favour of *Tigranes*, who was become a Friend to the *Romans* since his surrendry. The *Pro-Consul* sent *Afranius* into *Gordyene*, a Province of the King of *Armenia*, with Orders to drive out *Phraates* who was ravaging it; and the *Romans* had all the Advantage, and drove the *Parthians* fighting, to the Neighbourhood of *Arbela* +7, in *Assyria*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCI.XXXVIII.  
L. AURELI-  
US COTTA, &  
L. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
Consuls.

§. XXV. Whilst *Pompey* was gaining as many Victories as he fought Battles, *Mithridates* avoided him, and kept on the North Coast of the *Euxine*, sometimes forcing the Nations he passed through to give him a Passage, and sometimes engaging them by Caresses to join their Arms to his. He drew into his Measures the greatest Part of the little Kings of *Scythia*, by promising to each, one of his Daughters; for he had a great Number. At length, after he had crossed the Countries of the *Heniochi* and *Asiatick Achæans*, he came to the *Palus Mæotis*; and the nearer he drew to the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, the more King *Machares*, his Son, dreaded his Presence. We have already observed, That *Machares* had entered into a Friendship with *Rome*; and he constantly and faithfully kept the Alliance he had made with the Republick, and had frequent Correspondence with *Pompey*. The Conduct of the Son therefore exasperated the Father, and *Machares* in vain endeavoured to appease him by his Ambassadors. He excused himself by alledging, That he had been forced to have recourse to *Rome*, contrary to his Inclination; but all was to no Purpose. The Father, who was now near, threatened the *Bosphorus*, and procured Assassines for his Son, in his own Palace. So that *Machares* was forced, either to take up Arms against his Father, or suffer himself to be murdered; and that neither *Mithridates* nor himself might be guilty of Parricide, he fell by his own Hands. A valuable Prince, according to the Maxims of those Times! He preferred a voluntary Death to the Shame of rebelling against his own Father. When *Machares* was dead, *Mithridates* seized his Dominions, and reigned in the *Bosphorus*. Then he assembled a great Army, and was once more strong enough to renew the War with the *Romans*. No Man ever supported the Hatred he had entertained against *Rome*, with so much Dignity, in so advanced an Age. *Hannibal* himself did not find out more Resources, after the fall of his Country, and the Ruin of his Armies, than *Mithridates* after the Loss of his Kingdom of *Pontus*. His Courage was not abated, either by the Number of his Years, or by his ill Fortune. He was capable of having conquered all the East, if he had not had the *Romans* for his Enemies.

§. XXVI. However, *Pompey* was resolved not to suffer him to enjoy the *Bosphorus* long in Tranquillity; but the immediate Cause of his leaving *Armenia* was another Affair of great Importance. The Kingdom of *Pontus*, tho' subdued, was not yet reduced to the State of a *Roman Province*. The Government of it was not settled, its Boundaries fixed, or its stated Tributes assigned; and the *Pro-Consul* went to put the last Hand to this great Work. In his Way, he met with a Castle, where *Mithridates*, in the Time of his precipitate Flight, had left some of the Queens his Wives, and the Princesses his Daughters, with part of his Treasures, shut up in Vessels of Brass, strengthened with Bars of Iron. Queen *Stratonice* commanded in the Fort, and had the Care of the Seraglio and the Treasure committed to her. Next to *Monimia*, one of the greatest Favourites among the Women the King had, was this beautiful Woman. She was only the Daughter of a <sup>48</sup> Musician; but *Mithridates* had so enriched her Father, that

App. in Mi-  
thridat.  
Plut. in Pomp.

+7 Stephens the Geographer places *Arbela* in *Persia*. But *Strabo* and *Ptolomy* with more Truth say, That this Village or Town, stood in *Adiabene*, or *Assyria Propria*. Stephens is the only Author that has given it the Title of a City. *Strabo* speaks of it as a considerable Place. At least, there is no Room to doubt of

its having been a strong Place, since *Darius* had there shut up his Treasures, which *Alexander* seized, after he had made himself Master of this Fortrefs. It is become memorable in History, for the Battle which put an end to the Empire of the *Persians*.

+8 The Charms of *Stratonice* had so captivated the



Year of that he was intoxicated with his Prosperity. Nevertheless *Stratonice* was so exasperated with the King for leaving her, that the only Affection she retained was for *Xiphares*, her Son by him, who followed his Father's Fortune; and in order to revenge herself, and procure the Favour of the Romans to her Son, she surrendered the Fort, and delivered up the Treasures. *Pompey* shewed her great Respect, gave the Concubines their Liberty, and sent them home to their Parents; and signalized his Continence, by not touching any of them himself, or suffering any of his Officers to touch them. And of the Treasures, he took only what might be proper for the Decoration of Temples, and to adorn his *Triumph*; and gave the rest to *Stratonice*, for her own Use. He also promised *Xiphares* the Protection of his Republick, and sent the Queen to *Mithridates*. But before she reached the eastern Shore of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, the King her Husband was informed of her Treachery, and of her devoting *Xiphares* to the Roman Party; and when she came thither, he in a Fit of Rage brought *Xiphares* to the western Shore of the *Bosphorus*, and ordered him to be cut in pieces, in the Sight of his Mother. Thus the King revenged the Affront he had received, from a Wife whom he had tenderly loved, on his own Blood; and thereby justly deserved to have his own Children as cruel to him, as the worst of his Enemies!

DCLXXXVIII.  
L. AURELIUS  
COTTA, &  
L. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
Consuls.

Plut. in Pomp.

§. XXVII. The *Pro-Consul* still kept advancing towards *Pontus*, and reducing by Force all the Places he came near, that held out for the old King; and at a Castle called *Caino*, the Romans met with some Resistance. *Mithridates* had there deposited the Papers and Records that belonged to his Kingdom. However, *Pompey* made himself Master of it, and had the best Opportunity of knowing the true Character of *Mithridates*, by these Records it appeared, by the King's own Memoirs that he had poisoned many People, and among them, *Ariarathes* his own Son, and a Citizen of *Sardis* called *Alcaeus*, because he had had some Advantage over him at an Horse-Race. But what most surprized *Pompey*, were his Letters to *Monimia*, and her Answers. As they both had a great deal of Wit, they carried on their Amours with extream Delicacy. At length, <sup>49</sup> *Pompey* entered <sup>50</sup> *Amisos* the Capital of *Pontus*; there assembled all the great Lords of the Kingdom; brought before these States General all the Kings and Princes of *Asia*; and in their Presence, received the Sovereigns of the barbarous Nations, (that is, of such as did not speak the Greek Tongue) on all the Coasts of *Asia*. *Pompey* loved State, and presided in this Assembly with Pleasure. He

the Heart of *Mithridates*, that he married her the same Day, and gave her the first Rank among his Women. The Father of the new Queen, who was far advanced in Age, and a Musician by Profession, murmured when he first heard that the King by taking away *Stratonice*, had deprived him of the only Comfort he had in the World. But he changed his Tone, the next Day, when he saw the State that surrounded him. He saw himself surrounded, with Buffets loaded with Gold and Silver Plate, a numerous Train of Domesticks, Eunuchs officious to serve him, and a Croud of Courtiers who presented him with rich Habits in the Name of *Mithridates*. In short, as a particular Mark of Distinction which the Eastern Monarchs shew only to Princes and those whom they honour with their Confidence, the King of *Pontus* made him a Present of an Horse finely equipped. He was so struck with this glittering Appearance, that he durst not believe his own Eyes. He doubted, whether it was not a Dream, or a Joke of some of the Lords of the Court, in order to put a Cheat upon him. And in this uncertainty, the old Man would have run away, if he had not been stopped by some of the King's Officers. These informed him, That the King, out of his Affection for *Stratonice*, had resolved to load him with Riches and Honours. This was enough to induce him to cloath himself in Purple, mount the Horse with rich Trappings, that waited for him at the Door of his House, and with a Croud of Domesticks and Officers, on Foot, ride through the City amidst the Acclamations of his Train. And so intoxicated was he with this Change of Fortune, that he looked as if he had lost his Senses. This new Sight was matter of Diversion to the People, who

looked on him as a theatrical King, whom the Courtiers were leading about the City, for their Amusement.

<sup>49</sup> *Plutarch* here adds a Fact, on the Authority of *Theophanes of Mytilene*, or of *Lesbos*, who had the greatest Share of the Friendship and Confidence of *Pompey*. He says, There was found among *Mithridates's* Papers, a violent Discourse which *Orosius Rutilius* addressed to this Prince, to persuade him to massacre all the Romans in his Dominions without distinction, as he in fact did. But so horrible a Treachery cannot be reconciled with the Character of a Man whom all the Historians represent as a Person of consummate Wisdom, and the strictest Probity; as we have observed of him p. 257. of this Volume, Note 12. And *Plutarch* himself does not scruple to say, That *Theophanes* had attested this cruel Calumny, either in order to cast a Stain on the Memory of *Rutilius*, whose Virtue he dreaded, or to please *Pompey*, who could never forgive that great Man, his having in his History represented *Pompeius Strabo*, the Father of the Conqueror, as the most wicked of Men. This *Theophanes* had been honoured with the Title of a Roman Citizen at the Recommendation of *Pompey*, who did not disdain to become his publick Panegyrist in a studied Speech. And in Gratitude, he dedicated his Pen to the Honour of his Benefactor, and wrote a History of his Conquests.

<sup>50</sup> We have already spoken of *Amisos* or *Amisus*, one of the chief Cities of *Pontus*. The Turks now call it *Amid*, or *Hemid*, according to *Leunclavius*. The Natives of the Country call it *Simiso*. It stands on a little Gulph of the Black Sea, East of the Mouth of the River *Casalmac*.

there



there gave Law to all the neighbouring Monarchs; and was reproached with carrying Things to that Extremity, which was charged on *Lucullus* as Despotism. He, of his own Authority disposed of the conquered Kingdoms as he pleased. *Dejotarus*, one of the *Tetrarchs* of *Galatia*, received *Little Armenia* as his Reward for his Valour and Fidelity, which had been of good Service to the *Pro-Consul* in his Expeditions. *Phlagonia*, which *Mithridates* had usurped, was restored to *Attalus* and *Pylæmenes* its lawful Sovereigns. The Throne of *Colchis* was reserved for *Aristarchus*; and it was *Pompey's* Will and Pleasure, That <sup>51</sup> *Archelaus* should be made Priest of *Bellona* in *Comana* <sup>52</sup>, and have immense Riches, and an almost Regal Power. Then he regulated the Government of *Syria*, which had been given up to the *Romans* by *Tigranes*; and settled those of the two *Armenia's*, and *Colchis*, and <sup>53</sup> *Cappadocia*, under their own Kings, who were subdued and become tributary. And lastly, he concluded with putting *Pontus* upon the Foot of a *Roman Province*, to be governed by a *Prætor* sent thither from *Rome*, and recallable at Pleasure.

§. XXVIII. But whilst *Pompey* was thus shining in the *Levant*, he was a Stranger to the Progress *Julius Cæsar* was making in *Rome*. By his Affability, and Intrigues which no Man could form with more address than himself, he had already captivated the Hearts of all the People. And as his Genius was vastly superior to that of *Pompey*, his Views of Grandeur went much farther than the trifling Applauses of a Multitude, in which *Pompey* chiefly delighted. *Cæsar* was now only *Ædile*; but he signalized his first *Curule* Office by such Acts, as sufficiently shewed his Ambition, and made many dread the Consequences of it. He seemed resolved, from his first entering upon publick Employments, to revive the Memory of the great *Marius*, which he was in a particular manner concerned to do. He had from his earliest Youth been attached to the Faction that opposed *Sylla*, and was related both to the *Marii* and *Cinna*, either by Affinity or Blood. The great *Marius*, tho' of an obscure Birth, when dignified by his Employments, had married *Julia*, the Sister of *Cæsar's* Father; so that young *Marius* who was the Issue of that Marriage, was his Cousin-German. And *Cæsar* himself, when very young, had married *Cornelia* the Daughter of *Cinna*, and had loved her to her Death. *Sylla* had endeavoured to prevail on him to divorce her, but in vain. He chose rather to incur the Displeasure of the *Dictator*, than break his Contract with his Wife, and renounce the Party he had preferred. This obliged him to flee into *Asia*, where he spent some Years, and did not return to *Rome* till after *Sylla's* Death; and there, he soon distinguished himself by many excellent Endowments. In Eloquence, which he had perfected under a great Master at *Rhodes*, he soon became equal to *Hortensius* and *Cicero*; but he found that he was born for Arms. It was therefore chiefly from War, that he expected his Glory and Advancement; and having already passed through the Offices of *Legionary Tribune* and *Quæstor*, he was now become an *Ædile*.

Tho' no more mention was made of the *Marii* and *Sylla* in the Republick, some Traces were still left of the bloody Factions which they had headed. Many People, especially the Populace, still retained a secret Affection for *Marius*; and on the contrary, the Memory of *Sylla* was still very dear to the Nobility, especially the Senate. Tho' they did not approve of his Cruelties, they applauded him for reducing the Commons to so low a State. But the People had a little recovered themselves since *Pompey*, had restored their *Tribunes*; and *Cæsar*, who was more refined in his Policy than *Pompey*, very artfully made his own Advantage, of the Privileges the latter had granted to the Com-

15 This *Archelaus* was the Son of another *Archelaus*, who was *Mithridates's* General, and who after he had signalized himself in the Defence of the *Pyræus*, abandoned the King of *Pontus*, and went over to *Lucullus*. In the next Volume we shall see his Son raised to the Throne of *Egypt*, in the Room of *Ptolemy Auletes*, and die Sword in Hand.

52 The ancient Geographers say, there were two Cities of *Comana*, one in *Cappadocia*, at a little distance from Mount *Taurus*, on the Banks of the River *Sarus*, which falls into the *Cilician Sea*: The other in *Pontus*, near the Springs of the *Iris*, which watered its Territory. Each of these Cities had a Temple dedicated to *Bellona*, under the Government of an High-Priest, who was next in Rank to the

King, and whose Authority was for Life. And his Revenues were equal to his Power. *Strabo* pretends, that *Orestes* and his Sister *Iphigenia* brought to *Comana* in *Cappadocia* the Worship of this Goddess, regulated after the same manner, that *Diana* was worshipped in *Scythia Taurica*. The two Cities disputed with each other the Honour of having the true Statue of *Diana*, and the true Knife of *Iphigenia*. The *Lydians* also entered into the Dispute, and contended, That *Orestes* had left with them the boasted Image.

53 *Pompey*, according to *Appian*, added to *Cappadocia*, in favour of *Ariobarzanes*, *Sophene*, *Gordyene*, and several Cities, of *Cilicia*.



Year of mons, and consequently to the *Marian* Faction. He made it the Business of his *R O M E* *Ædileship*, to do Honour to the *Tribunate*, and thereby put himself in a Way to go further than *Marius*, or *Cinna*, or even *Sylla*, had done. The Method he took to gain the People was this. He was naturally of a generous Disposition, and is accused of indulging <sup>54</sup> it to Prodigality. He is said to have owed above 1300 \* *Talents*, before he entered upon any of the superior Offices. So that his Liberalities were without Bounds, and his Luxury very great, in his Table, Furniture, and Attendants. These grand Appearances struck the Eyes of the Multitude, and gained *Cæsar* their Respect, without exciting the Jealousy of his Enemies. The latter said, *This was a short-lived Show, which would soon end with his Estate; and then, Want would reduce him to the State of a common Burgher.* *Cicero* only saw farther than the Vulgar, into the Intentions of the ambitious Youth. He said, *That every Thing savoured of Tyranny in his Conduct; and That what convinced him of it, was the Softness and Effeminacy that he observed in his Dress and Behaviour.* This was judging by Appearances; and he guessed right, when he inferred from *Cæsar*'s Steps, That his Ambition would lead him to aspire at being a Sovereign in *Rome*. But he did not sufficiently discover that manly Courage, and great Intrepidity, which was concealed under this Luxury and Effeminacy.

L. AURELI-  
US COTTA, &  
L. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
Consuls.

Sterl.  
\* 251875 l.

§. XXIX. In his *Ædileship*, *Cæsar* affected Popularity more than ever. Nothing could be more polite and engaging than his Behaviour. He was as liberal of his Caresses as his Money. No Man went from him displeased. There was something even in his Air and Look, that contributed greatly to make him beloved. When he spoke, there was a Sweetness mixed with a noble Grandeur, in his Manner; and the very Tone of his Voice helped to make him agreeable. As his Office confined him to *Rome*, he employed his Eloquence in Defence of the Accused; and thereby increased the Number of his Friends without giving Offence to any. He undertook to repair *The Appian Way*, and finished this great Work, almost wholly at his own Expence. In the publick Games, which he was to direct, he spared nothing that could make them pompous, or entertaining to the Spectators. The *Circus* not being large enough to contain the Crouds of *Romans*, which the *Megalesian* <sup>55</sup> Games drew thither; he found Means to prevent any one's being disappointed of the Pleasure of seeing at least the Pomp and Finery of the Procession. He, with his own Money, built Portico's of Timber with Seats, all round the *Forum Romanum*, even in the *Comitium* and on the *Capitol*; that they, who could not be present at the Games, might at least see the Procession of the fine Chariots and Horses, that were to dispute the Prize. And in the *Amphitheatre*, he entertained the People, rather with a kind of Battle, than the single Combats of a few *Athletæ*. He bought 320 Pair of *Gladiators*; who, fighting with one another all at one time, were a pretty good Representation of an Action between two Armies. And the People were so fully persuaded, that they were indebted to *Cæsar* only for these magnificent Sights, that they ascribed none of the Honour of them to *Bibulus*, his Collegue in the *Ædileship*. Which made *Bibulus* pleasantly say, *That he and Cæsar were like Castor and Pollux; in as much as, tho' they were worshipped under one Roof, their Temple went by the Name of Castor only, and it was forgotten that it was equally dedicated to both.*

Dio. Cassius.  
L. 37.

By these Means, the *Ædile* so captivated the People, that they were now as much, if not more, devoted to him than to *Pompey*; and he experienced their Favour first, in two Affairs of little Weight, and afterwards in a more important Concern. His Wife *Cornelia* was just dead in the Flower of her Age; and, tho' it was not customary to speak funeral Orations at the Obsequies of any of the Sex, *Cæsar* spoke her Panegyrick with Applause. To the Reputation of being a Man of Eloquence, he added that of being a good Husband too. His Aunt *Julia* also died in a very advanced Age; and tho' she was the Widow of *Marius*, whose Name was odious to the Senate and Nobility, he spoke her Funeral Oration likewise in the *Forum*, to the Satisfaction of the Assembly. And then, this Success emboldened him to revive the Memory of old *Marius*. *Sylla* had beat down the Statues and Trophies which had been erected to this Conqueror, after the Battles gained over *Jugurtha* and the *Cimbri*; and *Cæsar* now had them new

Plut. in Cæsar.

<sup>54</sup> Suetonius says, That *Cæsar* made a Present of a Pearl valued at 775000 *Livres*, to his Mistress *Servilia*, one of the Sisters of *Cato of Utica* by the Mother's side, and the Mother of the famous *Brutus*.

<sup>55</sup> These Games were instituted in Honour to *Cybele*, the Mother of the Gods. We have spoken of this Festival in the preceding Volumes.



cast, and spared no gilding in adorning them. One of them was first placed in the *Capitol*, where it attracted the Eyes of all Persons who had any Judgment in Works of Art; and afterwards, some of them were erected on very fine Pedestals. Indeed *Cæsar* did not own himself to be the Author of this, but he was suspected of it. The rigid *Catulus*, accused him before the Senate, as an audacious Man, who payed unlawful Honours to one who was declared an Enemy to his Country, and whose Name was infamous: And in his Speech went so far as to say, *That Cæsar no longer attacked the Republick by covert Means, but with open Violence.* But the accused answered the Invectives of *Catulus* with so much Art and Temper, that he was unanimously acquitted; and then the People conceived so high an Opinion of him, that they almost idolized him. They said, *He was an adorable Man, a good Relation, and an active Friend; who, with the most gracious and obliging Behaviour, had all the Firmness of an Hero.* On the other hand, *Catulus* sunk much in the Esteem of the People. He was then *Censor* with *Crassus*, who was for granting the *Gauls* beyond the *Po* the Right of Roman Citizenship. But *Catulus* opposed it; and the Dispute was carried so far between them, that they were both obliged to lay down their Office, before they had made a *Lustrum*, or *Census* of the People.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXVIII.  
L. AURELI-  
US COTTA, &  
L. MANLIUS  
TORQUATUS,  
Consuls.

Thus was *C. Julius Cæsar* become the Idol of the Commons, when the *Centuries* assembled in *The Field of Mars* to elect new *Consuls*; and it is probable, that he disposed the People to choose a Man of his Family and Name, tho' of another Branch. This was one *L. Julius Cæsar*, the Son of another *Lucius Cæsar*, who had been *Consul* during the War with the *Marssi*; and the Collegue the Republick gave him, was *C. Marcius Figulus*. During their Administration, the only War *Rome* had to maintain abroad, was that of *Pompey* in the East; but the Disturbances in the City were daily increased, through the Licentiousness of the People, the Ambition of bad Citizens, and the Weakness of the Government. *Julius Cæsar* the *Ædile* took all the Advantage he could of the *Consulship* of his Relation. In order to revive the Memory of *Marius* more and more, and to wound deeply that of *Sylla*, he prosecuted many Persons for offending against the Law which forbade Homicide; and it may therefore well be imagined that *Sylla's* Guards, who were infamous for having killed so many proscribed Persons, were the first that were brought before the Tribunal of the People. At the same time *Cato*, who as *Quæstor*, had the Custody of the publick Treasury, publicly refused to pay the Pensions *Sylla* had assigned to those, who had brought him the Heads of the many condemned Citizens. So that *Cato* joined with *Cæsar*, against the Remains of the *Syllan* Faction; and the People saw with Applause, some of those worthless Men who had enriched themselves with the Price of *Roman* Blood, deprived of their Fortunes, branded with eternal Infamy, and condemned to suffer capital Punishments. Among these, was one *Luscius*, and *L. Bellienus*, *Catiline's* Uncle; and it was thought strange, that *Catiline* himself, so furious an Agent as he had been for *Sylla*, was spared. But he was *Cæsar's* Friend; and the Protection of this powerful Patron saved him. However, we shall soon see him raise new Troubles, and undergo the Punishment he deserved. But the Course of Events first leads us into *Asia*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXIX.  
L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, &  
C. MARCIUS  
FIGULUS,  
Consuls.  
Sueton. in Cæ-  
sare.  
Plut. in Ca-  
tone.

§. XXX. *Mithridates* was cantoned in the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*, and preparing to sustain *Pompey's* Attacks; but the *Roman* had quite other Designs, than that of reducing him by Force. He took it for granted, that the King's great Age, or an Insurrection among his Subjects, or perhaps the Revolt of his own Children, who were tired out with so many Murders, would soon deliver *Rome* from so obstinate an Enemy. The *Pro-Consul*, who was retired to *Galatia*, since he had settled the Affairs of *Pontus* and the neighbouring Kingdoms, was full of a much greater and more useful Design for his Republick. His Scheme was, to go himself into *Syria*, finish the Conquest which was but just begun there; extend it to *Cælo-Syria*, *Phœnicia*, *Palestine*, *Judæa*, and *Arabia*; reduce the whole Empire of the *Seleucidæ* to the State of a *Roman Province*; and then march on to the *Red Sea*: And he had already taken some previous Steps, in order to this great Work. He had sent *Gabinus* one of his Lieutenants beyond the *Euphrates*; and he was already encamped on the Banks of the *Tigris*. He had given Orders to *Metellus* and *Lollius*, who guarded the Coasts of *Asia*, to draw near to *Damascus* and seize it. And *Afranius*, another of his Lieutenants, had penetrated to *Carrhæ* in *Mesopotamia*, a City which the *Parthians* pretended belonged to them. *Phraates* complained to the *Roman* General of the Attempt of *Afra-*

Dio. Cass. L.



Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXIX.  
L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, &  
C. MARCIUS  
FIGULUS,  
Consuls.  
Jof. Antiq.  
L. 2.

Orosius. L. 6.

App. in Mi-  
thrid.  
Dio, L. 37.

nus, as an Infraction of the Treaty he had made with the Romans. But Pompey neglected the Complaints of Phraates, and in the Letter he wrote him, did not so much as give him the Title of King of Kings. So true is it, That when Men have once gotten the Ascendant by Force of Arms, they easily forget the Alliances which Necessity had forced them earnestly to sollicite! Nevertheless, it must be owned, that Pompey always refused to come to a Quarrel with the Parthians; tho' he affected to shew them, that he did not fear them.

After the Roman Army had left Pontus and Galatia, they intended to enter Syria, by Comagene; and there they found two little Kings in Arms, resolved to dispute their Passage. One was Antiochus the Sovereign of Comagene, and the other, one Darius a Prince of Media. But Pompey beat them, and forced them to seek his Friendship, which he granted; and even took an Affection for Antiochus, and increased his Dominions, with a Part of Mesopotamia. Then he continued his March, defeated the Arabians about Mount Amanus; and if we may believe one Historian, came in fifty Days to Ecbatana, the Capital of the Kingdom of Parthia. But this Historian was doubtless mistaken, in taking <sup>56</sup> Ecbatana of the Persians, which is better known to the Geographers, for Ecbatana of Syria; and here, the Order of Time in which Events happened, is a little confounded by the ancient Historians. Some place the Death of Mithridates a Year forwarder, others a Year later; but that we may not interrupt the Course of Things, we will, without entering into Discussions of this kind, relate the Remainder of his Story in this Place. Whether he died in the Year 689, or 690, it is at least certain, That Pompey received the News of it, when he was passing through Syria, and reducing it to Obedience to his Republick.

§. XXXI. Mithridates was then residing in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and making great Preparations to continue the War with Rome; and it is said, That the violent Hatred which he bore to the Romans, led him to form a chimerical Scheme, which was neither agreeable to his Age nor his Condition. He was heard to say, That he was resolved, To pass the Palus Mæotis and go to the Banks of the Danube; To make his way thro' the Provinces of Thrace and Macedon; To engage a good Number of the German Nation to join him; To march into Gaul the same Way the Cimbri had formerly done; and then, To pass the Alpes as Hannibal did, and fall upon Italy. When he was full of these Thoughts, as violent an Earthquake as had been known in the Memory of Man, was felt in the Bosphorus; and Mithridates being superstitious, looked on this Misfortune as a Prefage which foretold him some approaching Calamity. He therefore immediately sent an Embassy to Pompey, to desire a Peace, and the Restitution of the Kingdom of his Ancestors, upon Condition that he should always be a tributary Vassal to the Romans. Pompey answered him, That he was to expect no Favour, till, like Tigranes, he surrendered himself up to the Clemency and Faith of the Republick; and the proud King could not submit to these Terms. Perhaps, said he, I might deliver up my Person and Interests into Pompey's Hands, if I was Tigranes. But Mithridates has made too much Noise in the World, to end a Life of so much Glory in so cowardly a manner. And from that Time the King was wholly intent on his mad Project of going into Italy. He made great Preparations for it, and raised all the Troops he could in the Bosphorus, without any distinction. Free Men and Slaves were equally obliged to take the military Oath; and in order to build his Machines of War, he cut down not the Forest Trees only, but even the Fruit-Trees in Gardens. Nor was this all. He killed all the Oxen in the Country, to use their Sinews for Strings for his Ballistæ and Catapultæ. Besides, the Bosphorans were forced to pay excessive Tributes, and no difference made between the rich and the poor. The Collectors of these Taxes likewise abused their Power, and increased the Miseries of the People by their Severities. In the mean while, Mithridates appeared no more in Publick, to appease their Murmurs.

<sup>56</sup> The ancient Geographers mention three Cities of this Name; one in Persia, another in Syria, and the third in Great Media. The first was called Ecbatana of the Magi, to distinguish it from the other two. The second, which is here spoken of, and was called Gabbata and Agbatana, stood at the Foot of Mount Carmel, on the Side of Ptolemais. The third was founded by Dejoces, King of the Medes, tho' Pliny makes Seleucus King of Syria to have been the Founder of it. And it is as false, that it was built by

Semiramis, as Ctesias affirms. In order to judge of the bigness of this City, we need only observe with Herodotus, that it was surrounded by seven Walls, the largest of which was as long as thote of Athens; that is, 178 Stadia, or about 8 common Leagues, in circumference. It is thought, That the City of Tauris was raised out of the Ruins of Ecbatana; others say, That the City of Casvin or Casbin stands where Ecbatana stood.



He had an Ulcer in his Face, and was not to be seen by any body but three of his Eunuchs, in whom alone he confided for his Cure.

§. XXXII. But, tho' *Mithridates* was invincible, his Army was still forming, and amounted already to 60 *Cohorts* of 600 Men each; besides a prodigious Multitude of Men, not yet formed into regular Bodies. And as in the long Wars he had made with the Republick, he had a great Number of *Roman* Deserters in his Service, these were the chief Strength of his Troops. Nor was he in any Want of Ships, which he sent to different Ports for transporting his Army. As soon as he was cured, he resolved to employ his numerous Forces first, in seizing <sup>57</sup> *Phanagoria*, a City on the east Shore of the *Cimmerian Bosphorus*. Being already Master of <sup>58</sup> *Panticapæum*, another City on the West side of the *Bosphorus*, he hoped by this Means to stop up the Entrance into the *Streights* against the Enemy, and make his Kingdom inaccessible. A prudent Design; but it did not succeed. A Magistrate of Weight in *Phanagoria*, named *Castor*, had been ill used by *Trypho*, an Eunuch of the Court, who came into the City before the King; and *Castor* killed him, and made an Insurrection in the City against the Royal Army. Tho' the Citadel was already in the King's Hands, and he had sent thither several of his young Sons, and with them *Artaphernes* another of his Sons of 40 Years of Age, and a Daughter named *Cleopatra*; the *Phanagorians* were not afraid to shut their Gates against *Mithridates*, and invest their own Citadel. They surrounded it with combustible Materials, to which they set fire, in order to burn a part of the Royal Family; and the cowardly *Artaphernes* surrendered up himself and his Brothers at Discretion. But the brave *Cleopatra* was resolute. She preferred Death to Slavery; preserved the Citadel some Days by her Firmness; and did not leave it, till a Ship was sent her from her Father. The *Phanagorians* received a *Roman* Garrison; and *Castor* went and took many Cities from *Mithridates*.

Then the frequent Revolt of the *Bosphorans* threw *Mithridates* into a great Consternation; and in order to secure at least the Alliance and Protection of the *Scythian* Kings, he sent them his Daughters, which he had promised them, for Wives. They were escorted by 500 Horse; and the Commander of their Guard had Orders to hasten the Succours which *Scythia* had promised *Mithridates*. But he was a Traitor who was disgusted at the Court, and wanted an Opportunity to go over to the *Romans*, and make himself agreeable to them by some signal Act of Service. This he thought he had now found; and as soon as he was got out of the *Bosphorus*, he surrounded the Eunuchs that guarded the Princesses with his Troops, dispersed those effeminate Men, and carried the Daughters of *Mithridates* to *Pompey*.

§. XXXIII. Nevertheless, all these Calamities did not yet sink the Courage of the King. Age had a little weakened his Body; but he had as much vigour of Mind as ever, and his Hatred to *Rome* increased with his Misfortunes. Tho' he had lost all Hopes of Succours from *Scythia*, and the Cities of <sup>59</sup> *Theudusia*, <sup>60</sup> *Chersonesus*, <sup>61</sup> *Nymphæum*, and several of those that bordered on the *Euxine* Sea had revolted from him, he still persisted in his Design to go into *Italy*, and make the old King as formidable there, as *Hannibal* had been in the Flower of his Age. He now went so far, as to divulge this chimerical Scheme, which he had hitherto kept within his own Breast. *Why*, said he, *may not I, in my turn, give terrour to a Republick, which is hated by all the Nations in the World? In proportion, as I advance nearer to Italy, how many*

<sup>57</sup> *Phanagoria*, a City of *Sarmatia Asiatica* bordered on the *Palus Maeotis*. *Thevet* calls it *Matriga*; *Molet* gives it the Name of *Mapotrinica*.

<sup>58</sup> It is doubted, whether the City of *Panticapæum* was different from that which the ancient Geographers called *Bosphorus*. *Pliny* owns that some have confounded them, and made them but one City. At least *Procopius* often mentions the latter, and says not a Word of *Panticapæum*, tho' the Capital of *Taurica Chersonesus*. But *Eutropius* and *Stephen of Byzantium* speak of them as two different Cities. *Pliny* and *Strabo* agree, That that here spoken of, was founded by a Colony of *Milesians*; and the latter adds, That it was anciently governed by its own Laws, and at last subjected to the Dominion of the Kings of the *Bosphorus*. It belonged to *Sarmatia Europæa*, because it stood on this Side the *Palus Maeotis*, which divides *Asia* from *Europe*.

<sup>59</sup> *Theudusia*, as *Stephen of Byzantium* calls it, or *Theodosia* according to *Mela*, *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Ptolomy*, was one of the chief Cities of *Taurica Chersonesus*. Some Moderns place it where at present stands *Cassa*, the Capital of *Little Tartary*. *Sanfon* places it near *Tusba*, another City of that Country.

<sup>60</sup> The City of *Chersonesus* or *Cherson*, stood near the Gulph of *Garcinites*, now *The Gulph of Nigropoli*, on the north Coast of the *Euxine* Sea. *Sanfon* thinks it stood where *Topetorkan* now stands. It was also called *Heraclea*, because founded by a Colony of the Inhabitants of *Heraclea* in *Pontus*, according to *Ptolomy* and *Scylax*.

<sup>61</sup> We know nothing more of *Nymphæum*, than that it was one of the Cities founded by the *Greeks* in *Taurica Chersonesus*, according to *Scylax*.

Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXIX.  
L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, &  
C. MARCIUS  
FIGULUS,  
Consuls.  
App. in *Mithridat.*



Year of Provinces and Kingdoms, through Oppression or Terror, will join their Forces to mine ?  
 ROME Germany and Gaul will furnish me with as many Men, as the Generals of the Cimbri  
 DCLXXXIX. and Teutones formerly led into the Heart of Italy ; and they will have an Advantage  
 L. JULIUS which the Cimbri had not. They will be led on by Mithridates, whose Name is more for-  
 CÆSAR, & midable in the West, than that of Hannibal formerly was.  
 C. MARCIUS  
 FIGULUS,  
 Consuls.

Dio Cassius,  
 L. 37.

But as soon as the Army of Mithridates knew his Design, they were terrified at it. To pretend to cross so many unknown Regions ; To attempt to make himself a Way in all Places by Force and Violence, and procure Provisions only by the Point of his Sword ; To imagine, That he can fight Roman Armies wherever he comes, and conquer those Legionaries in distant Countries, which he cannot withstand in his own ; these are such Schemes, said the Soldiers, as are purely visionary. The Roman Deserters especially, were the most zealous in refusing to march into Italy. They were afraid of meeting with that Punishment in their own Country, which they were much surer to avoid in the Bosphorus. Yet after all, the Soldiers in general had a great Respect for the King, whose Age, and Merit as a Soldier, captivated them ; and the greatest Discontents were in his own Family. Old Age had made him peevish and suspicious. He had always used himself to take Cordials, to secure himself against Poisons ; and now he doubled the Portions, in distrust of those about him. For the same Reason, he caused many of his Domesticks to be assassinated, and did not spare his own Children. The Son whom he most tenderly loved, and whom he had often declared he would choose for his Successor, and make sole Heir to his Dominions, was Pharnaces ; and he, being grown to Years of Maturity, waited with Impatience to see the good Effects of his Father's Promises. The King therefore, who was always cautious and watchful, took care to put those about the Prince, in whom he could confide ; and they gave him a faithful Account of every thing that he said and did.

App. in Mi-  
 thridat.

§. XXXIV. It is very difficult for a Man to be always so much upon his Guard, as to let nothing escape him, that can discover the most secret Sentiments of his Mind. The Domesticks set about the Prince to watch him, observed him one Day to complain of the King's Design of crossing Europe, and carrying the War into Italy ; and discovered, that he had private Conferences with some Officers of the Court and Army whom they suspected. Upon notice of this, Mithridates arrested his Son's Confidants, put them to the Rack, and they discovered, that Pharnaces had formed Designs against the Person of the King. The Father therefore, in a Fit of Rage, pronounced Sentence of Death on his beloved Son ; but Menophanes, who seems to have been the Captain of his Guards, diverted the Execution of it. He represented the Imprudence of beginning a bold Undertaking, by shedding the Blood of a Prince, who was beloved by the Soldiers, and had the Character of a brave Man ; and advised him, rather to dissemble his Resentments, and not exasperate the Troops, who were already prejudiced against the laborious Expedition he had in view. The King hearkened to this Advice ; but the Traitor who gave it, had nothing in view, but to provide himself with another Master as soon as possible, and get rid of a Tyrant who made all his Court tremble. In the mean time Pharnaces could not be ignorant of the Uneasiness he had given his Father ; and well knew, that he was revengeful, and had shed the Blood of his Brothers for less Offences. So that, he had every Thing to fear, if he did not speedily dethrone the King ; and every Thing to hope from the Romans, if he could take out of their Way, the most implacable of all their Enemies. And in such Circumstances, Parricide loses its Horror in the Sight of a Son, whose Virtue is not Proof against the greatest Temptations of Interest.

Dio. Caff. L.  
 37.

App. in Mithri-  
 dat.

The next Night, Pharnaces went out of his Tent (for the King and He were encamped under the Walls of Panticapæum, the Capital of the Bosphorus, in order to prepare for their Departure) and addressed himself first to the Roman Deserters, who were encamped next the King. Do you then approve, said he, of the King's forcing us to make these mad Incursions, through unknown Countries, without any Precaution, or even securing the Passes ? At his Age, he chooses rather to go out of the World with the low Character of an Adventurer, than to die in Peace in his own Family. But why should we, who are young enough to live some Years longer, wantonly expose our Lives to certain Dangers, without Profit, or Honour ? Had I the Advantage of possessing the Throne which is designed for me, with what Benefits would I not reward your Services ? The Roman Deserters plainly enough saw whither this Discourse tended ; and they promised him their Assistance, to place him on his Father's Throne. He likewise sent his Agents



the same Night to the Troops that were posted at the greatest distance ; and all answered, that they were ready to attempt any Thing in his Favour : And when Measures were thus concerted, he caused the Deserters, in whom he chiefly confided, to begin the Cry, which was the Signal of the Revolt. This Noise was communicated from Quarter to Quarter, and returned with equal Chearfulness. Even the Seamen, who were encamped near the Port, joined their Clamours with those of the Land-Forces, tho' not let into the Secret ; and *Mithridates*, alarmed at this terrible Dinn, retired into the City.

Year of  
ROME  
DCLXXXIX.  
L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, &  
C. MARCIUS  
FIGULUS,  
Consuls.

Then *Pharnaces*, at the Head of all the Royal Army, advanced towards one of the Gates of *Panticapæum* ; and the Inhabitants opened it to him, and by their Treason, forced the King to take Refuge in his Palace. From thence he sent a Detachment of his Guards, either to make what Resistance they could, or at least, to learn what were the Designs of the Rebels ; and those Guards went over to the strongest Side, and returned to him no more. So that *Mithridates* was in a manner abandoned, having about him only the Eunuchs of his Chamber, and a few faithful Officers ; and these did not long continue so. When they saw the *Roman* Deserters draw nigh to the Palace, and cry out, *Long live King Pharnaces ! Let him take the Place of a King, who is a Slave to his Eunuchs, and the Murderer of his own Children !* not a Courtier remained with him. They went in a Body towards the *Roman* Deserters to surrender to them ; but the *Romans* gave them to understand, that they should not be received, till they had struck a great Blow. At the same time they said this, they pointed to *Mithridates*, who was ready to mount his Horse, to make his escape through a Postern ; and then one of these perfidious Courtiers killed the Horse, and left the old King at the Mercy of his Enemies. He therefore retired to an inner Apartment, where his Women and the Princesses his Daughters were kept ; and there, from the Roof of a Portico, he saw *Pharnaces*, whom the Army and People were in such haste to proclaim King. A zealous Soldier brought out of a neighbouring Temple a Roll of Parchment, made a Crown of it, and put it upon the Head of *Pharnaces*.

§. XXXV. This Sight sunk the King's Spirits to such a degree, as is not to be expressed. He had the Cowardice to send to his Son, to spare his Life, and give him leave to flee. But most of the Messengers were killed, and none of them returned ; and then he gave himself up to despair. What he most dreaded, was the being delivered up into the Hands of the *Roman* Deserters, who would make their Peace with *Pompey*, by putting him into his Hands, to grace his *Triumph*. *Let us die !* cried he, *But if Ye, The Gods of my Country, deserve the Worship that is paid you, Grant that my Son may receive the same Treatment from his Children, that he shews me !* This said, he entered into the innermost Part of his Seraglio, and there drew out of the Scabbard of his Sword a Packet of Poison which he carried always with him. Two of his Daughters, *Mithridatia* who was promised to the King of *Egypt*, and *Nissa* who was designed for the King of *Cyprus*, resolving not to survive their Father, first tried his Poison, and died instantly : And when *Mithridates* had communicated it to all his Women, and seen them expire, he then emptied the fatal Cup himself. But as subtle as the Poison was, it had little Effect on the King, or at least operated very slowly. He had always taken such care to guard his Stomach by strong Antidotes against these fatal Draughts, that he now felt himself very little weakened ; and tho' he walked about very fast, to quicken the Motion and Activity of the Poison in his Veins, it was to no Purpose. Death seemed to flee him, as fast as he pursued it. He was therefore forced to have recourse to his Sword ; and Age or Passion had so weakened him, that the Blow did not go deep enough into his Body. Then seeing near him a faithful *Gaul* named *Bytuitus*, who had never deserted him ; he said, *My dear Friend, as you have constantly followed me through Dangers in War, deliver me now from the last of my Misfortunes. Do, what neither the Poison, nor my own Arm, can do for me. I have been over cautious, in guarding against being poisoned ; but not cautious enough, in guarding against the Hatred of my Children and Army. The last Service I desire of thee, is to take away my Life.* Upon which *Bytuitus* delivered *Mithridates* from the Captivity he dreaded. *Pharnaces* would certainly have delivered him up to *Pompey*, if he could have taken him alive. At <sup>62</sup> least, he sent <sup>63</sup> his Body to the *Pro-Consul*, after he had it embalmed.

Thus

<sup>62</sup> *Dio Cassius* is the only Historian who says, That *Pharnaces* after he had made himself Master of *Pantica-*  
V O L. V. 7 I



Year of  
R O M E  
DCLXXXIX  
L. JULIUS  
CÆSAR, &  
C. MARCIUS  
FIGULUS,  
Consuls.

Thus fell a Prince, who was famous for the Eminence of his Birth, the Firmness of his Courage, the Height of his Stature, and the Strength of his Features; but more so, for his Hatred to the *Romans*. He made War with them, <sup>64</sup> seven and twenty Years; sometimes with Success, tho' oftner with Loss. He was the seventeenth Descendant in a right Line from *Darius*, the last King of *Perſia*; and the sixth King of *Pontus*, from *Mithridates* who founded that Monarchy. He reigned 57 Years; and lived a little less than <sup>65</sup> 70. When he first marched out of his Kingdom, he terrified all the East, and created Jealousy in *Rome* her self. *Sylla* reduced him to his own Dominions; but afterwards his Ambition led him to usurp *Cappadocia* and *Bithynia*. *Lucullus* and *Pompey* humbled, but could not sink, him. No Man was ever happier at Expedients in Distress. He made a Treaty with *Sertorius* in *Spain*, and entered into a Correspondence with the *Gauls*. All the North of *Asia* feared him; and he found Means to draw the *Scythians* into his Interest. He was always upon his Guard against Snares at home and abroad; yet fell at last by those which were laid for him by *Pharnaces* his Son. He was an unfortunate Father, but at the same Time a Parricide in a double Sense; both as he had spilt the Blood of his Mother, and put to Death a great Number of his Children. Cruelty was the Vice most laid to his Charge, and the Cause of the last of his Misfortunes. He greatly cultivated and improved his Mind with all the *Greek* <sup>65</sup> Sciences, and his Court was always full of Philosophers of all Sorts. In a Word, he was extremely sober; but carried his Love of Women to the utmost Excess.

§. XXXVI. *Pompey* was running over *Cælo-Syria*, when he received the News of the Death of *Mithridates*, and the Submission of *Pharnaces*, now King of the *Bosphorans*; and the *Romans* did not carry their Virtue so far, as to revenge Crimes which were for their Advantage. The Messengers of *Pharnaces* were graciously received, but *Pompey* delayed rewarding his Parricide, till his Return into *Pontus*. Nevertheless, *Pompey's* Exploits in *Syria* being so closely connected with the Affairs of *Mithridates*, that we think they ought not to be separated; we shall therefore continue the Relation of them here, tho' sensible that the Events we are going to mention, rather belong to the next Year, than the present.

We have already observed, That *Pompey* had with the greatest Injustice, deprived *Antiochus Asiaticus*, of all Hopes of ever reascending the Throne of his Ancestors. The *Pro-Consul* considered only the Interests of his Republick; and therefore reduced *Syria*, taken in its utmost extent, to the State of a *Roman Province*. But with what Ceremonies he took Possession of the *Syrian State*, whether the Senators sent ten Commissioners thither, or whether the Government of it was at that Time changed, or *Rome* gave it new Laws, or laid new Tributes upon it, the Historians have not informed us. All we know is, That after *Pompey* had settled the Affairs of the new Province, he marched into the Countries near the *Red Sea*.

<sup>67</sup> *Arctas*, King of the *Arabians*, having of late Years been the most troublesome Enemy of the *Syrians*, *Pompey* undertook to bring him to Reason. *Scaurus*, *Pompey's* forerunner in *Syria*, had weakened him; but he still molested the *Syrians*, tho' the *Romans* had brought them under their Dominion. The *Pro-Consul* therefore entered *Arabia* himself, there defeated *Aretas*, made him Prisoner of War, seized his Dominions, and left large Garrisons in them. After this, he turned towards *Cælo-Syria*, but tarried there no longer than was necessary, to receive the Presents of the *Syrian Cities*,

*Panticapæum*, entered the Apartment of *Mithridates* Sword in Hand, and was so unnatural as even to dare to massacre his Father and his King.

<sup>63</sup> *Pharnaces* to gain *Pompey's* Favour, made a Merit of delivering up to him those who had formerly seized *Manius Aquilius*, and had been Accomplices in the Death of that Ambassador, whom *Mithridates* had sacrificed to his Fury.

<sup>64</sup> The Historians don't agree, as to the length of this War. *Justin* is mistaken when he prolongs it to 45 Years. *Appian*, *Florus*, *Eutropius*, and *Pliny the Naturalist* fix it to 40. The Inscription *Pompey* ordered to be cut in the Temple of *Minerva* after his Conquest, reduces the Time of all his Wars to 30. But it is certain, we can find but 27 for it at most, if we reckon from the Year 664.

<sup>65</sup> *Eutropius* and *Orosius* give *Mithridates* 72 Years Life. *Appian*, and *The Abridger of Livy*, say he ended his Reign, in the 68th or 69th Year of his Age. See our Remarks above p. 318, Note 53, concerning the Birth of this Prince.

<sup>66</sup> *Valerius Maximus* observes, B. 8. c. 7. That *Mithridates* had learnt the Languages of 22. different Nations who were subject to him, and never wanted an Interpreter to make himself understood by his Subjects.

<sup>67</sup> According to *Josephus*, after *Aretas* had made himself Master of lower *Syria*, he marched into *Judæa*, conquered *Alexander Jannæus*, and forced him to accept of a Peace, on bad Terms.



and to give Audience to the Ambassadors of the King of *Egypt* and of the Sovereigns of *Judæa*. *Ptolomy Auletes*, King of *Egypt*, invited *Pompey* to come and put an end to the Troubles that distracted his Kingdom; and presented him with Cloaths enough to cloath all his Soldiers. But *Pompey* was afraid of exasperating his Republick by carrying his Incurfions beyond the Bounds prescribed him; or rather, did not think it proper, to spend so critical a Time, in settling the Dominions of another in Peace. Whereas the Case was very different with respect to *Phœnicia* and *Judæa*. They had always been a Part of *Syria*, and the *Seleucidæ* had always reckoned them among their Provinces, tho' governed by particular Sovereigns. *Pompey* therefore conceived Hopes of uniting these flourishing Countries to the Dominions of *Rome*, under the same Pretence that he had usurped *Syria*; and we think it necessary to look a little farther backward, in order to give a full Account of this great Event.

§. XXXVII. *Alexandra*, the Wife of <sup>68</sup> *Alexander Jannæus* the High-Priest, had had by the Prince her Husband two Sons, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobulus*. As soon as *Alexander* was dead, his Widow, with the Assistance of the <sup>69</sup> *Pharisees*, whose Affections she had gained, took the Government into her own Hands, and made herself Mistress of *Judæa* and *Phœnicia*. Nevertheless, it was necessary that there should be an High-Priest appointed over the Holy Nation; and *Alexandra* chose her eldest Son, *Hyrcanus the Second*, who was very servilely submissive to her, and suffered her to govern his Dominions, under the Direction of the *Pharisees* who governed her. But his Brother was a Man of a very different Character. He had a great deal of Spirit and Life, and was very uneasy to be deprived of a Crown, which his Birth, the Appointment of his Mother, and a formidable Cabal, had taken from him. Whilst the weak and timorous *Hyrcanus* was a King only in Name, and seemed to have mounted the Throne, only to spend his whole Life on it in Tutelage. Nevertheless *Aristobulus* suffered his Brother to put in Execution the Dictates of *Alexandra*, for nine Years; and the Kingdom was perhaps never more peaceable, than under the Reign of *Hyrcanus*, and his Mother. Their Union was indissoluble, and their Joint-Authority exercised without any Division, tho' one only acted in subordination to the other.

But as soon as *Aristobulus* saw his Mother's Death draw nigh, his Ambition revived. When she was dying, he went from her Presence in the Night to seize <sup>70</sup> *Agaba* and some other important Forts in *Judæa*. In a few Days, 22 Places surrendered to him, and his Court was full of Malecontents, who were displeased with the Government of a Woman and a weak High-Priest. Nevertheless, *Alexandra* had the Courage to cause the Wife and Children of *Aristobulus* to be shut up in the Citadel of *Jerusalem*, before she died; and her Death produced an open Rupture between the two Brothers. They took Arms, and fought a Battle near *Jericho*, where *Hyrcanus* was vanquished, and forced to flee for Refuge to the same Fortrefs where his Brother's Wife and Children were Prisoners. But the *Levites* and *Pharisees* who had seized the Temple for him, were neither vigorous nor constant in the Defence of it. They surrendered at Discretion; and then *Aristobulus* seized the High-Priesthood, and reduced <sup>71</sup> *Hyrcanus* to a private Life. This was a State very suitable to a Man not fit for Business, who seemed born for repose; but he had the Misfortune to have about him one of those Court Pests, whose Talent lies, in sowing Divisions. *Antipater* who was originally an *Idumæan*, the Son of *Antipas*, and the Father of *Herod the Great*, persuaded *Hyrcanus*, to endeavour to shake off his Brother's Yoke, and recover his Rights. The Method the Incendiary proposed in order to it, was the Assistance of *Aretas* the powerful King of the *Arabians*, which he promised the deprived High-Priest; and being rich, *Antipater* himself bore all the Expences of the Negotiation. In short, *Hyrcanus* left *Jerusalem* privately, and

<sup>68</sup> *Alexander Jannæus* the Son of *John Hyrcanus* mounted the Throne of *Judæa* after the Death of his Brother *Aristobulus Philæus*. He died at the Age of 49; of a Distemper contracted by hard drinking. *Josephus* makes him to have reigned 27 Years.

<sup>69</sup> The *Pharisees* had gained great Credit among the People, by an Appearance of Reformation. The *Jews*, at their Persuasion, confirmed the Will of *Alexander Jannæus*, ratified the Choice of *Alexandra*, acknowledged *Hyrcanus the Second* to be their lawful Sovereign; and so far forgot what they had suffered un-

der the late King, as to make a magnificent Funeral for him.

<sup>70</sup> We know not the true Situation of this City of *Palestina*. *Josephus* seems to be the only Historian that mentions it.

<sup>71</sup> According to *Josephus*, the two Brothers met in the Temple at *Jerusalem*. *Hyrcanus* gave up the Crown to *Aristobulus*; a Peace was signed by both Parties; and after they had solemnly sworn to live in Amity, they embraced one another, in token of their Reconciliation.



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accompanied by *Antipater*, went to <sup>72</sup> *Petra* the Capital of that Part of *Arabia*, which was subject to *Aretas*; and the *Arabian* King, undertook to support *Hyrchanus*, defeated *Aristobulus* in a pitched Battle on the Frontiers of *Palestine*, and forced him to retire to *Jerusalem*. Then *Jerusalem* was immediately besieged by the victorious Army, and *Hyrchanus* endeavoured to reduce his Brother, who had taken Refuge in the Temple, by Famine.

During these Transactions *Scaurus* came with a Detachment from *Pompey*, into *Syria*; and the Appearance of the Roman at the Head of an Army, gave *Hyrchanus* uneasiness, and revived the Hopes of *Aristobulus*. The two Brothers both sent Deputies to meet *Scaurus*, who was advancing towards *Judæa*; but *Aristobulus* was more liberal and more artful than *Hyrchanus*. By his Presents and Promises, he gained *Scaurus*, who with the Terror of his Arms forced <sup>73</sup> *Aretas* and *Hyrchanus* to raise the Siege of *Jerusalem*; and then *Aristobulus* pursued them, fought a Battle with them in their Retreat, killed 7000 of their Men, and recovered Possession of the Kingdom.

§. XXXVIII. This was the Situation of Affairs, when *Pompey* himself entered *Damascus* <sup>74</sup> a City of *Cælo-Syria*, of which the Romans had already made themselves Masters; and there received new Ambassadors from the two Brothers, who disputed for the Crown of *Judæa*. *Aristobulus* was beforehand with *Hyrchanus*, and by his Envoy *Nicodemus*, made *Pompey* one of the most magnificent Presents Rome had ever received from her Allies. It was a Vine, or rather an Arbour of Vines cut in Gold, of the Weight of 500 *Talents*, and the Workmanship of it excelled the Materials. It was probably made for an Ornament for the Temple of the true God; and *Pompey* kept it to grace the Sanctuary of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He received the Ambassadors of both Brothers graciously; but required, that they should come to *Damascus* in Person, and there plead their own Causes before him. And as he must be obeyed, they appeared at the Time appointed, and soon after them, a great many of the most considerable Lords in *Judæa*, who were equally dissatisfied with both. The Lords spake first, in the Name of the whole Nation, and said, *That the Jews had long been governed by High-Priests; That they whom Providence had at present placed over them, were indeed of the Race of the High-Priests, but extended their Authority farther than the Laws allowed; and That, being grown Independent and Absolute, they had turned their Sovereignty into Tyranny, and were become less supportable than the most imperious Kings.* *Pompey* was not a little pleased with this general Complaint of the Jewish Nation, immediately concluding that the Reduction of *Judæa* would follow: But he dissembled his Views, and suffered *Hyrchanus* and *Aristobulus* to speak in their Turns.

*As I am the elder*, said *Hyrchanus*, *the Succession to the High-Priesthood and the Throne is my Birth-right. But an ambitious Brother has wrested it from me, and tho' an Usurper, is not afraid to offer Incense to the God of our Fathers with sacrilegious Hands: And it is against him only that the People murmur. He has harassed them with the Wars he has proclaimed with our Neighbours; and has lately ventured to give a Retreat to some of those Pirates, whom the Republick, of which you are the Glory, has destroyed at Sea and Land.* This *Pompey* heard with great Pleasure: *Hyrchanus*, probably instructed by some other Person, had touched him on his weak Side. And then, *Aristobulus* replied thus. *I took my Brother's Place, only, because his Indolence and Incapacity made him unworthy of it. Am I responsible for the Contempt he drew on himself from the People, whom he has already governed too long? The Scepter of the Jews was ready to have gone into another Family; and I took the Care of it for the common Good of my Country. Who are they, that complain of my Administration? None but the weak and effeminate, who are not ashamed to appear in Curles and Perfumes before a Roman*

<sup>72</sup> *Petra*, the Capital of *Arabia Petraea*, stands in a Valley, and is still in being. It is surrounded by Mountains which guard it on all Sides. The *Arabians* now call it *Arach*, or *Herarch*. Among the Cities of Refuge there was one of this Name in *Palestine*, and belonging to *The Tribe of Reuben*; but no Footsteps of it are now remaining.

<sup>73</sup> *Josephus* says, That *Scaurus* marched into *Arabia*; and That *Aretas* redeemed his Dominions from Pillage, by paying him 300 *Talents*.

<sup>74</sup> *Damascus* was long the Capital of a Kingdom of that Name. It was in being in the Time of *Abraham*, as appears by the Book of *Genesis*. After it had undergone several Revolutions, it was made subject to the Romans, by *Metellus* and *Lollius*, *Pompey's* Lieutenants, whilst he was subduing the Dominions of the King of *Armenia*. It is now one of the finest and most wealthy Cities in the *Ottoman* Empire.



*General.* But *Pompey* was too good a Politician to suffer *Aristobulus* to continue long on the Throne. The mild and peaceable Dispositions of *Hyrchanus* were better suited to his Views, of invading *Judæa*, and making it tributary. And he therefore inclined most to favour the elder Brother. This *Aristobulus* perceived, and went from *Damascus*, without taking his Leave of *Pompey*.

The *Pro-Consul* was enraged at this haughty and contemptuous Treatment from a petty King, who seemed to despise him; and in his Rage, he, at the Instigation of *Hyrchanus* and *Antipater*, changed the Resolution he had taken of carrying the War into *Arabia*, and marched towards *Judæa*. When he had passed by <sup>75</sup> *Pella* and <sup>76</sup> *Scythopolis*, two Cities, one beyond <sup>77</sup> *Jordan*, the other on the <sup>78</sup> *Lake of Genesareth*, he came to the Foot of a Mountain, on the top of which stood *Alexandrium*, a considerable Fortrefs, whither *Aristobulus* was fled for Refuge. Nevertheless, upon a Summons from *Pompey*, he came down from his Retreat three several Times, and endeavoured to maintain his Pretensions by studied Harangues; and being at last forced to give up in Writing, all the Forts he had in the Country, he retired to *Jerusalem*, resolving to defend himself there. *Pompey* advanced towards the Capital; passed by *Jericho*, where he saw the valuable Trees, from which the Balm is drawn; and from thence marched to *Jerusalem*, without any Opposition. To his great surprize, *Aristobulus* came to meet him without Arms, and in the Form of a Suppliant; and invited him into the City, offering him a considerable Sum of Money, if he would give Peace to *Judæa*. The *Pro-Consul*, apprehensive of Treachery, sent *Gabinus* to receive the Money in his Name; and then the Unfaithfulness of *Aristobulus* appeared. His Soldiers shut their Gates against *Gabinus*. *Pompey* therefore, who had kept *Aristobulus* himself in his Camp, ordered him to be very strictly guarded, and immediately invested the Capital.

§. XXXIX. Few Cities in the World, were at that Time, larger, richer, more pompously adorned, or better fortified, than *Jerusalem*. Three Sides of the *Upper City* were surrounded by Walls of an extraordinary thickness, and guarded with Towers of a surprizing heighth. The North-side seemed weakest; but it was flanked by the famous Temple of the Living God, and by the *Lower City*, which was a strong Citadel to *Jerusalem*. The Temple itself, as well as the *Lower City*, was built on the Ridge of Mount *Moriah*, so famous in Holy Writ for the Sacrifice of *Abraham*; and its Ditch was a deep Valley, in which the Water of the Brook *Cedron* <sup>79</sup> ran all round the Foot of the Mountain. There was no Passage from the *Upper City* into the Temple, but over a Bridge, which was easily broken down; and then the Temple and *Lower City* were like one of those inaccessible Forts which stand detached from all other Places, and are no otherwise to be come at, than by climbing the steep Hills on which they stand. The Inhabitants were divided into two Factions. The Friends of *Hyrchanus* were for opening the Gates to the Romans, those of *Aristobulus*, for standing a Siege. *Pompey* took Advantage of these intestine Divisions, and *Gabinus* was admitted into the *Upper City* where the Palace of the Sovereigns was: But *Aristobulus's* Party retired into the Temple, after they had broken down the Bridge between the two Cities. Then *Pompey* offered the *Jews* that

<sup>75</sup> *Pliny* places the City of *Pella*, in *Decapolis*, a Province of *Palestine*. *Hegesippus*, *Ptolomy*, and *Polybius*, place it in *Cælo-Syria*, which formerly comprehended this Country. It was successively called *Butis*, according to *Stephen the Geographer*; and *Apamea*, according to *Strabo*. The Kings of *Syria* which were originally *Macedonians*, gave it the Name of *Pella*, one of the most considerable Cities in *Macedon*. *Alexander Jannæus* had made himself Master of it, and razed it, because the Inhabitants had refused to embrace the *Jewish* Religion. *St. Epiphanius* says, That the *Christians* took Refuge in this City, after the Destruction of *Jerusalem*.

<sup>76</sup> The City of *Scythopolis*, anciently called *Bethsan* by the *Hebrews*, was the most considerable of the ten, in *Decapolis*. See above p. 67, of this Volume, Note 19.

<sup>77</sup> The River *Jordan* has two Springs at the Foot of Mount *Libanus*, one of which is called *Jor*, and the other *Dan*; and from thence it had its Name,

which it bears to this Day. It runs from North to South; first crosses *The Lake Samachonitis* or *The Waters of Merom*, and then that of *Genesareth*; and falls into *The Lake Asphaltitis*, or *The Dead Sea*. It is almost the only Stream in *Judæa*, that deserves the Name of a River.

<sup>78</sup> *The Lake of Genesareth*, is the same that is called *The Sea of Cinnereth*, *Num. xxxiv. 11*, and *Josh. xiii. 27*. It took its Names from the Cities of *Genesara* and *Tiberias*, which stood near it. This last City was built by *Herod*, in Honour to the Emperor *Tiberius*: And therefore the Evangelists most commonly call it *The Sea of Tiberias*; and sometimes *The Sea of Galilee*, because it lays in this little Province. *Josephus* makes it 16 Miles long, and 6 broad.

<sup>79</sup> This Brook ran between Mount *Moriah* and the Mount of *Olives*, in a Valley, in which stood the Village of *Cedron*. It was formed by the Rains that fell on those two Mountains.

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R O M E  
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CÆSAR, &  
C. MARCIUS  
FIGULUS,  
Consuls.



Year of flood out, <sup>80</sup> reasonable Terms; and when they had refused them, made his Dispo-  
 RO ME sitions for an Attack, with the Judgment of a great General. The weakest Part  
 DCLXXXIX. of this great Citadel, as far as could be judged by the Walls and height of the  
 L. JULIUS Towers, was the North; but former Kings had remedied this Defect. Besides the  
 C. CESAR, & Valley of Mount *Moriab*, which was, as it were, a second Ditch on this weak Side,  
 C. MARCIUS they had dug another within it, which covered all the weakest Part of the Wall.  
 FIGULUS, Nevertheless, *Pompey* resolved to attack the Temple here; and *Hyrchanus* and  
 Consuls. his Friends supplied the Besiegers with Provisions and Necessaries for the Siege.

As soon as the *Romans* had taken their Posts in the Houses next the Temple, *Pompey* filled up the first Ditch. Then he raised *Cavaliers* at distances; but found it difficult to bring up his *Terrasses* from the bottom of the Valley to the top of Mount *Moriab*. In the mean time, all sorts of Machines, *Rams*, *Ballistæ*, and *Catapultæ* were brought from *Tyre* ready mounted; and the *Pro-Consul* raised a kind of Battery of them. Then the Stones flew against the Walls and Towers, which were a little hurt, tho' very hard; and the many stately Buildings of which the Temple consisted, suffered some Damage. But the Machines, as yet, played upwards; and it was not possible to work the *Ram*, till the Valley was filled up to the height of the Mountain. And if the too scrupulous Regard of the besieged to the *Mosaic Law*, had not given the Besiegers Time to finish their Works, and raise their Ground to the Foot of the Wall, they could never have been reduced by Force in their Citadel. But by the Law of God the *Jews* were forbidden to do any Work on the Seventh Day of the Week; and their *Rabbins* interpreted this Law with such Rigour, as was very prejudicial to the Interest of the Nation. They pretended, That it was not lawful to attack, but only to repulse an Enemy, on the *Sabbath*; and this Interpretation, tho' founded only on human Tradition, was as much regarded as the Law it self. The *Romans* therefore perceiving, that, on a certain Day, the besieged never made any Sally, or threw any Darts or Stones, but continued idle behind their Ramparts, if not attacked, took Advantage of this Superstition. They also left off playing their Machines on the Sabbath-Days, and knowing that their Works would not be interrupted, spent this Time in making wooden *Towers*, but chiefly in raising their *Terrasses*.

By this Means, the frequent Returns of the Sabbath (for the Siege lasted three Months) became extremely prejudicial to the besieged; their Enemies at last gained their Point of bringing their *Terrasses* to a Level with the top of the Mountain; and raised themselves up above the Walls, by the Help of their moveable *Towers*. Then they mounted their *Rams*; played them chiefly against a Tower which flanked two *Courtines*; and at last beat it down, and with it so great a Part of the Wall, as made a Breach large enough for a *Cohort* to enter on one Side, and a *Century* on the other. The first Man that entered the Temple through this Breach, was *Cornelius Faustus*, the Son of *Sylla* the Dictator; and his *Cohort* followed him. On the other hand, one *Furius*, and one *Fabius* marched in, each at the Head of his *Century*; and it is probable, the Temple was taken about three in the Afternoon, when the Priest was beginning the Evening-Sacrifice. So very strict were the *Jews* in their adherence to their Religion, that the *Levites* had not omitted Divine Service, or the Observation of the Holy Ceremonies, one Day, during the Siege; nor did the Priests suspend their Functions an instant, even after the *Romans* had broke in; tho' the inner and outer Courts of the Temple rung with the Cries of the *Jewish* Soldiers, whom the Enemy cut in pieces without pity! Above 12000 of those that defended the Temple were killed in the Assault; and *Abisalom*, the Brother of *Alexander* the last High-Priest, [and the Uncle, and Father-in-Law of *Aristobulus*, was made Prisoner of War.

§. XL. At length, *Pompey* himself entered the Temple, with all the State of a Conqueror. But, how different was the Conduct of the *Roman Pro-Consul*, from that of *Antiochus* King of *Syria*, when he came to rob this sacred Place. *Antiochus* ravaged and plundered all he could, and took away the sacred Vessels, and the Gold with which the Altars and Ceilings were covered. *Pompey's* only Fault was too much Curiosity, which was very pardonable in a Heathen, who knew not how Sacred

<sup>80</sup> According to *Josephus*, *Aristobulus* seemed to the Terms of the Treaty, and therefore drove back  
 act faithfully, but his Troops refused to submit to *Gabinus*, and shut the Gates of *Jerusalem*.



this Place was. He ordered the Vail to be drawn, which concealed the Ark of the Living God ; saw the Cherubims which covered the Mercy-Seat with their Wings ; and went into *The Holy of Holies*, into which the High-Priest entered only once a Year, on the Feast of *Expiation*. But he laid not his Hand either on any of the precious Vessels consecrated to the Worship of God, or on the Gold Table or Candlestick, or any of the Treasures of the *Temple*, which then amounted to \* 200000 *Talents*. A rare Example of Moderation; which all the Ancients extol, and which all *Judæa* acknowledged with Gratitude !

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C. MARCIUS  
FIGULUS,  
Consuls.  
\* 38,750000*l*.  
*Sterl. Arbuth.*

The next Day, when *Pompey* had re-established *Hyrchanus* in the High-Priesthood; and the *Temple* had been purified from its Pollutions, by the Blood of so many dead Men, and by the Entrance of a prophane Person into *The Holy of Holies*; the whole Nation consented to become tributary to the *Romans*. But it was not then reduced to the State of a *Roman Province*. It preserved its own Laws and its own Sovereigns. But it restored to *Syria*, all the Places the *Macabæan* Princes, and the old Kings of *Judæa*, had conquered from it: And then, *Antipater*, who had never deserted *Hyrchanus*, received a glorious Reward from *Pompey*. He made him the Agent for *Rome* in *Judæa*, to receive the Tributes the Republick should lay upon the *Jews*; by which the *Idumæan* afterwards gained so much Interest, as enabled him to settle his Son *Herod* on the Throne. After this, the Conqueror settled the Fate of many Cities of *Phœnicia*; left *Scaurus* his *Quæstor* in *Syria*, with two *Legions* to keep it in awe; took *Aristobulus*, with two of his Sons and two of his Daughters, to grace his *Triumph*; and returned towards *Cilicia*, in order to go from thence to *Pontus*; there to put the last Hand to the Affairs of the East, which he had now conquered, as far as to the Kingdom of *Parthia*.



*F I N I S.*



T H E

# F A S T I C O N S U L A R E S:

O R,

## C H R O N O L O G I C A L T A B L E

C O N T I N U E D.

307. *Consulship.*  
Year 608.

**Q.** FABIUS MAX. ÆMILIANUS.  
L. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

*Prætor in*  
Hither Spain.

C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.

*Prætors in dif-*  
*ferent Coun-*  
*tries.*

SP. MAMMIUS NEPOS.  
M. TORANIUS NEPOS.  
T. JUVENTIUS THABNÆ.  
M' PINARIUS POSCA.  
C. ARUNCULEIUS COTTA.

*Curule Ædiles.*

M. ÆMILIUS PORCINA.  
P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA  
SERAPIO.

*Plebeian Æ-*  
*diles.*

L. CALPURNUS PISO FRUGI.  
D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCAS.

*Tribunes of the*  
*People.*

C. LICINIUS SACERDOS.  
Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.  
P. MANILIUS NEPOS.  
Q. PETILLIUS SPURINUS.  
Q. STERTINIUS NEPOS.  
M. SERVILUS NEPOS.  
P. GALLONIUS NEPOS.  
C. TERENTIUS VARRO.  
M' ATINIUS LABEO.  
L. ARENNIUS NEPOS.

*Quæstors.*

C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.  
M. PERPENNA.  
C. MEMMIUS GALLUS.  
M' AQUILIUS NEPOS.  
C. LIVIUS SALINATOR.  
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.  
Q. ANTONIUS BALBUS.  
C. PERSIUS FLACCUS.

308. *Consulship.*  
Year 609.

SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.  
L. AURELIUS COTTA.

*Prætors.*

M. TITIUS NEPOS.  
C. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.  
L. LOLLIVS NEPOS.  
SEX. ÆLIUS PÆTUS CATUS.  
Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS.  
M. FURIUS CRASSIPES.

*Curule Ædiles.*

SEX. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.  
C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.

*Plebeian Æ-*  
*diles.*

D. JUNIUS SILANUS MANLIANUS.  
L. HOSTILIUS TUBULUS.

*Tribunes of the*  
*People.*

M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.  
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.  
C. FURIUS BROCCBUS.  
L. LÆTORIUS PLANCIANUS.  
C. PAPIRIUS TURDUS.  
C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.  
C. ÆBUTIUS CARUS.  
C. LUCRETIVS TRIO.  
D. QUINCTIVS NEPOS.  
C. SERVILIUS CASCA.

*Quæstors.*

CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.  
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.  
T. ANNIUS LUSCUS.  
A. GABINIUS NEPOS.  
SP. LUCRETIVS GALLUS.  
L. VILLIVS ANNALIS.  
L. CORNELIVS SISENNA.

*Pro-Consul in*  
Hither Spain.

C. LÆLIUS SAPIENS.



## A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

|                                                                                           |                                                                         |                                                                               |                                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS ÆMILIVS.<br>Further Spain.                         |                                                                         | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> P. MUCIVS SCÆVOLÆ. The other nine are unknown. |                                                                                                       |
| 309. <i>Consulship.</i> AP. CLAVDIVS PVLCHER,<br>Year 610. who triumphs over the Salassi. |                                                                         | <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. CÆCILIVS MACEDONICVS.<br>Hither Spain.                |                                                                                                       |
| Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS<br>MACEDONICVS.                                                      |                                                                         | <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS SERVILIVS.<br>Further Spain.           |                                                                                                       |
| <i>Prætors.</i>                                                                           | M. ÆMILIVS LEPIDVS PORCINA.                                             | 312. <i>Consulship.</i><br>Year 613.                                          | C. LÆLIVS SAPIENS.                                                                                    |
|                                                                                           | M. POPILIVS LÆNAS.                                                      |                                                                               | Q. SERVILIVS CÆPIO.                                                                                   |
|                                                                                           | M. TITIVS NEPOS.                                                        | <i>Prætors.</i>                                                               | L. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS, &c.                                                                            |
|                                                                                           | Q. POMPEIVS NEPOS, &c.                                                  |                                                                               | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> C. MEMMIUS GALLVS. The other nine are unknown.                         |
| <i>Curule Ædiles.</i> P. FURIUS PHILVS.<br>L. CORNELIVS LENTVLVS.                         |                                                                         | <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. POMPEIVS NEPOS.<br>Hither Spain.                      |                                                                                                       |
| <i>Plebeian Ædiles.</i>                                                                   | SER. FVLVIUS FLACCVS.                                                   | 313. <i>Consulship.</i><br>Year 614.                                          | CN. CALPURNIVS PISO.                                                                                  |
|                                                                                           | L. DVRONIUS NEPOS.                                                      |                                                                               | M. POPILIVS LÆNAS.                                                                                    |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> TITVS DIDIVS NEPOS. The other nine are unknown.            |                                                                         | <i>Prætors.</i>                                                               | C. CORNELIVS SCIPIO HISPALLVS.                                                                        |
| <i>Quæstors.</i>                                                                          | C. MARCIUS FIGVLVS.                                                     |                                                                               | L. CALPURNIVS PISO.                                                                                   |
|                                                                                           | C. ANTONIVS NEPOS.                                                      | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i>                                                | A. GABINIUS NEPOS.                                                                                    |
| 310. <i>Consulship.</i><br>Year 611.                                                      | L. CÆCILIVS METELLVS CALVVS.                                            |                                                                               | TI. CLAVDIVS ASELLVS. The other eight are unknown.                                                    |
|                                                                                           | Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS SERVILIVS.                                            | <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. SERVILIVS CÆPIO.<br>Further Spain.                    |                                                                                                       |
| <i>Censors.</i>                                                                           | P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO AFRICANVS ÆMILIVS.                                  | 314. <i>Consulship.</i><br>Year 615.                                          | P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO NASICA SERAPIO.                                                                   |
|                                                                                           | L. MUMMIUS NEPOS.                                                       |                                                                               | D. JUNIVS BRVTUS CALLAICVS.                                                                           |
| THE FIFTY SEVENTH LSTRVM.                                                                 |                                                                         |                                                                               |                                                                                                       |
| <i>Prætors.</i>                                                                           | L. HOSTILIVS TVBVLVS.                                                   | <i>Prætors.</i>                                                               | T. DIDIVS NEPOS, &c.                                                                                  |
|                                                                                           | A. LICINIUS NERVA, &c.                                                  |                                                                               | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> C. CURATIVS NEPOS. The other nine are unknown.                         |
| <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> C. FANNIVS STRABO. The other nine are unknown.             |                                                                         | <i>Pro-Consul in</i> M. POPILIVS LÆNAS.<br>Hither Spain.                      |                                                                                                       |
| <i>Quæstors.</i>                                                                          | L. TREMELLIUS, FLACCVS, SCROFA, &c.                                     | 315. <i>Consulship.</i><br>Year 616.                                          | M. ÆMILIVS LEPIDVS PORCINA.                                                                           |
|                                                                                           | <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS MACEDONICVS.<br>Hither Spain. |                                                                               | C. HOSTILIVS MANCINVS; who abdicated.                                                                 |
| 311. <i>Consulship.</i><br>Year 612.                                                      |                                                                         | <i>Prætors.</i>                                                               | P. MANLIUS NEPOS.                                                                                     |
| <i>Prætors.</i>                                                                           | CN. SERVILIVS NEPOS.                                                    |                                                                               | M. CLAVDIVS MARCELLVS.                                                                                |
|                                                                                           | Q. POMPEIVS NEPOS.                                                      | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i>                                                | L. CASSIVS LONGINVS, who established the Law of <i>Scrutines</i> , or of giving Suffrages in writing. |
| <i>Prætors.</i>                                                                           | D. JUVENTIUS SILANUS MANLIANVS.                                         |                                                                               | M. ANTIUS                                                                                             |
|                                                                                           | L. HOSTILIVS TVBVLVS, &c.                                               |                                                                               |                                                                                                       |



# A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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M. ANTIUS BRISO. The other eight are unknown.

319. *Consulship*. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.  
Year 620. L. CALPURNIUS PISO.

*Quæstors*.

TI. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS,  
&c.

*Prætors*.

T. ANNIUS LUSCUS RUFUS.  
C. OCTAVIUS NEPOS, &c.

*Pro-Consul in* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.  
Further Spain.

*Curule Ædile*. Q. LUCATIUS FLAVUS VESPILLO.

316. *Consulship*. P. FURIUS PHILUS.  
Year 617. SEX. ATILIUS SERRANUS.

*Tribunes of the People*. TIB. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, who was killed in his Office.

*Censors*.

APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
Q. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

M. OCTAVIUS CÆCINA.  
Q. MUMMIUS NEPOS.  
L. RUBRIUS VARRO.  
P. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.  
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO, &c.

## THE FIFTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

*Prætors*.

P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.  
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS, &c.

*Pro-Consul in* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.  
Further Spain.

*Tribunes of the People*. L. FURIUS BROCCUS. The other nine are unknown.

*Pro-Consuls in* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS.  
Campania. CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

*Pro-Consul in* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.  
Hither Spain.

320. *Consulship*. P. POPILIUS LÆNAS.  
Year 621. P. RUPILIUS.

*Pro-Consul in* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.  
Further Spain.

*Prætors*. C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS.  
C. MARCIUS FIGULUS, &c.

317. *Consulship*. SER. FULVIUS FLACCUS;  
Year 618. who triumphs over the *Var-dæi*, a People of *Illyricum*.  
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.

*Tribunes of the People*. Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS. The other nine are unknown.

*Prætors*.

Q. CALPURNIUS PISO.  
M. COSCONIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Consul in* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS,  
Further Spain. who triumphs over the *Lusitanians* and *Gallicians*.

*Tribunes of the People*. P. RUPILIUS RUFUS. The other nine are unknown.

*Pro-Consul in* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRIC.  
Hither Spain. ÆMILIANUS; who takes *Numantia*, and obtains a triumph at *Rome*.

*Pro-Consul in* SEX. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.  
the Country of the *Veneti* in Italy.

321. *Consulship*. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIANUS, the *Pontifex Maximus*.  
Year 622. L. VALERIUS FLACCUS, the *Flamen* of *Mars*.

318. *Consulship*. P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS ÆMILIANUS,  
Year 619. a second time.  
C. FULVIUS FLACCUS.

*Censors*.

Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS MACEDONICUS.  
Q. POMPEIUS NEPOS.

*Prætors*.

C. HOSTILIUS MANCINUS.  
L. PLAUTIUS HYPSEUS, &c.

## THE FIFTY NINTH LUSTRUM.

*Tribunes of the People*. C. FANNIUS STRABO. The other nine are unknown.

*Tribunes of the People*. C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. The other nine are unknown.

*Pro-Consul in* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS CALLAÏCUS.  
Further Spain.

*Pro-Consul in* P. RUPILIUS NEPOS, who receiv'd the honour of an *Ovation*  
Sicily.



|                                             |                                                                                                        |                                                     |                                                                                                    |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                             | <i>tion, after he had reduced the<br/>Slaves in Sicily.</i>                                            | <i>Censors.</i>                                     | CN. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.<br>L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.                                                       |
| 322. <i>Consulship.</i><br><i>Year 623.</i> | C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.<br>M. PERPENNA.                                                                   | THE SIXTIETH LUSTRUM.                               |                                                                                                    |
| <i>Tribunes of the<br/>People.</i>          | C. ATINIUS LABEO. The o-<br>ther nine are unknown.                                                     | <i>Prætors.</i>                                     | C. FANNIUS STRABO.<br>L. OPIMIUS NEPOS.<br>Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS, &c.                                  |
| <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Asia.</i>              | P. LICINIUS CRASSUS MUCIA-<br>MUS.                                                                     | <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Sardinia.</i>                  | L. AURELIUS ORESTES.                                                                               |
| 323. <i>Consulship.</i><br><i>Year 624.</i> | C. SEMPRONIUS TUDITA-<br>NUS, who triumphs over the<br>People of <i>Istria</i> .<br>M. AQUILIUS NEPOS. | <i>Pro-Quæstor<br/>in Sardinia.</i>                 | C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.                                                                            |
| <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Asia.</i>              | M. PERPENNA.                                                                                           | 328. <i>Consulship.</i><br><i>Year 629.</i>         | C. CASSIUS LONGINUS.<br>C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.                                                       |
| 324. <i>Consulship.</i><br><i>Year 625.</i> | CN. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.<br>T. ANNIUS LUSCUS RU-<br>FUS.                                                    | <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Transalpine Li-<br/>guria.</i> | M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.                                                                                |
| <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Asia.</i>              | M. AQUILLIUS NEPOS.                                                                                    | <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Sardinia.</i>                  | L. AURELIUS ORESTES.                                                                               |
| 325. <i>Consulship.</i><br><i>Year 626.</i> | L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.<br>L. CORNELIUS CINNA.                                                            | <i>Pro-Consul at<br/>Fregellæ.</i>                  | L. OPIMIUS NEPOS.                                                                                  |
| <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Asia.</i>              | M. AQUILLIUS NEPOS.                                                                                    | <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Hither Spain.</i>              | Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS.                                                                                 |
| 326. <i>Consulship.</i><br><i>Year 627.</i> | M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.<br>L. AURELIUS ORESTES.                                                            | 329. <i>Consulship.</i><br><i>Year 630.</i>         | Q. CÆCILIVS METELLUS<br>BALEARICUS.<br>T. QUINCTIVS FLAMINI-<br>NUS.                               |
| THE SECULAR GAMES, for the<br>fourth time.  |                                                                                                        | <i>Prætors.</i>                                     | SEX. JULIVS CÆSAR.<br>Q. MARCIUS REX.<br>Q. ÆLIVS TUBERO.<br>L. JULIVS CÆSAR, &c.                  |
| <i>Censors.</i>                             | Q. FABIVS MAX. SERVILIANUS.<br>L. CÆCILIVS METELLUS CAL-<br>VUS, who both abdicated.                   | <i>Tribunes of the<br/>People.</i>                  | C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.<br>AUFIDIUS NEPOS. The other<br>eight are unknown.                         |
| <i>Prætor in Si-<br/>cily.</i>              | P. QUINCTIVS FLAMINIVS.                                                                                | <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Transalpine<br/>Gaul.</i>      | C. SEXTIVS CALVINUS.                                                                               |
| <i>Tribunes of the<br/>People.</i>          | M. JUNIVS PENNUS. The o-<br>ther nine are unknown.                                                     | <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Sardinia.</i>                  | L. AURELIUS ORESTES.                                                                               |
| <i>Quæstor in Sar-<br/>dinia.</i>           | C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.                                                                                | <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Hither Spain.</i>              | Q. FABIVS MAXIMUS.                                                                                 |
| <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Asia.</i>              | M. AQUILIUS, who triumphs.                                                                             | <i>Pro-Consul in<br/>Transalpine<br/>Gaul.</i>      | M. FULVIUS FLACCUS, who<br>triumphs, on account of the<br><i>Ligures, Vocontii, Salii, &amp;c.</i> |
| 327. <i>Consulship.</i><br><i>Year 628.</i> | M. PLAUTIVS HYPSEUS.<br>M. FULVIUS FLACCUS.                                                            |                                                     | 339. Con-                                                                                          |



# A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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330. *Consulship.* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
*Year 631.* C. FANNIUS STRABO.

*Tribunes of the People.* C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS.  
M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.  
L. RUBRIUS VARRO.  
M. BÆBIUS TAMPHILUS. The other six are unknown.

*Pro-Consul in the Baleares Islands.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

*Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul.* C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS, who triumphs on account of the *Ligures, Vocontii, Salii, &c.*

*Pro-Consul in Sardinia.* L. AURELIUS ORESTES, who triumphs on account of the *Sardi.*

331. *Consulship.* L. OPIMIUS NEPOS.  
*Year 632.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS ALLOBROGICVS.

*Prætor in Asia.* QUINTUS MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

*Tribunes of the People.* M. MINUCIUS RUFUS.  
L. CALPURNIUS PISO BESTIA.  
C. LICINIUS NERVA. The other seven are unknown.

*Quæstor in Asia.* P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.

*Pro-Consul in Transalpine Gaul.* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

*Pro-Consul in the Baleares Islands.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS BALEARICUS.

332. *Consulship.* P. MANILIUS NEPOS.  
*Year 633.* C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

*Censors.* L. CALPURNIUS PISO FRUGI.  
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS BALEARICUS.

## THE SIXTY FIRST LUSTRUM.

*Tribunes of the People.* P. DECIUS MUS.  
M. OCTAVIUS NEPOS. The other eight are unknown.

*Pro-Consuls in Transalpine Gaul.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS, who triumphs on account of the *Allobroges*, and *Bituit* King of the *Arverni.*

CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS, who triumphs on account of the *Gauls* and *Arverni.*

333. *Consulship.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, DALMATICUS.  
*Year 634.* L. AURELIUS COTTA.

*Prætors.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS EBURNUS, &c.

*Tribunes of the People.* C. MARIUS NEPOS. The other nine are unknown.

334. *Consulship.* M. PORCIUS CATO.  
*Year 635.* Q. MARCIUS REX.  
The former dying in his Office,  
Q. ÆLIUS TUBERO was chosen in his room.

*Pro-Consul in Dalmatia.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS, who triumphs on account of the *Dalmatians.*

335. *Consulship.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.  
*Year 636.* Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

*Pro-Consul in Liguria.* Q. MARCIUS REX, who triumphs on account of the *Stenæans.*

336. *Consulship.* C. LICINIUS GETA.  
*Year 637.* Q. FABIVS MAXIMVS EBURNUS.

337. *Consulship.* M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, who triumphs on account of the *Carni.*  
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.

*Censors.* L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS DALMATICUS.  
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

## THE SIXTY SECOND LUSTRUM.

*Prætors.* P. DECIUS MUS.  
C. MARIUS NEPOS.

*Tribunes of the People.* P. RUPILIUS RUFUS. The other nine are unknown.



# 6 A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

*Pro-Consul in* M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS, who  
Carniola. triumphs on account of the  
*Carni.*

338. *Consulship.* M' ACILIUS BALBUS.  
Year 639. C. PORCIUS CATO.

*Prætor in* C. MARIUS NEPOS.  
Further Spain.

*Prætor in Illy-* T. DIDIUS NEPOS.  
ricum.

*Pro-Consul in* M. CÆCILIVS METELLUS.  
Sardinia.

339. *Consulship.* P. CÆCILIVS METELLUS  
Year 640. CAPRARIUS.  
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

*Prætor for ca-* LUCIVS CASSIVS LONGINVS.  
*pital Crimes a*  
*second time.*

*Tribunes of the* SEX. PEDUCEIVS NEPOS. The  
*People.* other nine are unknown.

*Pro-Consul in* M. CÆCILIVS METELLUS, who  
Sardinia. triumphs over the *Sardi.*

*Pro-Consul in* C. CÆCILIVS METELLUS CA-  
Macedon. PRARIUS, who triumphs for  
the *Thracians* and *Mace-*  
*don.*

*Pro-Prætor* T. DIDIUS NEPOS, who tri-  
*umphant against the* triumphs for his Victories over  
*Scordisci.* the *Scordisci*, and in *Mace-*  
*don.*

340. *Consulship.* M. LIVIVS DRVSUS.  
Year 641. C. CALPURNIVS PISO.

*Prætor in Fur-* L. CALPURNIVS PISO FRUGI.  
ther Spain.

341. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIVS SCIPIO NA-  
Year 642. SICA.  
P. CALPURNIVS PISO BES-  
TEA.

*Prætors.* L. CASSIVS LONGINVS.  
SERVIUS SVPICIVS GALBA.

*Tribunes of the* C. MEMMIVS GALLVS.  
*People.* C. BRBIVS SVLCA.

*Quæstor in* P. SEXTIVS NEPOS.  
Numidia.

*Pro-Consul in* M. LIVIVS DRVSUS.  
Macedon.

342. *Consulship.* M. MINVCIVS RVFVS.  
Year 643. SP. POSTVMIVS ALBINVS.

*Prætor at* Q. MARCIVS PHILIPPVS.  
Rome.

*Prætor in Hi-* Q. SERVILIVS CÆPIO.  
ther Spain.

*Tribunes of the* P. LIVIVS CRASSVS DIVES.  
*People.* C. MANILIVS LIMETANVS.  
L. ANNIVS NEPOS.  
L. LVCILIVS BALBVS. The o-  
ther six are unknown.

*Pro-Consul in* M. LIVIVS DRVSUS, who tri-  
Macedon. umph'd over the *Scordisci.*

343. *Consulship.* Q. CÆCILIVS METELLVS  
Year 644. NUMIDICVS.  
M. IULIVS SILANVS.

*Censors.* M. ÆLIVS SCAVRVS.  
M. LIVIVS DRVSUS, who died  
in his *Censorship.*

*Pro-Consul in* M. MINVCIVS RVFVS.  
Macedon.

*Pro-Consul in* SP. POSTVMIVS ALBINVS,  
Numidia.

*Pro-Consul in* Q. SERVILIVS CÆPIO.  
Further Spain.

344. *Consulship.* SER. SVPICIVS GALBA.  
Year 645. Q. HORTENSIVS NEPOS,  
who did not enter upon his  
Office, but  
M. AURELIVS SCAVRVS  
was chosen in his room.

*Censors.* Q. FABIVS ALLOBROGICVS.  
C. LIVINIVS GETA.

## THE SIXTY THIRD LSTRUM.

*Pro-Consuls in* Q. CÆCILIVS NUMIDICVS.  
Numidia. Q. SERVILIVS CÆPIO, who

triumphs for his Victories o-  
ver the *Lusitanians.*

M. MINVCIVS RVFVS, who  
triumphs over the *Scordisci*  
and *Triballes.*



# A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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345. *Consulship*. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.  
Year 646. C. MUCIUS NEPOS.  
The former being killed during his Office,  
M. ÆMILIUS SCAURUS was chosen a second time.

*Pro-Consul in* C. MARIUS NEPOS, who triumphs over the *Numidians* and King *Jugurtha*.

*Pro-Quæstor in* Numidia. L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

*Tribunes of the People*. L. MANILIUS MANCINUS.  
C. CÆLIUS CALDUS.  
SP. THORIUS BALBUS. The other seven are unknown.

348. *Consulship*. C. MARIUS NEPOS, the second time.  
Year 649. C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.

*Ædile*. C. AURELIUS SCAURUS.

*Quæstors in* Numidia. L. CORNELIUS SULLA.  
CN. OCTAVIUS RUFUS.  
Q. CÆCILIUS NUMIDICUS, who triumphs for his Victories over the *Numidians* and King *Jugurtha*.

*Tribunes of the People*. L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.  
CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
C. SERVILIUS GLAUCIA.  
L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS. The other six are unknown.

346. *Consulship*. C. ATTILIUS SERRANUS.  
Year 647. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

*Pro-Prætor in* Sardinia. T. ALBUTIUS NEPOS.

*Prætors*. M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
C. ANNIUS BELLINIENUS.  
C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA, &c.

349. *Consulship*. C. MARIUS NEPOS, a third time.  
Year 650. L. AURELIUS ORESTES, who died in his *Consulship*.

*Ædiles*. P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.

*Prætor in Sicily*. C. SERVILIUS CASCA.

*Tribunes of the People*. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA. The other nine are unknown.

*Prætor in Hispania*. M. FULVIUS NOBILIOR.

*Pro-Consul in* Numidia. C. MARIUS NEPOS.

*Prætor in Macedonia*. C. CALPURNIUS PISO CÆSONI-  
NUS.

*Pro-Prætor in* Africa. L. ANNIUS BELLINIENUS.

*Prætor in Asia*. M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Quæstor in* Numidia. L. CORNELIUS SULLA.

*Curule Ædiles*. Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.  
L. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

347. *Consulship*. P. RUTILIUS RUFUS.  
Year 648. CN. MALLIUS MAXIMUS.

350. *Consulship*. C. MARIUS NEPOS, a fourth time.  
Year 651. L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

*Prætor in Sardinia*. T. ALBUCIUS NEPOS.

*Censors*. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NUMIDICUS.  
C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CAPRARIUS.

*Tribunes of the People*. L. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
C. CASSIUS LONGINUS. The other eight are unknown.

*Quæstor in Sardinia*. CN. POMPEIUS STRABO.

THE SIXTY FOURTH LUSTRUM.]

*Prætor in Sicily*. L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

*Pro-Consul in* Gallia Narbonensis. Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.

*Tribunes of the People*. A. POMPEIUS RUFUS.  
L. APULEIUS SATURNINUS.  
T. JUNIUS NEPOS. The other seven are unknown.

M. AN-



|                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                      |                                                                                                                             |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                       | M. ANTONIUS, having chased the <i>Cicilian</i> Pirates receives the Honours of a <i>Naval Triumph</i> .                                                                                              |                                      | third time. The tenth is unknown.                                                                                           |
| 351. <i>Consulship</i> . Year 652.    | C. MARIUS NEPOS, a fifth time, who triumphs on account of his Victories over the <i>Teutones</i> , <i>Cimbri</i> , and <i>Ambrones</i> .                                                             | <i>Quæstor in Macedon</i> .          | C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.                                                                                                         |
|                                       | M. AQUILLIUS NEPOS.                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                      | M' AQUILIUS, having defeated the Slaves in <i>Sicily</i> , receives the Honour of an <i>Ovation</i> .                       |
| <i>Tribunes of the People</i> .       | M' ACILIUS GLABRIO. The other nine are unknown.                                                                                                                                                      | 354. <i>Consulship</i> . Year 655.   | Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS NEPOS.                                                                                                 |
| <i>Pro-Consul in Cisalpine Gaul</i> . | Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS, who triumphs on account of the <i>Teutones</i> , <i>Cimbri</i> , and <i>Ambrones</i> .                                                                                          |                                      | T. DIDIUS NEPOS.                                                                                                            |
|                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>Prætor at Rome</i> .              | M. VALERIUS FLACCUS.                                                                                                        |
| 352. <i>Consulship</i> . Year 653.    | C. MARIUS NEPOS, the sixth time.                                                                                                                                                                     | <i>Prætor in Sicily</i> .            | L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.                                                                                                      |
|                                       | L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.                                                                                                                                                                                 |                                      |                                                                                                                             |
| <i>Prætors</i> .                      | C. SERVILIUS GLAUCIA, &c.                                                                                                                                                                            | <i>Prætor in Macedon</i> .           | C. SEXTIUS CALVINUS.                                                                                                        |
| <i>Tribunes of the People</i> .       | A. NONNIUS SUFFENAS.<br>L. APULIUS SATURNINUS, the second time.<br>CN. BÆBIUS PAMPHILUS. The other seven are unknown.                                                                                | <i>Tribunes of the People</i> .      | M. DURONIUS NEPOS.<br>A. PLAUTIUS SILVANUS. The other eight are unknown.                                                    |
| <i>Quæstors</i> .                     | Q. SERVILIUS CÆPIO.<br>C. SAUFIDIUS NEPOS.                                                                                                                                                           |                                      | L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA receives the Honours of a <i>Triumph</i> , on account of his Victories over the <i>Lusitanians</i> . |
| <i>Pro-Consul in Sicily</i> .         | M' AQUILIUS NEPOS.                                                                                                                                                                                   | 355. <i>Consulship</i> . Year 656.   | CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.                                                                                                     |
| 353. <i>Consulship</i> . Year 654.    | M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.<br>A. POSTUMIUS ALBINUS.                                                                                                                                                          |                                      | P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.                                                                                                        |
| <i>Prætor in Further Spain</i> .      | L. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.                                                                                                                                                                              | <i>Censors</i> .                     | L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.<br>M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.                                                                                  |
| <i>Prætor in Asia</i> .               | Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                      |                                                                                                                             |
| <i>Curule Ædiles</i> .                | C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.<br>L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.                                                                                                                                                         |                                      | THE SIXTY FIFTH LUSTRUM.                                                                                                    |
| <i>Tribunes of the People</i> .       | L. PORCIUS CATO.<br>Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.<br>Q. CALIDIUS NEPOS.<br>P. FURIUS NEPOS.<br>C. CANULEIUS DIVES.<br>C. DECIANUS.<br>SEX. TITIVS NEPOS.<br>L. EQUITIVS FIRMANUS.<br>L. APULIUS SATURNINUS, the | <i>Prætor in Sicily</i> .            | L. HORTENSIVS NEPOS.                                                                                                        |
|                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>Pro-Consul in Further Spain</i> . | T. DIDIUS NEPOS.                                                                                                            |
|                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>Pro-Prætor in Macedon</i> .       | C. SEXTIVS CALVINUS.                                                                                                        |
|                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 356. <i>Consulship</i> . Year 657.   | CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.                                                                                                     |
|                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                      | C. CASSIVS LONGINUS.                                                                                                        |
|                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                      | <i>Prætor at Rome</i> .              | SEX. JULIVS CÆSAR.                                                                                                          |
|                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 357. <i>Consulship</i> . Year 658.   | P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.<br>Q. MUCIVS SCÆVOLA.                                                                                  |
|                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                      |                                      | <i>Prætor</i>                                                                                                               |



# A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

9

*Prætor in Si-* C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
cily.

*Tribunes of the People.* C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.  
L. AURELIUS COTTA.  
T. DIDIUS NEPOS.  
T. ANTISTILIUS RHEGINUS. The  
other six are unknown.

*Pro-Consul in* T. DIDIUS NEPOS.  
Hither Spain.

*Pro-Consul in* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
Further Spain.

358. *Consulship.* C. CÆLIUS CALPURNIUS.  
Year 659. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

*Prætor at* L. CORNELIUS CINNA.  
Rome.

*Prætor in Asia.* L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

*Tribune of the People.* L. SESTIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Consul in* T. DIDIUS NEPOS.  
Hither Spain.

*Pro-Consul in* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
Further Spain.

359. *Consulship.* C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.  
Year 660. M. HERENNIUS NEPOS.

*Prætors at* T. MANILIUS NEPOS.  
Rome. L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

*Prætor in Si-* CN. POMPEIUS STRABO.  
cily.

*Prætor in Fur-* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.  
ther Spain.

*Pro-Consul in* T. DIDIUS NEPOS, who tri-  
Hither Spain. umphs, for the Celtiberians.

*Pro-Consul in* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS, who re-  
Further Spain. ceives the Honour of a Tri-  
umph, for his Victory over  
the Lusitanians.

360. *Consulship.* C. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
Year 661. M. PERPERNA NEPOS.

*Consors.* CN. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.  
L. LICINIUS CRASSUS.

## THE SIXTY SIXTH LUSTRUM.

*Prætor in Si-* C. GEMINIUS NEPOS.  
cily.

*Prætor in Asia.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

*Pro-Consul in* C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.  
Hither Spain.

*Pro-Consul in* P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA.  
Further Spain.

361. *Consulship.* L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.  
Year 662. SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.

*Prætor at* Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.  
Rome.

*Prætor in Gal-* M. PORCIUS CATO LICINIA-  
lia Narbon- nus.  
nensis.

*Prætor in Asia.* L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

*Curule Ædile.* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

*Tribunes of the People.* M. LIVIUS DRUSUS.  
P. TARQUITIUS NEPOS.  
Q. VARIUS HIBRYDA SUCRO-  
NENSIS.  
L. FURIUS CALENUS  
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.  
Q. RUBRIUS VARRO.  
L. LUCIUS NEPOS.  
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO. The o-  
ther two are unknown.

*Quæstor in Cis-* Q. SERTORIUS NEPOS.  
alpine Gaul.

## THE WAR OF THE ALLIES.

362. *Consulship.* SEX. JULIUS CÆSAR.  
Year 663. P. RUTILIUS RUFUS, who  
was killed before his *Consul-*  
*ship* expired.

*Prætor at* Q. VARIUS HYBRIDA.  
Rome.

*Prætor in Gal-* C. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.  
lia Narbon-  
nensis.

*Curule Ædile.* C. JULIUS CÆSAR STRABO.



# 10 A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

*Tribunes of the People:* C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.  
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CÆLER.  
M. PRÆTORIUS NEPOS.  
C. VELLEIUS NEPOS. The other six are unknown.

*Pro-Prætor in Asia.* L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.

*Pro-Prætor in Hither Spain.* C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.

363. *Consulship.* CN. POMPEIUS STRABO, who triumphs for his Victories over the *Asculani* and *Picentini*.  
L. PORCIUS CATO, who was killed in his Office.

*Censors.* P. LICINIUS CRASSUS.  
L. JULIUS CÆSAR.

## THE SIXTY SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

*Prætors at Rome.* A. SEMPRONIUS ASELLIO.  
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.  
APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
P. GABINIUS CAPITO.

*Tribunes of the People.* L. CASSIUS LONGINUS.  
C. PAPIRIUS CARBO.  
M. PLAUTIUS SILVANUS. The other seven are unknown.

364. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX.  
Q. POMPEIUS RUFUS.

*Prætor in Africa.* A- C. SEXTILIUS.

*Tribunes of the People.* P. SULPICIUS RUFUS, who was killed in his Office.  
P. ANTISTHIUS LABEO.  
C. BÆBIUS SULCA. The other seven are unknown.

*Quæstor in Asia.* L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.

365. *Consulship.* CN. OCTAVIUS, who was killed, during his *Consulship*.  
L. CORNELIUS CINNA, who was deposed, and  
L. CORNELIUS MERULA, who killed himself, before his Office expired.

*Prætor in Sicily.* M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

*Prætor in Apulia.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

*Pro-Consul in Asia.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX.

*Tribunes of the People.* M. VIRGILIUS NEPOS.  
P. MAGIUS CHILO. The other eight are unknown.

366. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS CINNA, the second time.  
C. MARIUS the seventh time, who died in his Office, and  
L. VALERIUS FLACCUS was chosen in his room.

*Censors.* L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.  
MARCUS PERPENNA.

## THE SIXTY EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

*Prætors at Rome.* C. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS.  
P. ANTISTHIUS LABEO.  
L. LICINIUS MURENA.

*Prætor in Africa.* A- Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

*Prætor in Macedonia.* C. SENTIUS SATURNINUS.

*Pro-Consul in Asia.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.

*Quæstor at Rome.* C. FLAVIUS FIMBRIA.

*Quæstor in Asia.* A- M. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.

367. *Consulship.* P. CORNELIUS CINNA, the third time.  
CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.

*Prætors.* M. LÆTORIUS MERGUS.  
Q. GRANIUS NEPOS.  
P. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS.  
CN. GRANIUS NEPOS.

*Tribunes of the People.* SEX. LUCILIUS NEPOS.  
M. PETREIUS NEPOS.

*Pro-Consul in Asia.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.



# A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE. 11

|                                                                                                                                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.<br>Africa.                                                                                            | <i>Pro-Prætor in</i> L. LICINIUS MURÆNA.<br>Asia.                                                                                                                                        |
| 368. <i>Consulship.</i> CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO, the<br>Year 669. second time.<br>L. CORNELIUS CINNA, the<br>fourth time, who was killed<br>in his Office. | 370. <i>Consulship.</i> C. MARIUS, who was killed<br>Year 671. in his <i>Consulship</i> .<br>CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO, the<br>third time. He was also killed<br>during his <i>Consulship</i> . |
| <i>Tribunes of the</i> P. POPILIUS LÆNAS.<br>People.                                                                                                  | <i>Prætors at</i> L. JUNIUS BRUTUS DAMASIP-<br>Rome. pus, who was killed in his<br>Office.                                                                                               |
| <i>Quæstor in</i> C. VERRES.<br>Cisalpine Gaul.                                                                                                       | C. MARIUS GRATIDIANUS, the<br>second time, killed also in his<br><i>Prætorship</i> .                                                                                                     |
| <i>Pro-Consul in</i> L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.<br>Asia.                                                                                                     | <i>Pro-Consuls in</i> L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.<br>Italy. Q. METELLUS PIUS.<br>C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.<br>Q. LUCRETIVS OFFELLA.<br>Q. VALERIUS SORANUS.                                            |
| <i>Pro-Consuls in</i> Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS<br>Africa. C. FABIVS HADRIANUS.                                                                       | <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. ANTONIVS BALBUS.<br>Sardinia.                                                                                                                                    |
| 369. <i>Consulship.</i> L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO A-<br>Year 670. SIATICUS.<br>C. JUNIUS NORBANUS.                                                          | <i>Pro-Consuls in</i> P. BURRIENUS.<br>Hither Spain.                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>Prætors at</i> P. BURRIENUS.<br>Rome. Q. LUCRETIVS OFFELLA.<br>Q. ANTONIVS BALBUS,<br>Q. VALERIUS SORANUS.                                         | <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. SERTORIUS NEPOS.<br>Further Spain.                                                                                                                               |
| <i>Prætor in</i> Q. SERTORIUS NEPOS.<br>Further Spain.                                                                                                | <i>Pro-Prætor in</i> C. FABIVS HADRIANUS.<br>Africa.                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>Prætor in</i> C. VALERIUS FLACCUS.<br>Gallia Narbo-<br>nensis.                                                                                     | <i>Pro-Prætor in</i> C. SENTIVS SATURNINUS.<br>Macedon.                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>Tribunes of the</i> C. POPILIUS LÆNAS.<br>People. CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.<br>C. CASSIVS VARUS.                                                       | <i>Pro-Prætor in</i> L. LICINIUS MURÆNA.<br>Asia.                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>Quæstor in</i> M. PUPIVS PISO FRUGI CAL-<br>Italy. PURNIANUS.                                                                                      | <i>Quæstors in</i> C. VERRES.<br>Italy. L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS.                                                                                                                            |
| <i>Quæstors in</i> L. HERCULEIVS NEPOS.<br>Further Spain. C. HERENNIIVS NEPOS.                                                                        | <i>Dictator.</i> L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>Pro-Consul in</i> L. CORNELIUS SYLLA.<br>Italy.                                                                                                    | <i>General of</i> L. VALERIUS FLACCUS.<br>Horse.                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>Pro-Consul in</i> Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.<br>Campania.                                                                                          | 371. <i>Consulship.</i> M. TULLIVS DECULA.<br>Year 672. CN. CORNELIUS DOLLA-<br>BELLA.                                                                                                   |
| <i>Pro-Consul in</i> CN. PAPIRIUS CARBO.<br>Cisalpine Gaul.                                                                                           | <i>Dictator.</i> L. CORNELIUS SYLLA, who<br>triumphs for two days, on ac-<br>count of his Victories over<br>King Mithridates, and in A-<br>sia.                                          |
| <i>Pro-Prætor in</i> C. FABIVS HADRIANUS.<br>Africa.                                                                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                          |

Eight *Prætors* for the City of Rome  
Created.

*Prætors*



## A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

*Prætors at Rome.* CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.  
SEX. NONNIUS SUFFENAS.

*Quæstors at Rome.* P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS  
SURA.  
L. VALERIUS TRIARIUS.

*Pro-Consul in Sardinia.* L. MARCIUS PHILIPPUS.

*Pro-Consul in Sicily.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.

*Pro-Consul in Spain.* C. ANNIUS LUSCUS.

*Pro-Prætor in Asia.* M. MINUCIUS THERMUS.

L. LICINIUS MURENUS, triumphs, on account of King *Mithridates*, and *Asia*.

372. *Consulship.* L. CORNELIUS SYLLA FELIX, the second time.  
Year 673. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

*Eight Prætors at Rome for the first time.* M. FANNIUS STRABO. The other seven are unknown.

*Tribunes of the People.* C. HERENNIUS NEPOS. The other nine are unknown.

*Pro-Consul in Macedon.* CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

*Prætor in Cilicia.* Another CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA.

*Prætor in Hispania.* L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.

*Prætor in Furiis Spain.* T. DIDIUS NEPOS.

Eight *Quæstors* created.

*Quæstor in Cilicia.* C. PUBLICIUS MALLEOLUS. The others are unknown.

Q. POMPEIUS, now only a *Roman Knight*, triumphs on account of his Victories over King *Hiarbas* and *Africa*.

373. *Consulship.* P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAU-  
Year 674. SAURICUS.  
APP. CLAUDIUS PUL-  
CHER.

*Prætors at Rome.* L. OCTAVIUS NEPOS.  
C. CALPURNIUS PISO.  
Q. CALIDIUS NEPOS, &c.

*Prætor in Asia.* C. CLAUDIUS NERO.

*Curule Ædiles.* L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.  
M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUS-  
CULUS.

*Quæstor in Further Spain.* C. URBINIUS RUFUS.

*Quæstor in Cilicia.* C. VERRERES.

374. *Consulship.* M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.  
Year 675. L. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA triumphs for *Macedon*.

*Pro-Consul in Further Spain.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

*Pro-Consul in Sicily.* C. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS.

375. *Consulship.* D. JUNIUS BRUTUS LEPI-  
Year 676. DUS.  
MAM. ÆMILIUS LIVIA-  
NUS.

*Prætors at Rome.* CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES AU-  
RELIANUS.  
L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS, &c.

*Pro-Consul at Rome.* APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

*Pro-Consuls in Italy.* Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.

*Pro-Prætor in Cisalpine Gaul.* CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

*Pro-Consul in Further Spain.* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.

*Pro-Consul in Cilicia.* P. SERVILIUS VATIA ISAU-  
RICUS.

*Pro-Consul in Macedon.* APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.

*Prætor in Sicily.* CN. JUNIUS NORBANUS.

*Prætor*



*Prætor in* M. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
Gallia Narbon-  
nensis.

*Pro-Prætor in* CN. TERENTIUS VARRO.  
Asia.

*Tribune of the* M. TURPILIUS NEPOS.  
*People.*

376. *Consulship.* CN. OCTAVIUS.  
Year 677. C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.

*Prætors at* L. TITIUS NEPOS.  
Rome. M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.  
L. FURIUS PHILUS, &c.

*Prætor in* L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.  
Africa.

*Prætor in* L. GELLIUS PUBLICOLA.  
Achaia.

*Prætor in* CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.  
Illyricum.

*Prætor in* SEX. PEDUCEIUS NEPOS.  
Sicily.

*Pro-Consul in* APP. CLAUDIUS PULCHER.  
Macedon.

*Pro-Consuls in* MAM. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.  
Italy. D. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

*Tribune of the* CN. SICINIUS NEPOS, who was  
*People.* killed during his Office.

*Quæstor in* C. MEMMIUS GALLUS, who  
Further Spain. was killed in Battle.

*Quæstor in* C. ÆLIUS STALENUS PÆTUS.  
Italy.

*Pro-Consuls in* Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS.  
Spain. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

*Pro-Consul in* M. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
Gallia Narbon-  
nensis.

377. *Consulship.* L. OCTAVIUS.  
Year 678. C. AURELIUS COTTA.

*Prætors at* Q. CASSIUS LONGINUS.  
Rome. C. LICINIUS SACERDOS.  
P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SU-  
RA.  
M. ANTONIUS NEPOS.

M. CÆSIUS NEPOS, &c.

*Tribune of the* Q. OPIMIUS NEPOS.  
*People.*

*Pro-Consuls in* Q. CÆCILIUS PIUS NUMIDICUS.  
Spain. CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.

*Pro-Consuls in* SERVILIUS VATIA ISAURICUS.  
Cilicia.

*Pro-Consul in* C. SCRIBONIUS CURIO.  
Macedon.

*Pro-Consul in* M. JUNIUS SILANUS.  
Bithynia.

*Pro-Consul in* C. CLAUDIUS NERO.  
Asia.

*Pro-Consul in* SEX. PEDUCEIUS NEPOS.  
Sicily.

*Pro-Consul in* M. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
Narbonne-  
Gaul.

*Pro-Consul in* CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES AU-  
Illyricum. RELIANUS.

*Pro-Consul in* M. TERENTIUS VARRO LUCULLUS.  
Macedon.

*Pro-Consul in* L. GELLIUS PUBLICOLA.  
Achaia.

*Pro-Quæstor in* M. TULLIUS CICERO.  
Sicily.

*Pro-Quæstor in* L. VOLTEIUS STRABO.  
Bithynia.

378. *Consulship.* L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.  
Year 679. M. AURELIUS COTTA.

*Prætor at* C. VERRES.  
Rome.

*Prætor in* M. FONTEIUS CAPITO.  
Gallia Narbon-  
nensis.

*Tribune of the* L. QUINCTIUS.  
*People.*

379. *Consulship.* M. TERENTIUS VARRO  
Year 680. LUCULLUS.  
C. CASSIUS VARUS.

*Pro-Consul at* M. AURELIUS COTTA.  
Chalcedon.

E

*Prætor*



|                               |                                                                 |                                |                                                                  |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>Prætor in Sicily.</i>      | C. VERRES.                                                      | <i>Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.</i>    |                                                                  |
| 380. <i>Consulship.</i>       | L. GELLIUS PUBLICOLA.                                           | 384. <i>Consulship.</i>        | L. CÆCILIUS METELLUS                                             |
| <i>Year 681.</i>              | CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.                               | <i>Year 685.</i>               | who died before he entered upon his Office.                      |
|                               |                                                                 |                                | Q. MARCIUS REX.                                                  |
| <i>Pro-Consul in Macedon.</i> | C. SERVILIUS CURIO.                                             | <i>Pro-Consul in Crete.</i>    | Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.                                   |
| <i>Tribune of the People.</i> | M. LOLLIVS PALICANUS.                                           | <i>Pro-Consul in Pontus.</i>   | L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.                                            |
| 381. <i>Consulship.</i>       | CN. AUFIDIUS ORESTES.                                           | 385. <i>Consulship.</i>        | C. CALPURNIUS PISO.                                              |
| <i>Year 682.</i>              | P. CORNELIUS LENTULUS SURA.                                     | <i>Year 686.</i>               | M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.                                              |
| <i>Prætors.</i>               | M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.<br>CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.                    | <i>Tribunes of the People.</i> | A. GABINIUS.<br>L. ROSCIUS OTHO.<br>C. CORNELIUS.<br>C. MANLIUS. |
| <i>Pro-Consul in Pontus.</i>  | L. LICINIUS LUCULLUS.                                           | 386. <i>Consulship.</i>        | M. ÆMILIUS LEPIDUS.                                              |
|                               | CNEIUS POMPEIUS, triumphs on account of his Victories in Spain. | <i>Year 687.</i>               | L. VOLCATIUS TULLUS.                                             |
| 382. <i>Consulship.</i>       | M. LICINIUS CRASSUS.                                            | <i>Prætor in Africa.</i>       | L. SERGIUS CATILINA.                                             |
| <i>Year 683.</i>              | CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS.                                            | <i>Prætors at Rome.</i>        | M. TULLIUS CICERO.<br>P. VATINIUS.                               |
| <i>Censors.</i>               | L. GELLIUS PUBLICOLA.<br>CN. CORNELIUS LENTULUS CLODIANUS.      | 387. <i>Consulship.</i>        | L. AURELIUS COTTA.                                               |
|                               |                                                                 | <i>Year 688.</i>               | L. MANLIUS TORQUATUS                                             |
| THE SIXTY NINTH LUSTRUM.      |                                                                 |                                |                                                                  |
| <i>Prætors at Rome.</i>       | M. ACILIUS GLABRIO.<br>L. AURELIUS COTTA,                       | <i>Tribune of the People.</i>  | C. PAPIUS.                                                       |
| 383. <i>Consulship.</i>       | Q. HORTENSIUS.                                                  | <i>Censors.</i>                | Q. LUTATIUS CATULUS.                                             |
| <i>Year 684.</i>              | Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS CRETICUS.                                  |                                | L. LICINIUS CRASSUS, who both abdicated.                         |
| <i>Ædiles.</i>                | M. TULLIUS CICERO.<br>M. COESONIUS.                             | 388. <i>Consulship.</i>        | L. JULIUS CÆSAR.                                                 |
| <i>Prætors.</i>               | M. PUPPIUS PISO, who triumphs for Spain.                        | <i>Year 689.</i>               | C. MARCIUS FIGULUS.                                              |
|                               |                                                                 | <i>Censors.</i>                | L. AURELIUS COTTA.<br>Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS PIUS                  |

The End of the *FASTI CONSULARES*, to the Year of Rome 689 inclusive

